



# **THE BRITISH WAY AND PURPOSE**

**CONSOLIDATED EDITION OF  
B.W.P. BOOKLETS 1—18**

With  
Appendices of Documents  
of Post-War Reconstruction

Prepared by

**THE DIRECTORATE OF ARMY EDUCATION**

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## PREFACE

The initials B.W.P. first appeared in the Army's crop of cryptic abbreviations in the autumn of 1942. The Army Council had given general approval to the allotment, throughout the months November 1942—February 1943, of three hours per week from training or working time to education. The implementing of the scheme in formations and units, including A.T.S. units, was left to the decision of Army Commanders, but it was suggested that one of the hours should be devoted to education in citizenship.

The instructors for these sessions were sought wherever they might be found: in the Army Educational Corps; among the civilian experts made available through the Central Advisory Council for Adult Education in H.M. Forces and its Regional Committees; and among the officers and other ranks of the units themselves. To help instructors the Directorate of Army Education issued a series of four monthly booklets which were designed to provide both information and a possible pattern for the course. The booklets, dealing with domestic, imperial and international affairs, were written by experts under the editorship of Major R. L. Marshall, A.E.C., of the Directorate of Army Education and appeared under the title "The British Way and Purpose"—which became, conventionally and quickly, B.W.P.

There was little expectation, to begin with, that the series would continue beyond the four winter months. By Christmas 1942, however, it had become clear that the results of the scheme justified its development and, early in 1943, approval was given for the continuation of the B.W.P. hour and of the B.W.P. series without terminal date. After a revision booklet in March 1943, a second sequence of seven booklets was issued between April and October 1943. The general theme was "Report on the Nation," and this sequence dealt more widely and more intensively with domestic affairs than had been possible in the first. It was followed by a third sequence of six booklets, issued between December 1943 and May 1944, on the theme "Today and Tomorrow." This last sequence reviewed war-time developments in various spheres of individual responsibility, from family life to international relations.

By that time it was certain that B.W.P. would continue as a central strand in war-time Army Education. Moreover, it was decided that B.W.P. should be a universal item in Army Education throughout the release period, when, sooner or later, that time came. But, on a survey of the general progress of the scheme so far, it was determined that the continuation should be on lines other than the publication monthly of further B.W.P. booklets.

In the first place, B.W.P. instructors have displayed a growing independence and capacity in framing their own courses of instruction and discussion, for which they have drawn, at their own discretion, on other sources of material as well as B.W.P. booklets. It is desired to give every encouragement to that individual discretion. A limited number of possible outline courses will be published from time to time but the use of them will be left entirely to local judgment.

Secondly, it was recognised that the material in the eighteen booklets so far issued had not been exhausted, and that the booklets contained a large amount of permanently useful and conveniently arranged information. Accordingly it has been decided, with the full support of expert advisers, to republish the chapters of all the booklets in one volume, for issue as a handy reference book. It will in no way be the exclusive "prescribed text." The volume has no privileged status among the many possible sources of information—except that it can be made available and that it has been designed for the conditions of Army Education.

## INTRODUCTION

In planning the consolidation of all the chapters in the B.W.P. series into a single volume, there appeared, on exploration, to be no tenable half-way house between reprinting them in their existing shape and substance and reconstructing the material into a new, more unified and closely-knit pattern. The second possibility could not be adopted because time was lacking for all the re-arrangement, re-writing and additions required. But the first plan had more to recommend it than negative necessity. In form, the three sequences within the series, "Soldier—Citizen," "Report on the Nation" and "Today and Tomorrow," constitute, as they stand, one possible pattern of instruction and discussion. It is, moreover, a pattern which is already being followed and which will be followed by many units. In content, the booklets contain information of which by far the greater part will be permanently useful. Furthermore, any success in bringing them completely up-to-date in all detail would be short-lived in this time of rapid and largely incalculable change.

For these reasons the volume reprints the chapters, by and large, as they were originally published, and it is, therefore, a record of the evolution of the B.W.P. scheme. That evolution was largely conditioned by two changes of circumstance, the consequences of which can be discerned in the volume. First of all, in the initial stages of the scheme, it was not expected that more than four booklets would be published and the first sequence was, therefore, comprehensive in scope and dealt with general topics in general terms. The approval to the continuation of the series for an indefinite time made possible, not only the planning of longer sequences, but the concentration within each sequence on a more limited field and on more specific topics.

Secondly, there was a change in the selection of instructors. To begin with, the members of the A.E.C. and the civilians provided by the Central Advisory Council and its Regional Committees undertook most of the instruction and they still conduct a good many B.W.P. sessions and will continue to do so. But units have been relying increasingly on their own resources and the second sequence of booklets and particularly the third were designed to give the maximum possible help to these *unit* instructors. The topics were more narrowly limited and more plentifully illustrated. The information was confined to what was most immediately relevant and the lay-out of each chapter was standardised more and more on the pattern of a few main discussible questions, arranged in logical sequence.

Such, in general terms, is the history of growth which is documented in this volume. It remains only to call attention to certain omissions and additions. From the original booklets the introductions and the notes on method for instructors have been eliminated; and the bibliographies have been re-arranged and extended in a consolidated list at the end of the volume. Also a full list of contents and an index have been provided which will assist the reader to get his bearings and to set his course. Except for these changes, the text of each booklet has been reprinted under its original date almost exactly as it stood. Factual errors have been corrected and a few passages have been amended which, in the light of subsequent developments, might have been misleading. The main subsequent developments, up to the middle of November 1944, have been briefly outlined, occasionally in footnotes, but generally in appendices containing summaries of important legislation or proposals.

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FIRST SEQUENCE : SOLDIER-CITIZEN

B.W.P. 1.

## CITIZEN OF BRITAIN

By

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November 1942

### Chapter I.

### WHAT IS AT STAKE

*"That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain ; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom ; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."*—(Abraham Lincoln.)

#### 1. What We Are Fighting Against

One great advantage which the Germans have had over us in this war, up to now, has been a much clearer understanding of what they are fighting for. If we were to question almost any young German soldier on this subject it is pretty certain that he would be able to give us straightforward answers, in which he obviously believed with great conviction. If we happened to hit upon a keen Nazi he would be ready with a passionate statement of his unpleasant ideals. Neither would leave us in any doubt as to where he stood. We should take their word for it that they were fighting because their Fuehrer had decreed that they should, that they believed in their Fuehrer because he had rescued Germany from shame and weakness and restored her to strength and greatness, and that they had unshakable faith in his power to lead the German people to victory and the world dominion of the "master race."

##### (i) The Nazi "Big Idea"

Questioned further, the Nazis would doubtless pour scorn on the softness and selfishness of the British and the Americans, and on the crude barbarity of the Russians. They would outline the features of Hitler's "New Order" which was destined to replace the outworn system of independent nations with their separate economic arrangements and their old-fashioned ideas of freedom, not only throughout Europe but throughout the world. They would then give us a glowing picture

of a prosperous Hitlerite world, organised and controlled, with no sentimentality about the wishes of subject peoples, by German bureaucrats, German scientists, and German storm-troopers.

However much we disliked it, we should have to admit that we were up against a "big idea"—something vital and dynamic—compared with which much of the vague talk which we hear in our own country about "freedom" and "democracy" seems feeble and unconvincing. In the service of this "big idea" millions of Germans—men and women—have given their time and energy without stint. Vast numbers of them have given their lives.

## (ii) Democracy on the Defensive

Naturally we British do not like the Nazi "big idea" and, for many of us, to prevent its realisation is a sufficiently powerful war aim. Whether the things for which we stand are right or wrong, we do not like the thought of a world controlled by the Nazis, and we are prepared to fight them to the death. But when it comes to stating our own "big idea," the *positive* things for which we are fighting, we tend to be vague or even tongue-tied. We are out to lick the Nazis for what they have done to the Poles, the Norwegians, the Dutch, the Greeks and the rest, and for fear of what they are likely to do to the rest of the world, including ourselves, if they win. But most of us are far from clear about what Britain stands for and about what she has to contribute to the making of a happier world.

## (iii) Reasons for the Defensive

The chief reason why we are at a serious disadvantage compared with the Nazis over this business of "big ideas" is that the evil things for which they stand are novel and dynamic, whereas the excellent things for which we claim to be fighting may seem dull and uninspiring. The Nazis have a crude philosophy of domination which is as effective as a panzer division. We speak of our ideas of "freedom" and "democracy" as though they were no more than static positions to be defended at all costs. To take part in the conquest of the world may be a villainous thing, but it can stir the blood and inspire self-sacrifice. Merely to defend familiar notions—very imperfectly understood—is not particularly exciting.

There is another difficulty. One result of finding ourselves mixed up in a second great war within twenty-five years has been to make us very suspicious of sloganised war aims and general talk about a rosy future which is to come into being after victory. Last time it was possible for well-informed and honest men to believe that they were taking part in "a war to end wars," a war which was to "make the world safe for democracy," a war which was to be followed by an era of unlimited social progress. The history of the last twenty-five years has shown us how little justification there was for these ideas and it has cured us of any simple-hearted belief in everything which we are promised. Moreover, we have come to question the value of the sort of "freedom" and "democracy" which can find a place for chronic unemployment, bad housing conditions, and underfed children.

## 2. Democracy Must Take the Offensive

If all this is true, many things follow. While we must defend the positions which our fathers won—civil and religious liberty, free speech, the right to combine, local democracy, Parliamentary institutions, and our great legacy of social legislation—we must also take the offensive. Democracy—rightly understood—is a dynamic idea. It implies that every man—whatever his race or colour or creed—should be given an equal opportunity of realising the best that is in him. It also implies that

every man has a personal responsibility for the welfare of the community in which he lives. By turning this war into a struggle to make a decent life genuinely possible for all, we shall equip ourselves with a faith which is as fine as the Nazi faith is evil, without being one whit less dynamic.

### (i) What We Have at Stake

For all its limitations and blemishes, the form of democracy which has so far been achieved in Britain is something of which we may reasonably be proud. Taking advantage of our island immunity from foreign invasions, we have been able to build up slowly through the centuries a system of living together which was, until recent years, the envy of the world.

#### *At Home—*

During these centuries we have destroyed the power of arbitrary rulers—kings and noblemen—and we have established a form of government which enables every man and woman to take a hand in the business of running their community, through popularly elected local Councils and a national Parliament. We have established the right of every citizen to be protected against violence, whether coming from other individuals or from public authorities, and we have won recognition for the principle of "equality before the law." Not without struggle, we have won freedom to speak our minds, to print our opinions in newspapers and books, to hold public meetings, to form associations such as trade unions and co-operative societies, and to worship where and how we please. As a result of a long history of Parliamentary and local administrative action we have given protection to the worker, introduced a wide range of educational, health, and other social services, and, by the heavy taxation of the well-to-do, greatly reduced the startling inequalities of income which came into existence with the growth of modern industrialism.

#### *—And in the Empire*

In our territories overseas we have shown that we know how to colonise and develop the resources of backward areas and, despite some dark patches and many mistakes, we have discovered entirely new principles—varying from the conception of "Dominion status" to the idea of Colonial "trusteeship"—of governing men.

### (ii) Life under the Nazis

These things are enormously important but they tend to be taken for granted, like the air which we breathe. We do not realise their high value. Nor do we fully appreciate the danger in which they stand, in spite of the object lessons to which we have been treated in recent months in German-occupied Europe. Yet it is virtually certain that if the Nazis conquered this island all our democratic institutions would speedily disappear; voluntary associations such as trade unions, friendly societies and the like would either be disbanded or, more likely, taken over by the State. And our freedom of speech and publication, possibly even our freedom of worship, would cease to exist.

If Germany were victorious, the last remaining political democracies—Sweden and Switzerland as well as Great Britain—would go the way of Norway, Czechoslovakia and France. Civil liberty would go with them. Compulsory labour, imposed at the will of an irresponsible Government in most occupied countries, would come to stay. And the hope of continuous measures of social reform would be dashed to the ground. Anyone who doubts these probabilities need only study the events, in one occupied country after another, on the continent of Europe during the last two years.



### 3. The Methods of Democracy

Democracy is a system which enables every citizen to take part in the business of government. When it was first tried out in ancient Athens it was limited to the free men of that city, and the fact that their numbers were relatively small (a few thousands at most) made it possible for all of them to come together in one place for the purpose of discussing civic affairs. This practice is still followed in our own Parish Meetings, in the townships of New England and in some of the Swiss Cantons.

#### (i) Representative Government

However, in modern times, with the growth of large populations, this form of direct democracy generally became impracticable and various methods of representation began to be used. In Britain, where modern democratic institutions grew up which became the pattern for other nations, they eventually took the form of popularly elected local Councils and a popularly elected House of Commons. Instead of attending meetings of local Councils and Parliament themselves, citizens send representatives, chosen by ballot from a list of candidates. These representatives, who usually wish to retain their position, tend to reflect in Parliament and Council chamber the prevailing political opinions and wishes of the people to whose judgment they will again have to submit themselves after a period of years.

#### (ii) The Parties

Candidates for election are, for the most part, members of organised groups called political parties, and it is usual for the party with a majority of members in the House of Commons to form a Government with its leader as Prime Minister. Thus it is possible for the ordinary citizen to influence the policy of his country at several stages. He (or she) can take part in the discussions about this policy or that in his local party meetings, Conservative, Labour or whatever it may happen to be, though he may find his local party organisation moribund or dead and his first task may be to bring it to life. Then he can take his part in the election of his Member of Parliament and, thereafter, continue to keep in touch with him—if only by sending him postcards!—in the hope of keeping him up to scratch. He can write to the papers, take part in campaigns advocating policies which may range from "Pensions for Spinsters" to "Justice for India," and he can play his humble but important part in turning out the Government at the next General Election if it has not given satisfaction to the majority of the electors.

#### (iii) Contrast with Dictatorship

This system is the opposite of a dictatorship such as exists in Germany and Italy. In each of those countries the leader (Fuehrer or Duce) has established himself by intimidation and force, has chosen his own henchmen, created his own secret police, and, after the first phase of his power, has abandoned all pretence of consulting the wishes of his people, except to obtain from them a regimented "Yes" on certain gala occasions. The only way in which the German people can get rid of their Nazi Government (apart from our doing it for them) is to have a "blood bath." The free peoples have invented a way of periodically changing their Governments, peacefully and without tears, if they no longer command the confidence of those to whom they must look for their support.

This system of government puts a heavy responsibility on the ordinary citizen. It is he who is ultimately responsible for the policies or lack of policies which made it impossible to prevent the outbreak of this war. Unlike National Socialism and Fascism, democracy is an *adult* form of government which can only be worked

successfully by responsible grown-up people. The tragedy of the last twenty years is that the people of the great democracies, including our own, failed so lamentably to rise to their responsibilities.

#### 4. The Unfulfilled Promise—Another Chance

Compared with what we have reason to fear if the Nazis have their way, the condition of Britain is almost heavenly. Once the need for such a dire comparison has been eliminated by victory, however, few people are likely to confuse masses without work, half-derelict mining communities, the slums of Glasgow, the undersized bodies of ill-nourished children, or the shocking scars on the loveliness of the English countryside with any heavenly thing. The fact is that, in spite of all the social progress in the years between the wars, there is still a great deal which cries out to be remedied in the condition of Britain.

##### (i) Targets for Action

The war has eliminated some of these social evils, notably unemployment, for the time being. Others, such as malnutrition among poor children, have actually been eased by the wartime food policy of the Government. The war has greatly intensified the difficulties of the housing situation, but the blitzing of our cities has created an opportunity, unrivalled since the Great Fire of London, for reconstructing many of our towns and cities on far more civilised and convenient lines. When the war comes to an end, these and many other problems of the transition from war to peace will challenge us to take action, and the democratic way of doing things will again be put continuously on trial.

This is not all. The war has been, among many other things, an excellent teacher of economics. It has shown conclusively that unemployment is not inevitable, and that the things which set the limit to what is possible in improving material conditions are not pounds, shillings and pence, but the quality and quantity of the nation's resources in manpower and raw materials.

Life will not be easy for some time after the war. Continued sacrifices will probably be necessary for several years. But given a clear expression of the democratic will of the people, given unmistakable battle orders to those whom we put in authority over ourselves, there is no reason why we should not make the fullest use of all our resources to create a much finer civilisation than anything we have ever known.

##### (ii) Our Big Ideas

The dynamic idea of democracy, as we have seen, is the belief that every man, whatever his race or colour, should have an equal chance of making the best of what is in him. If we follow this idea wherever it takes us, we shall let ourselves in for several startling changes—in the distribution of employment and wealth, in the provision of education and other social services, and in the creation of new opportunities for adventure and public service. Applied internationally, it would lead to a great extension of political responsibilities and a lifting of the standard of life of the peasants and factory workers of less advanced countries throughout the world.

Surely in these things there is a challenge to action more compelling, a goal of national endeavour more inspiring, than anything to which the Nazis can look.

These are *our* "big ideas," ideas which are in the main stream of human progress, the realisation of which will keep us and our children busy, long after the last Nazi has rotted in his grave.

## 5. Dynamic Democracy

If we have accepted the challenge of these "big ideas" it is plain that we have taken on a heavy responsibility. There are many lions in the path, and many formidable problems to solve. It is up to us to see that the Government shoots or scales away the lions and to insist that there is no unreasonable delay in translating the ideas into carefully thought-out working propositions.

### (i) Planning Today for Tomorrow

Already, it is good to know that the present Government is making preparation to meet some of the problems which are certain to arise when the war is over and won. Thus a Ministry of Works and Buildings was established in 1940 (later the Ministry of Works and Planning), partly for the purpose of making plans for the reconstruction of blitzed towns and cities. Official committees of experts have also been set up to deal with the difficult problems of demobilisation, land ownership and compensation, rural industry and the future of the social services. Particular reconstruction problems are also being studied in the Board of Trade, in the Ministry of Agriculture, and in other Government Departments. Outside the Government, private organisations such as Nuffield College, Oxford, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Political and Economic Planning and the Fabian Society are also at work on the study of post-war problems.

### (ii) Our Responsibility

These things are good so far as they go, but the responsibility still rests with the ordinary citizen to see that the Government takes the measures necessary for carrying out a sound progressive policy. When the next General Election comes along, reconstruction problems will doubtless play an important part in the campaign and electors will have to be prepared to judge between the various programmes which are put forward.

### (iii) What It Involves

But the ordinary citizen has an even greater responsibility. Government action costs money and this may mean a further increase in taxation. It may involve continuing loss of liberty—for example, an extension of military service or the retention of some Government controls. It may in some circumstances call for harder work or a temporary reduction of earnings. This is the sort of consideration which the ordinary citizen has the right to have put before him plainly, so that he can weigh the expected benefits of any line of policy against its expected pains and costs. He may criticise most vigorously and do all he can to prevent any passage of a measure, if he feels so disposed, but, once the Government has decided on its policy, the democratic citizen must come into line and accept the decision of the majority on any contested point. For only by patience, good-humour and loyalty to majority decisions can the democratic system work.

## Chapter II.

## PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

*"We differ from other States in regarding the man who holds aloof from public life not as quiet but as useless."*—(Pericles.)

### 1. The Growth of Parliament

The chief contribution of the British people to the progress of mankind has been to work out a system whereby ordinary men and women can take a hand in the business of governing their country. This system—Parliamentary democracy—was not invented overnight. It is the product of a long period of evolution and struggle, reaching back over nearly 700 years of eventful history. During these years profound changes have taken place in the character of Parliament, though many ancient forms and ceremonies survive to this day and, throughout its history, it has provided an opportunity for citizens of more than one social class to speak their mind about the grievances of the day, to influence the making of laws, and to keep an eye on the way in which public money has been raised and spent.

#### Parliament Becomes Representative

After a bitter struggle with the King in the 17th century, Parliament became supreme—but for nearly 150 years it represented only a very small section of the community. During the 19th century, however, the House of Commons was made much more representative. The right to vote was gradually extended until, in 1928, the position was achieved that all men and women over 21 were entitled to the vote—except criminals, lunatics and peers.

But more was needed. It is one thing to have a vote; it is another—as the Nazis have shown us in recent years—to be able to use it freely. For this reason the religious or property tests for anyone seeking to become a candidate had to be destroyed, and this done, the payment of Members, introduced in 1911, made it easier for poor men to stand. For the same reason the secrecy of the ballot was necessary and our measures for that, and for the prevention of bribery and corruption, have certainly given the exercise of the vote in Britain a freedom from intimidation unequalled anywhere in the world.

### 2. Parliamentary Government Today

Parliamentary government today is still made up of three elements—the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons—but in the course of history the relative importance of these three elements has changed a great deal. Constitutionally the King is still the centre and source of government. In his name all new laws are made and carried out. Thus the Royal Assent is legally necessary before any Parliamentary measure becomes the law of the land. But the role of the King is now symbolic and formal. The power which he once exercised has passed to Parliament and he no longer takes any part in political life except when his advice is sought by his Ministers. Of the two Parliamentary assemblies the House of Lords has lost much of its former importance since its powers were reduced by the Parliament Act in 1911. The House of Commons—freely elected by the people as a whole—is now supreme.

#### (i) The King

Although the King no longer exercises any political authority, his importance must not be underestimated. The formality that all laws proceed from the King makes him a living symbol of national unity; at the same time the fact that he

has no share in politics prevents any identification with party or policy which would damage that unity. And, of course, above and beyond these constitutional considerations is the personal loyalty to the Royal Family which is shared by British people not only in Britain but throughout the Empire.

## (ii) The House of Lords

The House of Lords is not a popularly elected assembly. It consists of 783 peers—including 16 Scottish representative peers, 26 bishops, 15 Irish representative peers, and a small group of law lords engaged on highly important judicial work. Very few members of the House of Lords take part in its activities; but those who do include some of the ablest and most experienced men who have served the country and the Empire. It is not commonly realised how many new ideas, which later gain general acceptance, are given their first "airing" in the calmer atmosphere of the Second Chamber.

### *The Limitations on its Power*

The power of the House of Lords to overrule the decisions of the House of Commons has been greatly curtailed since the passing of the Parliament Act. Formerly *all* bills in Parliament had to receive the approval of *both* Houses and the assent of the King before they passed into law. Since 1911 "Money Bills" (that is to say, measures dealing with finance) which are sent up by the House of Commons, but not passed by the House of Lords within a month, become law on receiving the Royal Assent which is nowadays given without question as a matter of form. Any other measure which is passed by the House of Commons in three successive Parliamentary sessions during a period of not less than two years, and is rejected by the House of Lords in each of those sessions, will also become law without the consent of the Lords. The House of Lords can delay legislation (other than Money Bills), but it can no longer prevent the passage of a measure on which the House of Commons is determined to press.

In spite of these restrictions on the power of the House of Lords many writers criticise the continued existence of a hereditary "Second Chamber" in a democratic constitution. Some people would like to abolish it altogether. Others would like to reform it. It cannot be said that this is a subject which provokes much excitement today. But it is quite possible that it will again become an important political issue in the future.

## (iii) The House of Commons\*

The House of Commons, as we have said, is supreme. How then is it made up?

### (a) *How Is the House Composed?*

The House of Commons is an elected body composed of 615 Members, of whom 528 represent English and Welsh constituencies, 74 come from Scotland, and 13 from Northern Ireland. Of the 615 Members, 300 represent county divisions (rural areas and small towns), and 303 represent borough constituencies (towns and cities). The remaining 12 are elected for the universities.

It is some time (1918) since the present distribution of constituencies was arranged. Since then the increase in the number of electors and the great movements in population which have taken place have made the scheme much less representative. In 1935, for example, the Hendon Division of Middlesex had over 180,000 electors,

\* See the summary of the two Reports by the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform and Redistribution of Seats, on pp. 557-60.

while Bethnal Green, S.W., had less than 27,000. The war has resulted in many more changes by increasing the movement of population, and by the fact that those who have reached voting-age since 1939 have not been added to the voting lists.\*

### (b) *The System of Elections*

A General Election, covering all constituencies, must normally be held in Britain at least every five years, though in war-time Parliament has agreed to postpone it until the danger is passed. In addition, a General Election may be held at any time when the Government in power decides that an appeal to the country is necessary, and Bye-Elections follow the death or resignation of individual Members.

### (c) *The Expenses of Membership*

While it is true that virtually everyone is "eligible" to stand for Parliament, it does not follow that everyone who wishes to stand is, in fact, in a position to do so. In the first place, it costs a good deal of money to fight an election. In order to discourage "freak" candidatures, every person standing for election has to pay a deposit of £150, which is forfeit unless he polls at least one-eighth of the total number of votes cast. Then there are heavy expenses for publicity, the booking of halls for speaking and rooms for committee work, and the production of election literature. Even in the case of wealthy candidates, if they have serious intentions of being elected, an election organisation, with a large body of active supporters, preferably under the direction of a professional election agent, is in most constituencies considered absolutely essential. Once elected, it is a very expensive business being a Member of Parliament. The salary of £600 a year does not go very far after the deduction of income tax, secretarial and postal expenses, often the maintenance of two homes (one in London, another elsewhere), and the expenses of "nursing" a constituency for the next election.

Men with private incomes and men who can combine their normal employment with being Members of Parliament (e.g. lawyers, journalists, business directors, trade union secretaries) can get over some of these difficulties. Poor men who can get the backing of a trade union or some other body also find it possible. In any case the need for a permanent electoral organisation is almost inescapable and this means that most candidates—rich or poor—must be sponsored by a political party.

## 3. The Political Parties

No one can understand the working of the British Parliamentary system without taking account of the political parties. They are often criticised but it is very difficult to see how we could get on without them. The isolated individual can do very little, and it is not only natural but necessary for men with broadly similar interests and opinions to combine if they wish to exert any influence.

### (i) *The Parties in Action*

Parties also play an important part in the political education of the people. In peacetime Parliament is liable to be dissolved at any moment. This means that political parties must be in constant readiness for a General Election. They must carry on a ceaseless campaign of support for, or criticism of, the Government of the day and "by means of a continuous stream of meetings, lectures, pamphlets, broadcasts, conferences, books and other methods, seek to persuade the public of the

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\* Since this was first published, the Parliament (Elections and Meeting) Act, 1943, provided for the creation of a new voting list, with a special section for Service men and women so that they might vote.

merits of the policies for which they stand, and the defects in their opponents' programme. For this purpose they must maintain throughout the country a network of local party organisations, most of them with paid secretaries or agents; and a substantial headquarters' staff at the central office."\*

Before a General Election takes place, there is always a great deal of discussion within the various political parties concerning the programme on which they are going to fight the election. As a result the electors are given a choice of political policies about which to make up their minds. At the same time the leaders of the various parties usually make public speeches, write newspaper articles, and, what is now very important, give wireless talks. Thus the electors have some opportunity of forming an up-to-date judgment about the men who will constitute the Government if the election goes this way or that.

## (ii) Party Government

When the result of the election is known the King (acting according to the custom of the constitution) sends for the leader of the largest party and asks him to form a new Government. Thus in 1935, when the Conservatives and their associates had a clear majority over the opposing parties, the King sent for Mr. Baldwin, the leader of the Conservatives. In 1929, when the Labour Party was the largest party, though it had not a clear majority over all other parties, the King sent for Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who was at that time leader of the Labour Party. In 1935, Mr. Baldwin was able to form a Government drawn from among his supporters in the House of Commons, in the knowledge that he was certain to get the approval of Parliament for his action. Mr. Macdonald formed a Labour Government, which was, however, dependent on Liberal support in the House of Commons to secure a majority.

## (iii) The Opposition

While the largest party in the House of Commons normally becomes His Majesty's Government, the second largest party becomes His Majesty's Opposition. This is a conception which many foreigners find very strange, and when they discover that the Leader of the Opposition is paid a salary of £2,000 a year out of public funds they are often frankly astonished. Why should we go out of our way to encourage and even to subsidise opposition?

The explanation is, of course, that we have hit upon the device of the "official Opposition" as a means of keeping the Government of the day "up to scratch" without sabotaging the conduct of public business. It is the duty of the Opposition, not to obstruct, but to submit the activities and proposals of the Government to searching criticism, to make constructive suggestions and to put forward its own alternative policy plainly, so that the general public can make up its mind about the merits of the case. More than that, the Opposition is essential to the operation of the Parliamentary principle that the majority should not use its power as a heedless steam-roller but should accommodate minority claims. This is constantly being done and Bills are frequently altered, not because their original form was uncertain of a majority, but in a desire to satisfy a minority demand.

The existence of an organised Opposition is also a reminder that there is an alternative Government available if the Government loses the confidence of the House of Commons. It is salutary for a Government to know that if they show signs of "falling down on the job" there is another body of men who are ready to take it over from them.

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\* The British System of Government: W. A. Robson: p. 16.

#### (iv) **Coalition Government**

In times of national crisis, such as the last war and the war now in progress, party issues are dwarfed by the tremendous task of mobilising all the resources of the country to defeat the enemy. During the last war Conservatives and Labour men joined with the Liberals (who then had a large majority in the House of Commons) to form Coalition Governments, first under Mr. Asquith and later under Mr. Lloyd George. At the outbreak of this war the Labour and Liberal Parties remained in modified opposition, but a party truce was declared. In April 1940 they agreed to enter a National Government, under the leadership of Mr. Winston Churchill. Thus the present Government includes members of each of the three major parties and, at the time of writing, enjoys the general, though by no means uncritical, support of an overwhelming majority of members of the House of Commons.

### **4. The Government at Work**

An assembly of 615 people is obviously too large to decide the details of policy or to conduct the day-to-day business of government. Plainly an executive committee is called for. This executive committee, better known as the Cabinet, is normally composed of leading members of the majority party or group of parties in the House of Commons, together with some members of the House of Lords.

#### (i) **The Cabinet**

Collectively, members of the Cabinet are responsible for all the actions of the Government. Individually, they control the various Departments of State and are known by such distinguishing names as Secretary of State for War, President of the Board of Trade, First Lord of the Admiralty, Minister of Health and so on. There may also be one or two Cabinet Ministers without special departmental duties, holding such ancient titles as Lord Privy Seal or Lord President of the Council. They are first chosen and then presided over by the Prime Minister, usually the leader of the majority party, whose position is that of "first among equals."

For war purposes there is now a small inner Cabinet—called the War Cabinet. Other Cabinet Ministers usually attend War Cabinet meetings when the business of their own Departments is being discussed.

#### *The Work of the Cabinet*

The Cabinet is the central executive committee of the Government. It takes the initiative in deciding policy, controlling the Departments of State, conducting foreign affairs, supervising the national finances and arranging most of the business of the House of Commons. In the absence of a friendly House of Commons it could get no money to pay for government activities and no new laws could be passed. For this reason the Cabinet must always be mindful of the feelings of the House of Commons.

#### (ii) **Parliamentary Control**

Members of Parliament are very watchful of the activities of Government Departments, especially where they affect the rights of the citizen. When Cabinet Ministers ask the House of Commons to vote them money to carry on their Departments, they have to make a report on the work which they are doing and submit to a cross-examination if the Members are not satisfied. Almost every day on which Parliament meets, an hour is set aside for questions to Ministers. This is a time-honoured Parliamentary custom which is used by Members, not only to raise matters of high policy, but also to make such enquiries as why Mrs. Jones of Cardiff hasn't



got her widow's pension ; why John Smith of Sheffield has been wrongfully detained by the police ; why the village of Thistlebottom has never had its promised water supply ; or why the evacuation of schoolchildren from Blacktown to Whiteshire was such a catastrophe.

If there is strong feeling in the country, as there was, for example, about the " Means Test " (in 1935), about the Abyssinian situation (in 1936), about Tube shelters (in 1940), Members of Parliament soon hear about it in their constituencies. They then raise the matter both in the House of Commons and privately with members of the Government.

Dependence on the support of the House of Commons and sensitiveness to public opinion effectively prevent British Cabinets from developing into dictatorships. On the other hand, the powers of the Cabinet are very far-reaching, especially in war-time. It is chiefly through this device of a Cabinet that Parliamentary government is able to deal with an urgent situation swiftly and decisively.

## 5. Advantages of the British System

The British system of Parliamentary democracy has five great advantages :—

- (i) It makes it possible for practically every grown-up person to take part, without fear or favour, in the free election of a Government.
- (ii) It provides a reasonable chance of obtaining a stable Government, with far-reaching executive powers, normally based on the support of a large party with a majority in the House of Commons. (Contrast the experience of pre-Nazi Germany and pre-war France with their unstable Governments based on uneasy alliances between groups of parties.)
- (iii) It provides means whereby the ordinary citizen can bring pressure to bear on the Government of the day through his party organisation or through the intervention of his Member of Parliament.
- (iv) It makes it possible (as a result of the party system) for the ordinary citizen to choose between alternative political programmes and between alternative groups of political leaders—taking account of their past records in Government or Opposition as well as of their promises for the future.
- (v) It provides a peaceful means of removing a Government which has fallen into disfavour and of replacing it by another Government which commands more confidence.

## 6. Some Criticisms of the System\*

We have every reason to be proud of our system of Parliamentary democracy. But no system is perfect, and many who recognise its good qualities have criticised some of its features. Some of these criticisms are well worth discussing ; for example :—

- (i) There are many who claim that we should " get away from party politics " altogether. They think the " best men," irrespective of party, should run the country. In times of war and crisis, where there is general agreement about immediate aims, most people accept this view. In normal times, when greater divergences of view are almost inevitable, it is not so simple. On what basis are the " best men " to be chosen ? Is it likely that they will all agree ? If some of them do not, will they be an effective Opposition unless they form some kind of party ?

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\*See the summary of the two Reports by the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform and Redistribution of Seats on pp. 557–60.

- (ii) Among those who believe in the retention of the party system there are many who consider that the political parties are not sufficiently careful about their selection of Parliamentary candidates. They think that electors are often given a very poor choice and that many suitable men and women have no chance of being considered under present conditions. Would it help for the State to limit and pay the election expenses of all candidates, provided a minimum of support was gained?
- (iii) There are others who think that the electoral system is not truly representative, leading in various ways to disparity between votes cast and seats won. Thus, in 1931, the Labour Party, which had 288 seats, lost 236, although its total vote dropped only from 8,400,000 to 6,700,000. The comparatively slight swing-over, however, was so distributed as to tip the balance in a very large number of constituencies.  
As a remedy some people favour systems of "proportional representation". These take many forms but aim essentially at giving to each party a number of seats proportional to the total votes it gets in an area much larger than the present constituency.
- (iv) Government business is now so extensive and complicated that some observers believe that it is impossible for Parliament to exercise effective control over the Departments of State. Some people think this could be overcome by introducing a system whereby Committees of M.P.s would supervise the activities of particular Departments. Others suggest that there should be some measure of devolution, perhaps by delegating control of more local affairs to national authorities for Scotland and Wales, and even to regional authorities in England.
- (v) Many people think that Parliament is too slow for the times. They suggest that it should be speeded up by cutting out unnecessary formality and ceremony.
- (vi) The first necessity for making Parliamentary government work is the driving power of an informed and active electorate. Would compulsory voting help to produce this?

## 7. The Conditions of Survival

We have every reason to be proud of our system of Parliamentary democracy. It has been a powerful instrument of social progress in the past. It can be so in the future; but only on these conditions:—

- (i) We must win this war. Hitler would enjoy smashing our Parliamentary system.
- (ii) We must defend our civil liberties. Without free assembly, free speech, a free Press and fair broadcasting, Parliamentary democracy would be a sham.
- (iii) We must maintain our tradition of tolerance in politics. Most good ideas were minority ideas once.
- (iv) We must find out what politics is about and learn to be responsible citizens. This means study, argument, taking part in political life, and keeping our public representatives up to the mark.
- (v) Above all, we must see to it that our Parliament is true to its own tradition—by keeping on reforming itself and by continuing to serve as a watchdog of liberty.

## Chapter III.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

*Local government "is the first line defence, thrown up by the community against our common enemies—poverty, sickness, ignorance, isolation and social maladjustment."*  
—(Winifred Holby.)

### 1. Relation of Central and Local Government

The idea of local self-government is to be found very far back in British history. It existed in some form long before national self-government was thought of at all. Even in Roman times there was a kind of "municipal council" in York, Lincoln, Colchester and other towns of the period. London is thought to have had some form of self-government before the Norman Conquest. Bristol and Newcastle have been Royal Boroughs for over a thousand years. Although times have changed and, with them, many of the forms and practices of these ancient boroughs, the spirit of local independence which they expressed has never been allowed to die.

#### (i) The Need to Decentralise

The need for that local government has of course increased as the central government has become more and more active in promoting and directing the welfare of the people. While it was still considered the business of the government simply to hold the ring, within which private individuals lived and moved and had their being, largely free of any control, the State required comparatively little in the way of administration or machinery for intervention. But increasingly the government has come into the ring, active and positive, providing a vast network of services and controls. To carry these out effectively, it has become necessary to break down the State into smaller pieces to meet the need for detailed administration.

#### (ii) Centrally-Appointed or Locally-Elected Authorities?

This process of "breaking-down" may be done in two ways. The first is to send out officials from the centre to establish regional and local offices and this method is seen in the organisation of the Ministry of Labour. The second method is to delegate some of the power to locally-elected authorities, which under the appropriate Ministries of Parliament carry out certain functions. This delegation makes these authorities very important in the government of Britain. Some, like the London County Council and the West Riding County Council, cover populations equal to some European States, have annual budgets of millions of pounds and employ very large staffs.

### 2. Powers of Local Authorities

Under the second method, then, the power of the Local Authorities "is derived from Parliament and consequently no Local Authority may do anything for which it is not possible to show that the duty or the power to take such action has been expressly conferred"\* by Parliament. But this does not mean that the Local Authorities simply rubber-stamp and carry out detailed policies specified by Parliament. It is true that a good deal of what they do consists of duties imposed by Parliament, i.e. Parliament passes what are called "*mandatory*" laws, stating that a Local Authority *shall* do such and such a thing. But it would be entirely against the tradition of Local Authorities, and against the fact of their local election, if they had no power of initiative and of local progress.

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\* The A.B.C. of Local Government : C. Kent Wright : p. 171.

## The Scope for Local Initiative

This need is met in various ways: by "*permissive*" laws in Parliament which state that a Local Authority *may* do something and leave the ultimate decision to the Local Authorities: by the scope of the Local Authority for getting Parliament to pass a local Act permitting a special local experiment, e.g. a municipal bank in Birmingham; and, in a more minor way, by the power of Local Authorities to pass bye-laws, dealing for their areas with such minor matters as the refusal to allow the erection of shanties in the back-garden. It is of course the duty of the voters to see that their Local Authority makes the fullest possible use of these powers.

## 3. Structure of Local Government

In the next four sections we shall be concerned specifically with English local government and then in Section 7 note some of the differences in Scotland.

### (i) Different Kinds of Council

Since 1929 the pattern of English local government has remained the same. Apart from London—which is a special case—there are six kinds of local Council:—

83 County Borough Councils.

62 County Councils.

289 Municipal Borough Councils—for middle-sized towns.

650 Urban District Councils—for smaller towns.

485 Rural District Councils.

11,300 Parish Councils (or Parish Meetings).

The work of these Authorities varies in scope from the County Boroughs, which perform *all* local government functions in the larger towns and cities, to the Parish Councils (or Parish Meetings) which perform a few limited responsibilities in small country areas.

### *Division of Responsibilities*

Outside the large towns, England and Wales is divided into 62 administrative counties, within which the work is divided between different Authorities.

In the middle-sized and smaller towns the work is divided on a *two-decker* basis between the *County Council* (which looks after secondary education, public assistance, public libraries and some other services throughout the county) and the *Municipal Borough or Urban District Councils* (which are responsible for the rest of the work in their areas).

In the rural parts of the county the work is divided up on a *three-decker* basis between the County Council, the Rural District Councils, and the Councils (or Meetings) of parishes—into which the rural districts are further divided. Not every parish, however, has a Parish Council. Some are content to be looked after by the Rural District Council. Others confine themselves to a Parish Meeting, i.e. a periodical meeting of local electors which can make official representations to the Rural District Council on parish matters.

### (ii) An Example from Derbyshire

This arrangement of local government areas is easier to follow if the position in a particular county is examined. Derbyshire, for example, has one county borough—Derby—with a Council which looks after *all* local government matters in the town. The rest of Derbyshire is divided into the municipal boroughs of

Buxton, Chesterfield, Glossop and Ilkeston ; 16 Urban District Councils, of which Alfreton and Bolsover are two examples ; and 9 Rural District Councils of which Bakewell is one.

If we happen to live in Derby the whole of our local government business is transacted by the Derby County Borough Council. If we live in Chesterfield we find that the Town Council owns its own gas, electricity, public library and has its own police force and manages elementary education, whereas the Derbyshire County Council is responsible for secondary education, public assistance and for the maintenance of most of the roads. If we happen to live in the parish of Youlgreave, in the rural district of Bakewell, we shall have not two, but three Councils. The Youlgreave Parish Council provides allotments and helps to maintain the village hall ; the Bakewell Rural District Council deals with sewerage, provides a piped water-supply, and has built a number of cottages ; and again the Derbyshire County Council is responsible for education and public assistance and directly maintains most of the roads.

### (iii) Local Government in London

Owing to its size and importance the local government of London has always presented special problems. For its origins we have to go back to Roman times, but the modern system is, for the most part, of recent date. The City Corporation of London—which governs the historic square mile in the business centre of the city—is an ancient foundation, but the much more important London County Council was not created until 1888. The 28 metropolitan boroughs into which (together with the City Corporation) the county of London is now divided only came into existence in 1899.

The City Corporation performs all local government functions in its small area. In the 117 square miles of the county of London outside the city the work is divided between the L.C.C.—which is responsible for all forms of education, public assistance, some public health matters, and many other activities—and the metropolitan boroughs—which administer, among other things, local sewerage, drainage, and sanitation, the removal of refuse, the provision of maternity and child welfare centres, libraries, baths and washhouses, street lights and markets. Unlike other County Councils the L.C.C. has no control over main roads (although it can name them) or the police.

Some services in London are provided by special authorities. Thus the London Passenger Transport Board is a public authority responsible for all forms of transport in the Greater London area. The Metropolitan Water Board supplies water ; and the Port of London Authority controls the port facilities. These bodies serve areas much wider than the County Council area, which includes little more than half the population of Greater London.

## 4. What Local Authorities Do

Local Councils are now responsible for a wide range of services touching the life of the ordinary citizen at many different points. Broadly speaking they fall into four groups :—

(i) **Social Services** : to improve the personal well-being of the individual.

Some social services are provided for citizens of a particular age, e.g. maternity and child welfare, school medical services, education, junior instruction centres, houses for elderly people. Others are concerned with all citizens in misfortune, whether due to disease or poverty, e.g. hospitals and clinics, the welfare of the blind, mental health services, public assistance.

(ii) **Environmental Services** : to improve the environment of the citizen.

For convenience environmental services can be classified in three groups—those responsible for (a) provision, (b) prevention, (c) removal.

(a) <i>Provision</i>	(b) <i>Prevention</i>	(c) <i>Removal</i>
Housing.	Prevention of nuisances.	Sewage disposal.
Town planning.	Prohibition of sale of milk	Refuse removal.
Highways and bridges.	from tuberculous cows,	Street cleaning.
Street lighting.	etc.	Elimination of rats and
Baths and wash-houses.	Prevention of flooding.	vermin.
Parks and pleasure grounds.		

(iii) **Protective Services** : against breaches of the law, fire, enemy action, etc.

Until recently the main protective services under the control of Local Authorities were the police, fire-brigade services, and the various civil defence services. Throughout the country the police are partly under the control of the central government. In Greater London, the Metropolitan Police are under the direct control of the Home Office. In 1941 the local responsibility for fire protection was transferred to a newly created National Fire Service.

(iv) **Trading Services** : such as provision of gas, water, electricity.

Most Local Authorities in urban areas and some country Authorities have established trading undertakings of various kinds. For the most part these undertakings are public utilities—that is, undertakings supplying essential public services, such as water, gas, electricity, and local transport. The annual expenditure on these services by all Local Authorities increased from £8·6 millions in 1885 to £106·7 millions in 1931.

## 5. How the Councils Are Composed

The local Councils are representative bodies ; votes in their election are held, generally speaking, by all persons over 21 who own or occupy land or premises, including the husbands or wives of such persons and including people living in unfurnished lodgings. Thus the local government franchise excludes many who have Parliamentary votes, such as the sons and daughters of the house.

(i) **The Limitation of the Right to Vote\***

In local government, therefore, property is still the basis of the right to vote, on the principle that this right should be given only to those who have “ a stake in the community ” and who generally have a financial responsibility for the upkeep of the community through the payment of rates.

(ii) **Councillors and Aldermen**

Elections normally take place every year, when a proportion of the Councillors retire in rotation. The L.C.C. follows a rather different course, the entire Council being elected every three years.

In the county borough, the county and in the municipal borough, provision is also made for the Council to appoint Aldermen, to the number of one-third of the Council. The Aldermen are usually men with long records of local public service. They are members of the Council and enjoy a longer term of office than the elected

\* See the summary of the interim Report by the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform and Redistribution of Seats on pp 557–8.

members. All service by Councillors and Aldermen is voluntary and unpaid, though County Councils pay expenses incurred by members who have to travel to Council meetings and committees.

The civic head of a city is called the Lord Mayor. County boroughs and municipal boroughs which are not "cities" have Mayors. Lord Mayors and Mayors preside over the meetings of their Councils, but they do not exercise the executive powers which many mayors and burgomasters possess in other countries. They receive no salaries, but they usually receive allowances for entertainment expenses. A County Council, District Council or Parish Council is presided over by a Chairman who is normally appointed every year.

### (iii) The Committee System

Owing to the increasingly wide range and complex nature of local government activities, the main work of most local Councils (apart from the Parish Councils) is now done in committees, though the committee decisions must be approved by the Councils. The number of committees varies with the size and importance of the work. The large Authorities normally have at least an education committee, a public health committee, and a finance committee, but some Councils work through large numbers of committees on various subjects. Cities such as Birmingham or Liverpool will have over thirty committees and more than a hundred sub-committees of one sort and another.

Every member of a local Council normally serves on one committee or more and several sub-committees. Most Councils make a practice of co-opting outside persons to committees.

### (iv) The Local Civil Service

The elected representatives make the decisions of policy: the carrying out of these decisions is largely the work of the local government officials. The Medical Officer of Health is in charge of the Council's health services. He is the administrative head of the Public Health Department—with its staff of assistant medical officers, doctors, nurses, infant welfare officers, sanitary inspectors, and so on. The Director of Education is in the same position with regard to the education services, and the Borough or County Treasurer, the Borough or County Surveyor and the Chief Constable—to name only a few other senior officials—are responsible for the services which their names imply. The Town Clerk, County Clerk, or Clerk to the District Council—as the case may be—is the chief legal officer, though in many places he carries out a wide range of functions which give him a position of great authority and influence.

Excluding teachers, there were, in 1939, over 160,000 persons in the service of local government authorities in England and Wales. It is upon the efficiency of these public servants that the quality of the work performed by the Local Authorities very largely depends.

## 6. How the Councils Pay their Way

The total annual revenue of Local Authorities in England and Wales came to rather more than £680 millions in 1938—more than half as much as the total revenue of the central government, and over one-seventh of the value of all the goods and services produced in the country during a year. Another way of putting it is to say that local government costs about £17 per head of the population.

**(i) Local Revenues**

This large sum was made up roughly in the following proportions:—

<i>Forms of Current Revenues=4/5</i>			<i>Specially Raised for Capital Expenditure=1/5</i>		
Rates	...	£190 millions	Loans and some smaller		
Trading Services	...	£150 "	items	...	£140 millions
Government Grants	...	£140 "			
Rents from Property and					
Miscellaneous	...	£60 "			

It is worth-while looking at some of these items in more detail.

**(ii) The Rates**

Although "the rates" are responsible for a much smaller proportion of local government income than most people suppose, they are the most important single source of local revenue. They take the form of a local tax, levied on the estimated annual value of fixed property such as houses, shops and business premises (but not industrial buildings which have been "de-rated" since 1930). Thus if the estimated annual value of fixed property in a town is £2 millions, a rate of 10s. in the £1 would bring in £1 million to the local exchequer.

The rates levied in different areas vary widely, partly according to the "rateable value" of the local property and partly according to the burden of local expenditure. Prosperous towns which have a lot of taxable property and only a small expenditure on social services, tend to have low rates. Depressed towns with heavy social service expenditure tend to have high rates, even though they receive extra help from the central government in the form of "grants-in-aid." In Hastings a rate of 9s. 8d. in the £ brought in £358,693 in 1938; whereas in Merthyr Tydfil (with a population roughly the same size) a rate of 26s. 6d. in the £ brought in only £297,514.

**(iii) Grants-in-Aid**

Inequalities in the economic position of different Local Authorities are, to some extent, ironed out with the help of grants-in-aid from the central government. Some of these grants are paid on a percentage basis—for example, 50 per cent. of all approved expenditure on secondary education. In some cases, the percentage is varied according to the economic condition of the area—for example, 60 per cent. of approved civil defence expenditure in Hastings, 75 per cent. in Merthyr Tydfil. But a considerable amount of central government assistance is given in the form of "block grants" for general use. These grants are distributed according to a complicated formula which takes into account the special circumstances in each area.

In 1937 Hastings—with a relatively small child population and low unemployment—received £157,000 in the form of grants-in-aid. Merthyr Tydfil—with its large child population and abnormally high unemployment—received over £300,000. Nevertheless, as we have already seen, the citizens of Hastings have a much lighter rate burden than the citizens of Merthyr Tydfil.

**(iv) Local Loans**

When a Local Authority incurs capital expenditure—say, for a new water scheme, new housing estates, or new schools—they frequently raise the necessary capital by borrowing from the public. Local government borrowing increased enormously during the years between the two wars and this has been the cause of some expressions of alarm. The total amount of outstanding debt owing by Local Authorities in



England and Wales was £1,595 millions in 1939. It should not be forgotten, however, that this was offset by such assets as municipal property and revenue-earning undertakings, greatly exceeding this sum in value.

## 7. Local Government in Scotland

The history of local government has followed a rather different course in Scotland and, although the basic principles are the same, Scottish local government has some features which are not found in the English system. The great reforms in local government which took place in 1929 went very much further (some people think far too much further) in Scotland than in England. Thousands of small local government units were abolished and a very simple arrangement was left. There are now 33 County Councils and also 4 Town Councils (Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee) which exercise all local government functions, except—in the case of the County Councils—the few limited functions exercised by the remaining 20 large burghs and 171 smaller burghs. There are no Urban or Rural District Councils or Parish Councils in Scotland. It should also be noted that in Scotland the civic head in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee is known as the Lord Provost and in the other burghs as the Provost.

Rates in Scotland are levied on a rather different principle from the English system (there is an "owners" rate and an "occupiers" rate).

The chief central Government Departments which supervise Scottish local government are the Scottish Office, the Scottish Department of Health, and the Scottish Education Department, all of which have their headquarters in Edinburgh.

## 8. The Future of Local Government

Local self-government has played—and continues to play—an important part in the social life of Britain. It is responsible for a vast range of services upon which millions of people depend for their comfort and happiness. It is a training school in citizenship and a nursery of democratic leadership. The system is not without its weaknesses, but there is no lack of suggestions for improving its organisation, personnel and methods of work.

### (i) Criticisms and Suggestions

Few, if any, critics of British local government go so far as to suggest that it should be abolished and replaced by the direct rule of the central government. Many believe, however, that great changes ought to be made if our local services are to be as efficiently run as they should be.

The main criticisms of the working of local self-government in Great Britain to-day are these:—

#### (a) *Lack of Interest*

As Lord Snell has written, "the average town-dweller still imperfectly realises that to him and his fellow citizens, rich and poor, belong the public assets of the town; that they, and not the Mayor and the Council, are the proprietors of the town hall, the employers of the dustmen, the policemen, and the other local functionaries."

Many seats on local Councils are not contested at all and the proportion of citizens who take the trouble to vote at local government elections is very low. Throughout the country only about half its electors go to the poll at municipal elections (compare 75 per cent. at Parliamentary elections). In Birmingham the highest percentage of the electorate who voted in contested wards was 36.5 per cent.

More education for citizenship is plainly called for. Would it help to extend the franchise beyond the present limits? Does the party system help or hinder the interest in local government?

(b) *Quality of Councillors*

It has been pointed out that only a few classes of people—those with leisure or occupations, such as shopkeepers and trade union officials, which they can combine with Council duties—are in a position to stand for election. Some believe that the position would be greatly improved if Councillors were paid salaries like Members of Parliament. It is said that this would make it possible for many able men and women to stand for election who cannot now do so.

(c) *Quality of Local Government Officials*

Conditions vary greatly between different Authorities. In some areas standards are very high, in others not so high. Some Authorities go in for "in-breeding," i.e. they seldom appoint an outsider. Entrance by competitive examination, like the central government civil service, is insisted on only by a few progressive areas. Training courses for public administration are attended by very few local government officials. Some believe that we ought to have a single local government civil service for the whole country, with standard qualifications laid down for all local civil servants, according to their branch of work.

(d) *Local Government Areas*

The present arrangement of local government areas is based on conditions which existed before the coming of modern motor transport. There are absurd differences in the size of areas of the same class (West Riding, 1½ millions; Rutland, 20,000). Many Local Authority areas are far too small to provide particular services efficiently. Electricity and gas, for example, should be provided for very large populations to obtain maximum efficiency. Institutions like technical schools and hospitals often serve areas much wider than the area of the Local Authority providing them.

Many Local Authorities join together for the purposes of providing some services, for example, water supply and special hospitals. But it is now widely thought that many of the large scale services, such as gas, water and electricity supply, education, and medical services, should be transferred to some kind of *regional* authority covering a very much wider area. In any case, some reorganisation of existing Local Authority areas and a redistribution of the work which they do can hardly be avoided.

(ii) **The Citizen's Task**

The future of local self-government is very largely in the hands of the ordinary citizen. If he takes the trouble to find out what his local Council is responsible for, how it is carrying out its duties, and what its problems are, he will have made the right beginning. But he must go further. He must use his influence to get good candidates chosen (perhaps stand as a candidate himself), advocate sensible progressive policies, and do all he can to see that good candidates and sensible progressive policies gain the day. Only in this way can local self-government in Britain be given the new vitality which it needs to cope with the tasks of reconstruction with which it will be faced at the end of this war.

## Chapter IV.

## LAW AND JUSTICE\*

*"The impartial administration of justice which secures both our persons and our properties is the great end of civil society."*—(Sir William Blackstone.)

### 1. The Rules of Living Together†

Throughout their history the British people have always held the common-sense view that the business of living together ought to have rules—like a game—and that everyone, including the Government itself, ought to keep these rules. Long ago it was realised that to live without rules would be to live without certainty or safety, for every man would be "a law unto himself," and the way would be open for the more powerful and unscrupulous members of the community to take advantage of the less powerful and the honest.

#### (i) The English Common Law

In the early days of English history the common rules of living together were known as the "Common Law." They were not written down like the rules of a modern football club or even like an Act of Parliament, but they were part and parcel of the customs of the country, handed down from generation to generation, and interpreted according to the changing needs of changing times by the lawyers and judges in the Common Law Courts. When cases came up for decision the practice was, not to look at "the book of rules" to find out what "the law" was, but to examine the "precedents"—that is to say, all the decisions which had been made in previous cases of the same kind, and to come to a common-sense decision on this basis.

This meant that the English Common Law was not rigid and unchanging, for the judges were bound to be influenced in making their decisions by the circumstances of the time in which they lived. But the fact that so much attention was given to "precedent," to what had happened in the past, tended to make the Common Law Courts rather conservative, and it became necessary to devise means of bringing the law and its interpretation more rapidly into line with changing conditions.

#### (ii) Statute Law

With the establishment of a Parliament it became possible to make a new law or to change an existing law by passing an Act or Statute. As Parliament gained in authority, Statute Law became more and more important and, although the Common Law is still influential, it is in Acts of Parliament that most of the rules of living together are nowadays set out. Parliament is now the supreme law-making and law-changing authority, and, as it is elected by and responsible to the people of Britain, it may be fairly claimed that the rules which govern the common life of the people of Britain are made and unmade subject only to the approval of the people themselves.

### 2. Administering the Law

Most people agree on the necessity for having "rules" and, provided that the "rules" appear to be sensible and fair, the great majority of people observe them without question, even if they are sometimes irksome. But disputes are bound

\* The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Stephen Murray in the preparation of the material for this chapter.

† This chapter deals with the *English* legal system. The Scottish system is different in many ways, although generally the same principles are observed. Reference should be made to an encyclopædia or to some standard work, such as Gloag and Henderson's "Introduction to the Law of Scotland."

to arise as to whether the law has or has not been infringed ; people's rights under the law in particular circumstances are not always clear ; there are conflicts over the interpretation of the law ; and, human nature being what it is, there is always the problem of dealing with those who are accused of breaking the law. For these reasons courts of law came into existence in England many hundreds of years ago and the lineal descendants of these courts—some of them still observing some ancient customs and picturesque ceremonies—are at work today.

### (i) The Legal Profession

Round this administration has grown the legal profession in which it is essential to understand the difference between barristers and solicitors. Barristers (counsel) are all members of one or more "Inns of Court." The Inns of Court are colleges of barristers, and everyone, before being called to the Bar, must be a member of one of them. A barrister is not allowed to have any dealings direct with the lay client and may not receive instructions from, or have interviews with, members of the lay public without the intervention of a solicitor. A barrister may not sue for his fees, but on the other hand, he cannot be sued for negligence.

Solicitors (so called because they solicit the services of members of the Bar to plead their cases in court, or at least that is the idea) do all the paper work necessary for preparing a case, and are not allowed to plead in court except in Police Courts and County Courts.

### (ii) Civil and Criminal Law

The machinery for administering justice in England is best considered in two principal parts : first, courts which deal with *civil* cases, and secondly, courts which deal with *criminal* cases.

(a) *Civil Law* is that which deals with the relationships of private individuals (the word "individuals" including, for this purpose, associations of individuals, such as companies, trade unions and Government Departments). The bulk of the work of administering civil law is concerned with :—

Breaches of contract (for example, debt, failure to deliver goods which have been ordered, or any failure to carry out an agreement) ;

Torts (that is, civil wrongs, which, however, in some cases may also be crimes, as, for example, assault, libel, and wrongful taking away of goods) ;

Property relationships (for example, the administration of estates, winding up companies, bankruptcy, patent law, etc.) ;

Matrimonial matters (for example, legal separation and divorce).

(b) *Criminal Law* deals with acts which do not only concern the private individual harmed by them, but are deemed to harm the whole community, and therefore to be an offence against the King. A criminal case is therefore called "*Rex versus So and So*." It takes the form of an action by the King against the alleged wrong-doer. With very few exceptions, in such cases the accused person is presumed to be innocent until he is proved, beyond reasonable doubt, to be guilty of the offence with which he is charged ; the "burden of proof" is on the prosecution to prove their case, and until they have, by the evidence they call before the court, made out a case which requires answering, the accused is not obliged to say anything or to explain away the charge made against him.

**(iii) Civil and Criminal Courts**

The principal types of courts dealing with civil and criminal cases respectively are as follows :—

*Civil Law**Criminal Law*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(a) Courts of Summary Jurisdiction<br/>(" Police Courts ").<br/>Very limited powers to deal with civil matters.</p> <p>(b) County Courts.</p> <p>(c) High Court of Justice :<br/>    (i) the King's Bench Division ;<br/>    (ii) the Chancery Division ;<br/>    (iii) the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division.</p> <p>(d) The Court of Appeal.</p> <p>(e) The House of Lords.</p> | <p>(a) Courts of Summary Jurisdiction<br/>(" Police Courts ").</p> <p>(b) Quarter Sessions.</p> <p>(c) Assizes (in the country)<br/>Central Criminal Court (in London).</p> <p>(d) The Court of Criminal Appeal.</p> <p>(e) The House of Lords.</p> |
|--|---|

**3. Civil Courts**

First of all, then, let us review the civil courts :—

**(i) Courts of Summary Jurisdiction**

" Police Courts " have only very limited power to deal with civil cases, which consist principally of certain small matrimonial matters, claims for wages and landlord and tenant matters. These courts will be dealt with more fully when the administration of criminal law is considered.

**(ii) County Courts**

There are about 450 of these courts, which, in spite of their name, are not arranged on a county basis, but according to the needs of the population. They are formed into geographical groups called " circuits," each of which is worked by a professional whole-time judge (sometimes two judges) and a registrar. They were originally set up by statute in 1846, and have been brought up to date from time to time since then. They were intended to provide an inexpensive court for the trial of the small, everyday kind of dispute in which the ordinary man is likely to get involved. Their rules of procedure are less strict than those of the High Court, so a party to a case *can*, with the help of the judge, get along without having to pay a lawyer to appear for him (though it is seldom advisable to do so).

The bulk of their work concerns small debts, landlord and tenant matters, workmen's compensation claims, and small " running down " cases (the term used by lawyers to denote road accident cases). The hopes of those who set up the County Courts as a popular tribunal for the poor man have not been entirely fulfilled. Although the costs of litigation in a County Court case are generally far less than in a similar case in the High Court, they are a severe consideration for a poor man who loses an action, as also for one who is thinking of starting an action.

**(iii) The High Court of Justice**

The High Court of Justice is divided into three Divisions : (a) the King's Bench Division ; (b) the Chancery Division ; and (c) the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division.

There are twenty-eight High Court judges, and the High Court has unlimited civil and criminal jurisdiction.

(a) *The King's Bench Division*

The King's Bench Division deals with breaches of contract and torts, and the principles of law it applies are exactly the same as those applied by the humbler courts, already referred to, in similar cases. The same rules apply to Tom, Dick or Harry agreeing to buy a bicycle and failing to pay the instalments, as to a corporation with a world monopoly of an essential commodity agreeing to buy a million pounds' worth of wheat, and not paying for it. One judge of the King's Bench Division has assigned to him "the commercial list," namely, cases which are particularly commercial in character, and involve points about the interpretation of documents and so on. The cases in the commercial list usually involve matters of carriage of goods by sea, marine insurance, and so on. Another judge has assigned to him the revenue paper, namely, cases dealing with income tax, excess profits tax, etc.

The whole of the High Court sits in London, but at certain times of the year some judges of the King's Bench Division go on tour, and each judge appointed for the job goes to each principal town on a circuit and holds Assizes, which will be more fully dealt with when criminal courts are considered. In dealing with civil cases, the Assizes are equivalent to the High Court. Certain divorce cases can also be tried at Assizes.

(b) *The Chancery Division*

The Chancery Division deals with the administration of estates, trusts, wardship of infants, patents and copyrights, company matters, partnerships, mortgages, and some other matters not of general interest. The delays in its procedure were the subject of scathing ridicule in Charles Dickens' "Bleak House," which is said to have done much to get it reformed.

(c) *The Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division*

The Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division does work of a kind which is obvious from its title. Probate is, in short, putting the provisions of a will on to an effective legal basis; Admiralty covers mainly collisions at sea, etc.

These three ill-assorted classes of business are dealt with in the same court because in 1873, when a multitude of separate courts were amalgamated into one "Supreme Court of Judicature" (which consists of the High Court and the Court of Appeal), these three classes of work were, it may be said, comparatively small "left-overs," two of them, namely, Probate and Divorce, being formerly within the province of Ecclesiastical Courts. At the time it seemed convenient to put them together into one Division.

Divorce gives this Division the great majority of its work, and it has been pointed out that it is incongruous and difficult for judges who, when they were barristers, practised only in Divorce, suddenly to find, when made judges, that they have to learn Admiralty law, and *vice versa*.

There is also a *Divisional Court* of the High Court which usually consists of three judges. The Divisional Court has original jurisdiction in various procedural matters, including the granting of writs of Habeas Corpus, and is also, under certain circumstances, a court of appeal.

High Court judges must be selected from barristers of not less than fifteen years' standing.

#### (iv) **The Court of Appeal**

The Court of Appeal hears appeals from the High Court and from County Courts. It consists of three Lords Justices, and in normal times there are two such courts sitting.

#### (v) **The House of Lords**

The House of Lords is the final appellate court for England and Wales, and Scotland and Northern Ireland. In theory, all members of the House of Lords may sit to hear an appeal, but in practice it is contrary to etiquette, and unheard of, for any member other than the legal members to sit; the legal members have been made Peers as being judges of outstanding distinction. Generally five Lords of Appeal sit, and the President of the House is the Lord Chancellor.

The Law Lords also sit on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which is the final court of appeal from all parts of the Empire overseas except Eire, which has renounced its jurisdiction.

### **4. Legal Aid in Civil Cases**

At present the help given to persons who are unable, owing to lack of means, either to ascertain or to enforce their legal rights, takes two forms.

#### (i) **Two Forms of Aid**

First, at local centres there are Poor Man's Lawyers, which give free legal advice. Secondly, in London and in the provinces there are Poor Persons Committees set up and controlled by the London and Provincial Law Society (the professional organisation of solicitors—in a sense the solicitors' trade union), which arrange for free legal assistance by counsel and solicitors. Such assistance may only be granted to persons "not worth" £50, or in exceptional circumstances, £100, and whose income does not exceed £2 a week or in exceptional cases £4 a week. This Poor Persons procedure only applies to civil proceedings in the High Court and does not, unfortunately, apply to County Courts, in which the great majority of the litigation of poor people goes on.

#### (ii) **Suggested Deficiencies**

These arrangements are useful so far as they go, but they are often criticised for not going far enough. The deficiencies of the existing system are said to be these:—

- (a) The Poor Man's Lawyers are voluntary bodies. Their existence is not always known. Those giving their services are usually young and comparatively inexperienced barristers and solicitors, and their services are usually strictly limited to the giving of advice.
- (b) The Poor Persons Committees consist of solicitors. If they decide not to take up an applicant's case there is no appeal from their decision. Each Committee is self-governing, so that the view of a case taken by one Committee, say in Birmingham, is not necessarily that which would be taken of it by another, say in London. An applicant either has his case conducted for him free of charge (except for a few pounds towards out-of-pocket expenses), or he has no assistance at all. It is a hit-or-miss system. If two men have a case which is good on the face of it, the one

with an income of £4 per week may have his litigation free of charge, the other with an income of £4 1s. 6d. per week can only enforce his legal rights at his own expense throughout.

However, an enormous improvement has recently been effected in this direction by a new dispensation of the Law Society whereby free legal assistance can be given to members of the Services upon the merits of the particular case. There is no fixed income limit and it is within the discretion of the committee concerned whether to grant free aid or not.

## 5. Criminal Courts

Now let us review the criminal courts:—

### (i) Courts of Summary Jurisdiction

These courts, which go by the name of "Police Courts," "Magistrates' Courts," or "Petty Sessions," deal with nearly 90 per cent. of all indictable\* offences committed in England and Wales. They are to be found in every community of any size (there were over 1,000 before the war) and they touch almost every aspect of the lives of ordinary people.

#### *Lay or Professional Magistrates?*

Most of these Courts are presided over by unpaid lay magistrates, who usually rely for advice concerning matters of law on the clerk of the court. They are usually prominent local citizens, many of them being appointed on the recommendations of local political organisations. In London and some other large towns, however, there are stipendiary (i.e. paid) magistrates, who are barristers of not less than 15 years' standing. There are some who think that it would be better to abolish the unpaid lay magistrates and to substitute professionally-trained stipendiaries throughout the country. On the other hand, many people believe that lay magistrates are more closely in touch with the lives of the people than professional stipendiaries and local appointment provides useful democratic safeguards. It has been suggested that, if lay magistrates are retained, it is desirable to insist on certain standards of fitness, to introduce a retirement age and to set up courses of training for magistrates.

#### *Choice of Trial by Jury*

Courts of Summary Jurisdiction have power to try a very wide range of offences, but their powers of punishment are limited to six months' imprisonment. If an offence is punishable with more than three months' imprisonment, the accused is entitled to be tried by a jury (at Quarter Sessions or Assizes) and the magistrates must tell the accused that he is entitled to choose whether to be tried summarily by them or on indictment before a jury.

If he elects to be tried by jury, he will be sent to Quarter Sessions or Assizes where he will be tried on "indictment." The "indictment" is a formal written statement of the charge made against the accused, and the trial which follows is on a more formal basis than in a Police Court. The principal advantages of being tried at Quarter Sessions or Assizes are:—

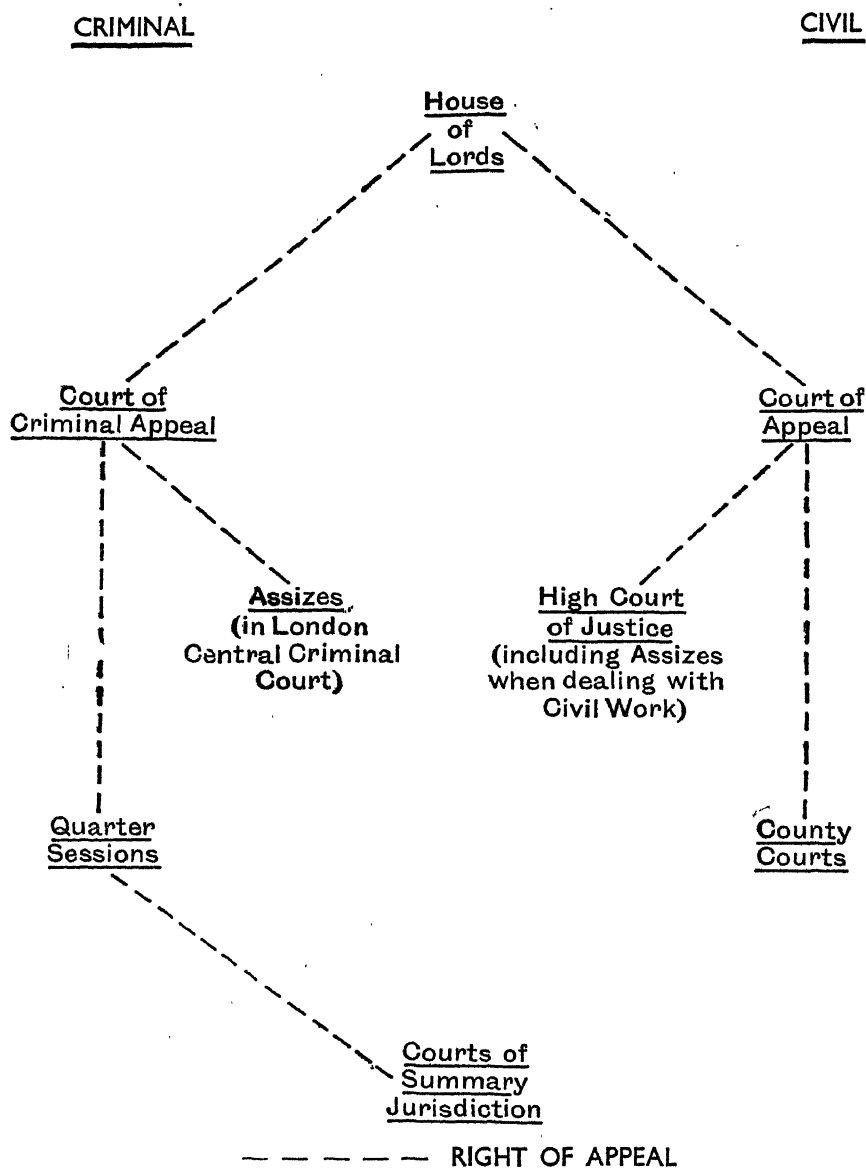
- (a) The Court is presided over (at Assizes) by a High Court Judge or (at Quarter Sessions) by a Chairman of Magistrates who is usually, though not always, a lawyer of considerable experience. In the case of Borough Quarter Sessions, the Court is held by a Recorder who is a practising barrister;

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\* Indictable offences are more serious than non-indictable or summary offences. Burglary is an indictable offence. Most blackout offences are non-indictable.



# ENGLISH SYSTEM OF COURTS



NOTE.—The right of appeal is not always absolute ; in some cases, leave has to be obtained. Also there is, though not shown in the diagram, a kind of appeal called " case stated," whereby a Court of Summary Jurisdiction or Quarter Sessions can put questions of law to a Divisional Court of the High Court. The Divisional Court then sends the answers back to the inferior court with, in a criminal case, a direction to convict or acquit. In a criminal case, the decision of the Divisional Court is final, but in a civil matter (which in practice usually means something like a rating or licensing appeal), either party can appeal to the Court of Appeal and, with leave, to the House of Lords.

FIGURE 1

- (b) Though the jury system is far from perfect, a jury is generally considered to be a considerable safeguard to an innocent man and affords some protection against caprice or bias on the part of the judge or chairman.

A disadvantage of trial on indictment instead of summary trial, however, is that the punishment at Quarter Sessions or Assizes may be very much greater than can be given by the Police Court.

An appeal can be made from a Court of Summary Jurisdiction to the next Quarter Sessions in the county. The hearing of the appeal at Quarter Sessions is a complete re-trial of the case before the Appeal Committee of the county (which consists of county magistrates) or, in the case of a borough, before the Recorder, without a jury.

#### (ii) Quarter Sessions

In every county in England and Wales Quarter Sessions are held, as their name indicates, four times a year. The court consists of county magistrates presided over by a chairman. Usually, though not always, the chairman is a trained lawyer, sometimes a High Court Judge or even a Lord of Appeal, sometimes a practising barrister. Quarter Sessions are also held in certain cities and boroughs, and in these cases the court consists not of magistrates, but of a Recorder sitting alone. In large cities, the Sessions are held more than four times a year. A Recorder must be a barrister of not less than five years' standing. The Recorder receives a salary which varies very greatly in different towns; for example in a small country town the Recorder may receive a salary of only some £40 per year, whereas in the larger cities his salary may be well over the thousand mark.

Quarter Sessions have very wide jurisdiction, being only debarred from trying some of the gravest offences, such as murder, rape, bigamy and some others, and they are also limited, to a slight extent, in the punishments they may give. For the very great majority of the work that comes before Quarter Sessions, however, their jurisdiction is to all practical intents and purposes much the same as that of Assizes. Appeal lies from Quarter Sessions to the Court of Criminal Appeal.

#### (iii) Assizes

Generally speaking, Assizes are held in the county towns of each county in England. They are held three times a year, and in some cases four times a year. Assizes are nearly always presided over by a High Court Judge. They may try any offence and award any punishment allowed by law.

The Assizes have a long history which goes back to the time when the Kings of England themselves travelled round their kingdom and held court. Partly for this reason, but perhaps more probably for the purpose of impressing the populace with the majesty of the law, great formality attends the holding and the opening of Assizes. Once the ceremony is over, the business of the court proceeds in much the same way as at Quarter Sessions.

#### (iv) The Court of Criminal Appeal

A verdict of guilty and a sentence at Quarter Sessions or the Assizes are not necessarily the last word in a case. The Court of Criminal Appeal can hear appeals from any of these courts. It consists of three judges who are appointed by the Lord Chief Justice from time to time to sit in the Court of Criminal Appeal on any occasion. But the prosecution can never appeal against a verdict of "not guilty."

#### (v) The House of Lords

In criminal cases which are certified by the Attorney-General as involving a point of particular public importance, appeal may be made from the Court of Criminal Appeal to the House of Lords.

## 6. Criminal Trials

It is convenient at this stage to mention a few general points concerning criminal trials which may have been noted by anyone who has ever watched one in progress.

### (i) Judge and Jury

In the first place, the function of a jury is to determine questions of fact and that of the judge to determine questions of law, though it is permissible for the judge to tell the jury his view of evidence which has been given. It is improper for him to press his views upon them unduly, and any misdirection of the jury by the judge is a ground for an appeal.

### (ii) Evidence

Another point in connection with criminal trials, which may have struck the reader, is that no evidence whatever of any bad character in the accused person is allowed to be given (unless he has given evidence of his good character) until after he has been found guilty. For example, evidence cannot be given that the accused has committed the kind of offence with which he is now charged many times before and is, therefore, the kind of person who is likely to have committed the offence in question. After the verdict, however, the police officer in charge of the case gives evidence of the accused's character and antecedents, in order to help the court to decide what sentence to give him.

### (iii) Plea of Guilty

The accused may, if he chooses, plead guilty, in which case it is not necessary for the prosecution to give any evidence at all because the accused admits the offence with which he is charged. All that is done, therefore, in such a case is for prosecuting counsel to give an outline of the facts to the court and for the police officer in charge to give the accused's antecedents and record.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that it is not unheard of for a court to convey to the accused man that he will be dealt with more leniently if he pleads guilty and, therefore, saves all the time and trouble of swearing a jury and calling witnesses, who have to be examined and cross-examined at some length. Though it is, of course, irritating to all concerned that much time should be used up in contesting a case which is quite clear against an accused man, everyone is entitled to defend a case, if he wishes to do so, and it is grossly improper for the court to suggest to an accused man that he will be dealt with more leniently, if he pleads guilty to the charge.

### (iv) System of Bail

It should be noted that, as a consequence of the rule of law that every accused person is assumed to be innocent until he is proved guilty, a person accused of an offence is entitled to his liberty until he has been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment. The only lawful reason, therefore, for keeping a person in custody before he has been convicted is that, unless he is kept in custody, he is unlikely to turn up to his trial. To ensure that an accused person shall attend his trial, a system of bail exists, whereby a person who is required to attend the trial forfeits a sum of money, fixed by the court, if he does not attend at the time he is told to. The accused may also be made to get friends to act as sureties for him.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the only lawful reason for a court to refuse bail to a prisoner is that he is likely not to turn up to his trial, or, in common parlance, likely to "jump bail." Apart from this consideration, the general character of the accused is quite irrelevant as to whether he should be granted bail or not, and it is also irrelevant for the court to consider any suggestion by the police that, if allowed bail, the accused will commit further offences before the trial. If bail is refused an appeal may be made to a High Court Judge.

## 7. Legal Aid in Criminal Cases

Free legal aid to poor persons is controlled by the provisions of the Poor Prisoners Defence Act, 1930.

### (i) Two Forms of Aid

Magistrates at Petty Sessions are required to grant a Legal Aid Certificate to any poor person where it appears to be in the interests of justice that he should have free legal aid, either by reason of the gravity of the charge or of other exceptional circumstances. This applies to all cases, whether they are to be finally disposed of by the magistrates in the Police Court or are such as may be sent for trial by jury at Quarter Sessions or Assizes.

For cases committed to the higher courts, a Defence Certificate for legal aid is granted, either by the magistrate on committal, or by the judge or chairman of the court where the accused is to be tried. Such a Defence Certificate may be granted to a poor person committed on any charge, if, having regard to all the circumstances, including the nature of any defence which may be set up, it is desirable in the interests of justice that he should have legal aid in the preparation and conduct of his defence and trial.

### (ii) Suggested Deficiencies

Under this system a poor person may obtain the services of a solicitor and counsel who are paid proper fees out of county funds. This is an enlightened and excellent provision of law, that the State, which is prosecuting a man for an alleged offence, should itself pay for his defence, though some consider that it is not entirely satisfactory in practice, because—in their view—the courts do not often enough grant Defence Certificates and do not always tell prisoners that they are entitled to put forward reasons why they should be granted.

## 8. Our Safeguards

Some time ago Hitler announced that in Germany all laws and all administration of them would be completely determined by what he and the Nazi Party required. Law would be "what the Fuehrer decrees." That marks the distance travelled by Germany from a legal system which was once as meticulous and honest as any in the world. The scales held by Justice are deliberately and irrevocably fixed against any offender cutting across Nazi policy. Such offenders pass through a legal process in which the judge is dependent on Party favour; the assumption is of guilt until innocence is proved; there need be no jury; there is no free Press or public scrutiny of the decisions; there is no guarantee of the right to appeal.

In contrast are the characteristics of English law which guarantee our civil liberties, and distinguish our legal system from the systems established by autocratic regimes. These are :—

- (i) **Rule of Law.**—The courts are bound to apply the law exactly as it stands and not some version of it, twisted to suit temporary political or other

convenience. In other words, expediency must give way to the law. When it is necessary to change the law, Parliament is omnipotent to do so.

- (ii) **An Independent Judiciary.**—Our judges cannot be removed, however embarrassing to the authorities their decisions may be. All judges are independent of the Government and can only be removed, by a Resolution of both Houses of Parliament, for gross misconduct.
- (iii) **Trial by Jury.**—This is the right which a citizen has to be tried by his own fellow citizens—men and women taken from his own town or locality or, if he thinks they may be prejudiced against him, from elsewhere. The members of the jury cannot be named in a newspaper or “got at” during the trial.
- (iv) **Habeas Corpus.**—This is the right of a citizen not to be held in custody without being speedily brought to trial on a definite charge, though its effect is necessarily partly reduced in wartime to enable the Government to intern people who, if at large, are acutely dangerous to the community (such as spies and fascists) without the delay and difficulties of legal proceedings. The writ of Habeas Corpus, which is issued by the Divisional Court, directs anyone who is keeping another in custody to deliver up the latter to the Court. Thus it is used where anyone is illegally imprisoned, in which case the writ is directed to the Governor of the Prison.
- (v) **All Cases Open to the Public.**—Only where vitally secret information would be divulged can a case be heard behind locked doors. To be present at any type of case is a valuable education in citizenship.
- (vi) **Confessions.**—You cannot be convicted on your own confession unless the prosecution can affirmatively prove that your confession was free and voluntary. This is a precaution against third degree methods during arrest.
- (vii) **Evidence as to Character.**—This is the rule that every man is tried with a clean sheet. No evidence as to his previous character—no secret dossier on his activities—can be put in until after his trial.

## 9. Possible Improvements

There is an obvious necessity for honest and impartial justice in any country claiming to be democratic. On this record, we can claim that our system measures up to that requirement.

That is not a claim of perfection. As we have seen, there may be room for improvement in making the cost of both criminal and civil actions less of a deterrent and handicap. The schemes of free legal help and advice may be improved. There is dispute over the merits of the magistrates in the Courts of Summary Jurisdiction—whether the value of their free service and their closeness to the lives of the people is not outweighed by their lack of professional training and the possibility of social prejudice. It may be argued that the formality and ceremony of the court are too intimidating. Already enormous improvements have been effected in the new Children's Courts, which must be held in an ordinary room and where no person in uniform is allowed to be present, and there are some who want these changes extended.

About these arguments for the improvement of the legal system two things may be noted. First, they do not seriously question the general honesty and impartiality of our system of justice. Secondly, the power to achieve any improvements is at hand. Parliament can and will make them, if we want them and work for them hard enough.

**FIRST SEQUENCE : SOLDIER-CITIZEN**

**B.W.P. 2**

## **BRITAIN IN ACTION**

**December 1942**

### **Chapter I.**

### **BRITAIN AT WORK**

**By DONALD TYERMAN**

*Acting Editor of "The Economist"*

#### **1. Town-Dwellers and Town-Workers**

Napoleon is supposed to have called the English people a nation of shopkeepers. This was not true even then. When Napoleon spoke, England was still a country mainly of farmers, even though the Industrial Revolution was well under way and foreign trade with all parts of the world had been going on for centuries. It is hardly more true now. There are, admittedly, something like two million people employed in about three-quarters of a million shops. But the real reason for this is that Britain is, first and foremost, a nation of town-dwellers, people who no longer live on the land, but live by manufacture and trade. And they have to buy what they want—in shops.

A nation of town-dwellers and town-workers. That is the outstanding fact about this country. Although four-fifths of the total area of England and Wales is agricultural, four-fifths of the people live in towns, half of them in or near fourteen big urban centres. England and Wales have the highest population in relation to their total land area in all Europe, including crowded Belgium. Their numbers per acre are seventeen times the figure for the United States of America. A third of the population of England and Wales lives in Greater London, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Birmingham and Tyneside.

##### **(i) Dependence on Imports**

Why are we so predominantly a nation of town-dwellers and town-workers, manufacturers and traders? The answer is because this country is outstandingly poor in raw materials and industrial resources. Coal is the only raw material of

which more than sufficient can be obtained here at home. In peacetime, all our rubber and cotton has to be imported from overseas, almost all our non-ferrous ore, oil and petrol, five-sixths of our wool and two-thirds of the iron ore used by the iron and steel industries. Over one half of our food supply is imported; and, in addition, a large part of our home farm production can only be produced with the aid of imported feeding-stuffs for animals and imported fertilisers for the soil.

Thus, we live by manufacturing goods from imported materials, and we pay for our imports of materials and foodstuffs by exporting manufactures. And, on the whole, we live very well, better than all but one or two of the other countries of the world.

## (ii) Advantages and Disadvantages in War

In wartime, of course, this dependence on imports becomes very obvious. Imports are made difficult by enemy action and by the need for ships for other war purposes.

But, even in wartime, there are advantages as well as disadvantages in Britain's position as a manufacturer dependent on overseas supplies. A country's power to produce the goods of war depends very largely upon its power to produce the manufactured goods of peace. That is, it depends on the size of its metal and engineering industries, the skill of its industrial workers and the efficiency of its industrial plant. Now, in all these respects, this country stands very high indeed. In 1942, for example, Britain produced more war material per head of the population than any other country in the world, simply because of the scale and competence of its peacetime manufactures. In other words, our war production is high because in peacetime our standard of living was high; the industries and workers which maintained that standard of living have now been recruited for war-work.

What would have been the result if we had tried to be self-sufficient in peacetime? Obviously, there would now be correspondingly fewer skilled industrial workers and correspondingly less manufacturing capacity to produce guns, aircraft, tanks and munitions. In any case, this country could not by any conceivable means have made itself self-sufficient. It is impossible to produce here the essential raw materials that we need; they have to be brought in by sea.

## 2. Pre-War Trends

In very many ways, therefore, it was a good thing that this country was getting more and more industrially developed and specialised before the war. Old industries like coal mining and the textile trades were, it is true, going downhill because of the difficulty of selling their products in foreign countries, which had begun to manufacture for themselves. But new industries like electrical engineering and motor car manufacture were forging ahead; and there is a lot to be said for the view that it is much healthier and safer to depend for our national income on a number of new, diversified and highly skilled trades than to rely, as we did in the past, on a few large staple export industries in which other countries were bound to catch us up.

In the old days we had all our eggs in only a few baskets. By 1939 we were building up many new industries, the majority of them working to satisfy the rising needs of the home market and the steadily increasing standard of living. Before the war, a third of the occupied population was engaged in manufacturing and two-fifths in distribution, administration and the various service trades which are characteristic of an urban community. Only one-twentieth was engaged in agriculture and fishing.

**(i) Agriculture**

Farming was falling behind, most of all in size, though not by any means so much in efficiency, that is, in output per acre and output per man, which was increasing rather than declining. In the twenty years between the end of the last war and 1938, the total number of actual workers on the land fell by more than a quarter; and the total arable acreage, which had been fifteen million acres in 1871, was less than nine million acres in 1938.

During the war, of course, it has been necessary to re-adjust the balance between farming and other activities. As much food as possible has had to be produced at home. Some six million extra acres have been ploughed up to bring the arable acreage back again to the size of seventy years ago. The bottleneck is manpower. Men engaged in farming cannot be used in munition factories or in the Forces; and the real reason for Britain's strength in war is the large number of workers and the large amount of plant already engaged in industrial pursuits, which it has been possible to transfer from peace-work to war-work.

**(ii) Development of New Industries**

Some of the new industries which have developed since the last war have proved particularly helpful. A noticeable feature of recent industrial development has been the growth of precisely the industries which are most important in producing the specialised goods of modern warfare. Between 1929 and 1939, the number of workers employed in the manufacture of electrical cables, apparatus and lamps went up by nearly a hundred per cent. The number employed in making motors, cycles and aircraft rose by nearly ninety per cent. Those employed in electrical engineering went up by over forty-five per cent. In peacetime, this development was a sign of a steady increase in the standard of living; it represented the steadily growing demands of the home market; people were better off. In wartime, it has provided the skill and capacity to produce the weapons and instruments of war.

The chief features of Britain at work before the war were these changes in the distribution of the country's workers. While the electrical and vehicle industries and all the service trades expanded, the old basic industries declined. In some cases, judged by war needs, the process of readjustment went too far. Between 1929 and 1939, the number of workers employed in coal mining went down by one-fifth, and the number employed in shipbuilding went down by over one-seventh. Now, in wartime, there is a desperate need for both coal and ships which, as in the case of agriculture, has made necessary special measures to prevent the labour force from dwindling further.

**(iii) Changes in Location of Industry**

There is another important aspect of these changes. Workers were not only working at different work; they were also working in different places. A geographical redistribution was going on. Between 1929 and 1939, the occupied population of the United Kingdom went up by rather less than one-fifth. But the occupied population of the London area went up by over one-quarter, and that of the South-East of England by over one-third.

Indeed many of the chief social and economic problems of the pre-war period arose directly from these shifts and changes. In the North of England, in Scotland and in South Wales, the homes of the old staple industries based on iron and coal, there were depressed areas, with grievous pools of poverty and unemployment.



In London, the South of England and the Midlands, where the new light industries were growing up, based not on the coal-fields, but on electric power, road transport and nearness to town markets, there was overcrowding, congestion and all the problems of unplanned town development.

### 3. Government Intervention

A main feature of the history of the last twenty-five years or so has been the increased readiness of the State, that is, of the Government, to step in to control these consequences of economic development.

#### (i) Developments before the War

Thus an important step was taken just over ten years ago when Britain, which had been a free trade country, allowing almost all materials and goods to be imported free of duty, adopted a protective tariff. The situation was this. Changes in the distribution of industry and its markets brought, as a by-product, depression, unemployment and disorderly development; and it was more and more realised to be a duty of the Government to minimise these unfortunate effects. The war came when this policy was just being worked out.

#### *Combination of Producers: Protective Tariffs*

On the one hand, industries were given the protection of a tariff; on the other, they were encouraged to make themselves more efficient by joint action. The coal industry, for instance, was given power to restrict its output and to fix its prices at a profitable level, while the responsibility was laid upon the industry to make its methods and organisation more efficient and up-to-date. The same sort of policy was being applied to agriculture. The output of potatoes and hops was restricted and schemes for marketing these products jointly were established. The Milk Marketing Board was set up to organise the sale of milk in order to maintain production on a profitable basis.

In general, the process was two-fold: on the one hand, producers were given State protection; on the other hand, the producers themselves banded together to safeguard their interests and to organise their business. The tendency was for producers to get together instead of competing; and it had, and has, its dangers, particularly the risk that the interest of the consumer in receiving cheap and plentiful industrial and agricultural products may be lost sight of—a risk which has caused much criticism of the State's policy of allowing industries to control themselves. For various technical reasons, a number of industries, such as the chemical industry, had become organised in great combines; the industrial unit, generally, was growing in size; many industries had formed themselves into associations to work together in questions of general policy relating to output, selling and prices. And what happened was that this tendency towards larger industrial units and greater association among industrial concerns was used by the State as part of its policy to give greater security to British industry.

#### (ii) Wartime Proposals

In addition, various Government Commissions and Committees have been concerned with the changes in the location of industry and the distribution of the country's workers.

*(a) Barlow Report\**

When war broke out, a Royal Commission (the Barlow Commission) was sitting to investigate the effects of such changes. It advised the setting-up of a Central Planning Authority to restrain the overcrowding of certain areas and prevent the growth of new depressed areas and to guide the location of industry in order to prevent lack of balance.

In 1942, two more official reports carried the story further—the Scott Report on the right ways of using land, and the Uthwatt Report on the methods and principles of controlling land development.

*(b) Scott Report\**

The Scott Report expressed its anxiety and concern about the poverty of rural workers and the inadequacy of their pay and their working and living conditions; it condemned the way in which town housing, industry, transport and other urban development had been permitted to sprawl over and spoil the country. It therefore recommended that agriculture should be set upon a sounder footing, capable of providing decent conditions for its workers; and that planning powers should be taken by the State to prevent the ruin of rural amenities and to prevent the using up of good agricultural land for other purposes.

*(c) Uthwatt Report\**

The Uthwatt Committee recommended that, in order that planning schemes of this kind should be made effective, the State should be prepared to purchase the development rights in all land where planning was needed, not only in the blitzed towns which need rebuilding, but also in slum areas and rural districts, where reconstruction and new development are urgent. This proposal for State purchase, if adopted as official policy, will represent a remarkable step forward in the intervention of the State in the use of property and the development of the nation's resources.

The Barlow Commission had also made far-reaching recommendations for intervention to prevent industrial development from taking place haphazardly and to the detriment of the community as a whole.

If the recommendations of these three reports are adopted as policy, the State will have assumed the responsibility and the power to step into the field of private enterprise and to say what can or what cannot be done by industrialists and builders and transport concerns in the development of their enterprises. It will be a policy by which private enterprise will be, not superseded by public enterprise, but guided and restricted by public control.†

## 4. The Trade Unions

It was not only the State and the owners and employers of industry who were ordering their affairs to achieve greater security in the industrial and commercial uncertainties of the pre-war world. For two generations or more, organised working people had set up and developed trade unions for precisely this purpose, the greater

\* Respectively—Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population, published 1940, at 5/-; Report of Committee on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas, published 1942, at 2/-; Final Report of the Expert Committee on Compensation and Betterment, published 1942, at 2/6; all published by H.M.S.O.

† See the summaries of the White Paper on Employment Policy on pp. 554–7, of the Town and Country Planning Bill on pp. 560–1, and of the White Paper on the Control of Land Use on pp. 562–3.

security of their members. In industry after industry, these trade unions were formed to secure decent wages and reasonable conditions of work, until, during the period between the last war and this one, the trade union movement had come to be one of the most important institutions in the social and economic life of this country. In each industry, its representatives bargained on equal terms on behalf of their members with their employers.

### **(i) Methods of Collaboration and Co-operation**

More and more, after the unrest and strikes of the middle twenties, this process of collective bargaining took the form of collaboration and co-operation. The trade unions were not, it is true, admitted to any share in the management of industry ; but their wishes and proposals determined to a very large extent, not only the conditions of work and pay in the various industries, but also the policy adopted by the State towards the problems of working people. The forerunner of State unemployment insurance, which was begun before the last war and tremendously extended after 1918, was the payment by trade unions of unemployment relief to their members when out of work. The trade unions played, and still play, an important part in the development and administration of health insurance for working people.

It can certainly be said that the great growth of social services for the poor, such as State education, State social insurance and State health services, which had come to cost the Government each year something like £400 millions before the war, was in no small measure due to the industrial importance of the trade unions and to their political pressure through the Labour Party in Parliament.

### **(ii) The Trade Unions in War**

In the status of the trade unions in the social, political and economic life of this country, the war has produced a dramatic step forward. From the very beginning in 1939, trade unions were consulted as a body in the working out of policies which affected the mobilisation, pay and working conditions of wage-earners. When Mr. Churchill made his National Government in 1940, a leading trade union leader, Mr. Bevin, was made Minister of Labour and National Service, to have charge of the vast task of harnessing the labour resources of the country to the war effort.

So, at the top, trade unions play an important part in relation to the Government machine ; while increasingly, in each factory, workshop and pit, joint committees of working people and managers have been set up to discuss and solve all the day-to-day problems of production which affect the workers. Moreover, in the development of wartime social and economic policy, such as rationing and taxation, the trade unions have been consulted at every turn. It may indeed be said that the war has brought the collaboration of workpeople and employers to a new high level—which may prove a most important factor in the solution of the post-war problems of demobilisation and reconstruction.

## **5. Economic Policy after the War**

A chief feature of public policy after the war, as before, will be the search for social security, so that no individual and no family will go short of work, food, clothing, shelter, good health or the decencies of life. Before the war, all the partners in British working life, the State, employers' associations and trade unions, were in their various ways drawing together to find some sort of remedy for insecurity.

### **(i) The Pre-War Paradox**

Britain at work before the war provided a strange paradox. On the one hand, the general standard of living was high and steadily increasing. On the other hand,

there was unemployment, poverty and inequality. During the early thirties, two workers out of ten were out of work ; and even in the years before the war, when activity had revived, the proportion of unemployed was 10 per cent. The national income, that is, the value of the goods and services produced in the country, was among the highest in the world ; but nine-tenths of the population was still below the £5 a week level, while half of 1 per cent. of the population, with incomes of over £2,000 a year, drew 16 per cent. of the total income of the country.

More and more it was Government policy, on the one hand, to increase the national income, by increasing employment and the output of goods and services ; and, on the other hand, to achieve greater equality in the distribution of the nation's income by means of higher wages and extended social services.

### (ii) Lessons from the War

The war, for all the destruction of life and property it has necessarily brought, has in some ways speeded up this movement towards greater security, higher employment and greater equality.

In wartime, there is no unemployment. There is full employment on war-work. The lesson that full employment should also be possible in peacetime is being learned. The lesson of equality is equally pointed. In wartime, the stock of goods and services available for civilians is strictly limited. It has, therefore, to be shared out with the greatest possible equality. Extensive rationing has secured greater equality in the distribution of civilian essentials here than in any other country at war. Moreover, in wartime, the Government has been compelled to direct, guide and control economic activity far more than in normal conditions. In its administration of war policy, it has made use of the co-operative associations of industrialists, producers and traders, which were growing up before the war.

All this means that, in the plans for peace, the process which was going on before the war, to get rid of unemployment, depressed industries, distressed areas, congested towns and unbalanced development and so on, has been given a new impetus. Signs of this are the Barlow Report, the Scott Report and the Uthwatt Report already mentioned, and the Beveridge Report on the social services. These may be the blue-prints of post-war State policy.

### (iii) Aims for the Future

It is widely realised, however, that there are great dangers in relying too much upon Government action. The mainspring of Britain at work in the past has been private initiative, private enterprise, private investment and the readiness of private individuals to take risks. These are the factors which have given to British industry and trade that quality of adaptability which has enabled so much material progress to be made in technical methods and, as a result, in both wealth and welfare. It is important that, in the quest for *security*, these elements of *adaptability* should not be lost. This is perhaps the main problem which post-war Britain will have to solve—that is, the right balance between State intervention and private enterprise. As Mr. Lyttelton has said, we need a great deal more of both.

### *The Working Partners*

It is an important fact that a great deal has been done during the war to bring employers and workpeople together in the administration of their businesses and in the solution of wartime problems. The same degree of co-operation will be required in the period of reconstruction after the war. It is not likely that the co-operation of the trade union movement as a whole in the business of government and

the co-operation of workers in factory and production committees in works up and down the country will suddenly cease when the war is over.

All these partners in Britain at work will have their part to play in working out the best means of preserving the efficiency and enterprise of British industry, while at the same time providing for all the individuals and families in the country a nation-wide minimum of security below which none should fall—security of work, security of remuneration and security of consumption—a guarantee that the work, the pay, the goods and the services that are needed for a decent standard of living will be forthcoming. And the basic fact is that the best means of securing this minimum of security is to ensure full employment, at the most efficient level and on the most productive work, of all the resources of the country, human and material, to make certain that the utmost possible output of goods and services is produced, without restriction.

That must be the next stage in economic policy—*full employment*, from which can spring nation-wide *security* and *adaptability* in industrial and commercial progress.

## 6. For Discussion—and Decision\*

British policy for industry and agriculture after the war must be decided by Parliament—which means, in the end, by all the citizens of Britain. Below are listed some of the outstanding problems which these citizens have to face and to settle. Each is a centre of controversy and debate, but an effort has been made to state them fairly and without bias. If there is any sign of personal predilection, discount it and begin thinking from the quite neutral facts. That is required by the importance of the problems—for on the settlement of them depends largely the winning of the peace, after the winning of the war.

### (i) Security plus Adaptability

There is a danger that, if too much attention is paid by the Government, by industrial organisations or by trade unions to the search for *security*, the need for *adaptability* and technical progress will be insufficiently attended to. For instance, full employment does not mean that every firm in every industry shall have tomorrow the same number of people at work as are at work there today. If this were the case, no economic progress would be possible. If it had been so in the past, we would still be going about in stage coaches, and there would be no railways and motor cars—because to keep up employment in the stage-coach business would only have been practicable by preventing the development of railways and other road vehicles.

### (ii) Employers' Organisations and Trade Unions

There is also a problem, which the citizen will have to solve democratically, about the share in the running of industrial or labour policy by employers' organisations or trade unions, respectively. Obviously, these associations and unions have knowledge and experience. But, obviously also, they have special interests, which may often be different from the interests of the community as a whole. The problem is to balance the interests of sections of the community with the interests of the community as a whole. And that is a job of Parliament and not of trade associations or trade unions. This is the danger in what is called industrial self-government, by which trade associations and so on would be allowed to determine industrial and commercial policy. It is probably true to say that, in a democracy, policy must be decided by Parliament and by Parliament alone.

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\*See the summary of the White Paper on Employment Policy on pp. 554-7.

**(iii) Need for International Trade**

It has been a good thing for this country that so many new industries, including in particular building, the motor car and wireless industries, and so on, have grown up in the past generation to serve the needs of the *home market*. These industries are signs of the steadily rising standard of living. On the other hand, there is a great danger in supposing that this country can be self-sufficient, that it is enough to build up these industries to supply the home market and that exports can be ignored.

*We Cannot Be Self-Sufficient*

This would be disastrous, because of the extent to which we depend, and must depend, whether we like it or not, on imported raw materials and imported foodstuffs. The only way in which we can pay for these foodstuffs and raw materials is by exporting our manufactured goods. Part of our imports, of course, we pay for out of the proceeds of our overseas investments, and out of the payment that is made to us for the use by overseas people of our shipping. After this war, our income from investments will be a good deal smaller than it was before the war, because we have had to get rid of so many of our overseas investments in order to pay for essential imports while the war has been going on. Thus, the need for exports will be bigger, not smaller, after the war than it was before.

Of course, we cannot go back to the old state of affairs when we depended on the export of a few staple commodities such as cotton goods, woollen goods, iron and steel and coal. We cannot go back to this state of affairs because other countries are producing these staple products for themselves, which will be increasingly true after this war, because many countries, which we have not been able to supply because of the war, have had either to produce these things themselves or to get them elsewhere.

*Skill and Efficiency Must Sell our Goods*

We cannot go backwards. So we must go forwards. That is to say, we must build up new specialised, diversified industries, the products of which we shall be able to sell abroad because they are British and well made. The greatest asset of this country in the future as in the past will be the *skill* of its workers and the *efficiency* of its manufactures. In the old days, this skill and efficiency were applied to the old industries which grew up round the coalfields and in the iron districts, or in the textile districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire. In the future, the industries in which our skill and efficiency are displayed will very largely be different ones. But that skill and efficiency must be displayed if our exports are to be sold and our imports paid for. *More than any other country in the world, Britain depends, and must depend, upon international trade for its existence.*

**(iv) Agriculture**

Most people are agreed that agriculture has a right, a claim to be helped to prosperity, that is, to a state of affairs in which farming can pay its workers sufficiently well for them to live as well as town-workers. But there is disagreement on the methods of achieving this.

Some want a policy approaching agricultural self-sufficiency, helped by protective tariffs and subsidies. Others believe that if we try to build up a self-sufficient agriculture in this country by protection and subsidy, we shall on balance be the loser; because we shall have to direct labour and capital from industry back to farming and so shall be unable to satisfy the rising needs of the home market for

industrial products or to develop the new export industries with the success on which our ability to import essential materials depends. On this latter argument, the proper policy should be one of agricultural specialisation and farming efficiency, directed towards the production of the foodstuffs for which British farming and the British climate are most suitable—that is, dairy produce and fresh vegetables.

#### (v) Workers and Management

One of the greatest problems that Britain has to solve is the problem of associating the people with the processes of democratic life. The war has taught a good deal about the way to solve this problem. Already working people are associated with the processes of industry in the production committees which have been set up in factories, pits and workshops. They are actually taking part in the running of the industries in which they work. Almost certainly, this kind of development will play an enormous part in the working of British democracy after the war.

## Chapter II.

## THE SOCIAL SERVICES

*"a set of devices, varying widely in scope and in the means by which they are administered, for providing people, whose incomes are low or precarious, with as many of the facilities and advantages as would be available for well-to-do families, if the need arose."*—(P.E.P. Report on the British Social Services.)

### 1. The Need

The business of getting a living is the main pre-occupation of most of us. The lives we lead and the lives we can provide for our dependants are mainly the result of that "bread and butter" activity. So logically the first chapter has dealt with "Britain at Work," with Britain earning its bread and butter.

#### (i) Earning an Income

In simple terms, the majority of us get our income in payment for the work we do. Normally in peacetime we are left to find our own work and the payment for it depends on the bargain we can make with our employers. In that bargain the government intervenes in different ways. It permits our organisation into associations, such as trade unions, which can represent us in the fixing of wages, etc. In some industries, where the workers are unorganised, the government sets up machinery such as Trade Boards for fixing minimum wages which employers are forced to pay. Again, the government may lay down the conditions under which the work must be done. Thus it administers a long list of measures regarding hours, ventilation, sanitation, safety precautions, etc., which has been considerably extended during this war, when a new branch of the Ministry of Labour has been set up to deal with industrial welfare problems, such as factory medical services, communal feeding and billeting.

Generally speaking, it has been established that in industry or business the employer is not allowed to impose his conditions on employees in the name of freedom of thought and action, but is a partner in an association involving so many others, and involving them so vitally, that he must achieve a sense of responsibility or have it thrust upon him.

**(ii) Failure of Income**

All this would make it nice (or tolerable) work if we could get it ; work provides the income to be spent on all the other activities in which we engage, such as providing the necessary food, shelter, clothing, education and recreation for ourselves and our families. But what happens when the income is not adequate to provide all the facilities generally considered necessary ? The inadequacy may arise in many different ways. There may be a complete stoppage of work, and therefore of income, through unemployment, sickness, or injury or old age. We may be in work, but, since the income paid is based on the work done and not on the number to be maintained, it may not be enough to save a large family from hardship.

**(iii) The Public Social Services**

To meet such interruption and inadequacy of income, a vast range of social services has been built up. Many are provided by private charitable organisations, and the part played by them and by voluntary workers can hardly be over-estimated. But this chapter will be mainly concerned with the *public* social services, the services provided by the government. It will attempt to show their operation under the following headings—leaving education to be dealt with separately.

*Getting a Living.*—The provision of an income when normal earning has been interrupted.

*Providing the Necessities of Life.*—Methods of making available facilities for which the income earned or given would be inadequate.

*Leisure.*—The provision of the means of constructive recreation.

*Marriage and Child-Rearing.*—The provision of special allowances for this activity.

The chapter will be a survey necessarily incomplete, concerned not only with the achievements so far but with the outstanding problems, so that, knowing how and where we have got to, we shall be better able to answer the question—where to ? what next ?

**2. Getting a Living**

In the event of failure to make a living and earn an income in the normal way, the last resort for aid is the Poor Law, now known as Public Assistance, the first public service ever to be established in this country. It has the responsibility of maintaining the destitute according to need, yet in such a way as to discourage any preference for relief rather than employment. It is administered by locally elected Public Assistance Committees, its cost is met by local taxpayers and no help can be given until after application by the person in need, and a " means test " by the authorities.

But the failure to make a living is generally due to one of four causes, unemployment, sickness, old age or bereavement, and specific schemes have been designed to operate as first-line defences against each of these.

**(i) Unemployment**

The unemployed have always—or for a long time at least—been with us. The Elizabethan Poor Law made specific provision for putting able-bodied unemployed to useful labour. But as industrialism extended in the 18th and 19th centuries, it was accompanied, not only by a great increase in production and wealth, not only by a distribution of that wealth which left great differences between the higher and



lower incomes, but also by depressions, seemingly incalculable and uncontrollable, certainly devastating. Every seven or eight years during the last century and a half, thousands of men have been temporarily thrown out of employment for no reason that they could even dimly perceive. Here was a problem which charity and voluntary organisations could not be expected to cope with. Government action was needed and has steadily increased.

(a) *Unemployment Insurance*

The first experiments with the *unemployment insurance scheme* were made in 1911. In its present form, employers, workers and the State contribute equal weekly sums to a central fund out of which benefits are paid during unemployment. Now in consequence of a general increase in August 1940, the general weekly rate for a single man between 21 and 65 years is 20/-, for a single woman between the same ages, 18/-, for an unemployed man and dependent wife, 30/-, and 4/- for each of their first two children. These rates normally continue for 156 days, but, where there is a good record of weekly contributions, may continue longer.

(b) *Unemployment Assistance*

Beyond that unemployment insurance scheme, lies *unemployment assistance*, available to those who either have exhausted their right to insurance benefit or cannot make do on that benefit alone. It is in part an effort to meet the problem of long-term unemployment. The rates of allowance are subject to adjustment according to the needs and the means of the individual, the chief basic rates for householders being 31/- a week for a married couple and 18/- a week for a single person over 21, to which is added a rent allowance in each case. Additions are made for dependants, and the rates may also be increased in special circumstances. The funds for this assistance are raised completely by taxation, and an award can be made only after application by the person in need, and after investigation into the case.

*Question of the "Means Test"*

At first this "means test" had been made on the basis of the household and as such had long been a grievance to many. In certain circumstances an adult son in work had, in effect, to support an unemployed father, and vice versa. That particular grievance has now been practically removed by the new principle of making the test virtually a personal instead of a household one. However, many believe that "means tests" of any kind discourage thrift, and that any scheme using them should be replaced by some system of insurance, based on compulsory contributions and on benefit paid as a right. Against this it should be remembered that people's needs vary so much that no insurance system can hope to cover them completely, and that if additional help is to be given, some sort of "needs test" and "means test" seems inevitable.

(c) *Reduction of Unemployment*

Yet at the end of all these provisions, the first requirement remains first—that unemployment should be eliminated, not made tolerable. That must be a general consideration in the Government's whole policy, in its decisions on free trade or protection, on taxation, on colonial development, etc. Beside that central pervading consideration any specific direct measures for reducing unemployment may seem minor but they must be listed.

In 1935 Commissioners were appointed to develop schemes for the restoration of the "Special Areas," mainly the heavily depressed parts of South Wales, the North of England and Central Scotland. Over a period of about five years these Commissioners settled new industries, developed public works schemes and promoted local social services, spending over £16,000,000. In addition the Ministry of Labour maintained several kinds of training institutions, seeking to fit men and women for new occupations and, since war broke out, these facilities have been greatly expanded.

This same Ministry has built up an Employment Exchange system, seeking to put the demand for labour in touch with the supply. As an extension of this work special efforts were made to move unemployed from the depressed areas to districts with better prospects. Financial aid was given to those moving and within the last fourteen years over 250,000 workers took advantage of the scheme.

So runs the record of the unemployment services. Criticism—and improvement—of them has been constant, and will continue. But this much may be permitted by way of conclusion and prophecy. Throughout them can be seen two trends—an attack on the want consequent on idleness and an attack on the idleness which produces the want. Now there seems to be transfer of emphasis and effort to the attack on idleness. Many regard our policies during the war as the most successful attack yet made, and it is worth discussing how far, when the peacetime attack is renewed, it must follow the same principles—national planning of work by the Government, and the mobilisation and mobility of labour to fit that plan.

### (iii) **Sickness**

The interruption of work and income through illness or injury is tackled mainly by the National Health Insurance scheme and the provisions for Workmen's Compensation.

#### (a) *National Health Insurance Scheme*

Membership of this scheme is compulsory for practically all manual workers. Until recently non-manual workers earning more than £250 a year were excluded, but since the war this limit has been raised to £420.

#### *Cash Benefits*

The general provision is that both employees and employers contribute weekly to central funds and the State assists by bearing a proportion of the cost of the benefits provided. From these funds, subject to certain qualifying conditions as to contributions, etc., a *sickness benefit* is paid during incapacity for work at a normal rate of 18/- a week for a man. Where the incapacity lasts longer than 26 weeks, payment may be continued as *disablement benefit* at a lower rate, viz. 10/6 a week for a man. The scheme also provides *maternity benefit* in the form of a cash payment of £2 on the confinement of the wife of an insured man or of a woman who is herself insured. In addition to the payment in respect of her husband's insurance, a married woman who is herself insured is entitled to a maternity benefit in right of her own insurance, while, if the husband is not insured or not qualified for the benefit, a double benefit is payable from her insurance.

#### *The Approved Societies*

The vast majority of insured persons are members of "Approved Societies" which administer the benefits of the scheme, other than medical benefit,

under the general supervision of the central Department. Approved societies are separate financial units, and where, on a valuation of the assets and liabilities of a society, a disposable surplus is disclosed, the society may devote this surplus to providing additional benefits for its members, consisting of increases in the standard rates of cash benefits mentioned above or payments towards the cost of particular forms of treatment such as dental or ophthalmic treatment, including the provision of dentures or spectacles.

### *Medical Benefit*

Medical benefit under the scheme comprises free medical attendance and treatment by a general practitioner, and the provision of any necessary medicines. This benefit is administered in Great Britain by Insurance Committees which exist in each county and county borough.

Over 21,000,000 persons were covered by this scheme in 1939, and it is estimated that medical attention and cash benefits were provided for over 8,000,000 people every year.

### *(b) Workmen's Compensation*

An Act, passed in 1897, established for certain specially dangerous occupations the right of a workman engaged under a contract of service, or his dependants, to receive compensation in respect of death or total or partial incapacity for work caused by an accident arising out of and in the course of the workman's employment. This provision has been steadily widened until now it covers practically all persons working under a contract of service, the most important exception being non-manual workers earning more than £420 a year: it applies not only to injury by accident but also to injury to health caused by certain diseases scheduled as specific to industry.

### *The Benefits*

Compensation in disablement cases is a weekly payment (which may, subject to certain conditions, be commuted for a lump sum) of a proportion of the workman's average weekly earnings before the accident or, in partial incapacity cases, of the difference between what the workman was earning before the accident and what he is able to earn after the accident. The maximum weekly payment, originally £1, was subsequently increased to 30/-, and in August 1940, provision was made for a supplementary allowance up to 5/- and for children's allowances. Compensation to total dependants in fatal cases is a lump sum equal to three years' earnings, subject to a minimum of £200 and a maximum of £300, with additional compensation up to an aggregate maximum of £600 where the workman leaves children under 15.\*

The cost of compensation falls on employers.

### *(iii) Old Age*

The maintenance of the old has traditionally been the responsibility of the family. Where that failed, further help has in the past been given by the Churches or by voluntary societies which instituted savings schemes. But many low-paid

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\* In February 1943, provision was made for taking into account, in calculating a workman's pre-accident earnings, changes in wage-rates, since the accident, in the class of employment in which he was employed before the accident.

In November 1943, the supplementary allowance was increased to 10/- a week after the first 13 weeks of disablement, a wife's allowance was provided, children's allowances were increased and the minimum, maximum and aggregate limits of compensation in fatal cases were increased to £300, £400 and £700, respectively.

workers did not earn enough to permit saving and this gradually compelled State provision. From slight, side-line encouragement the degree of State service has extended until before the war there were two main provisions :—

(a) A *non-contributory* provision of up to 10/- per week to old people over 70, on satisfaction of a mild “ means test.”

(b) A *contributory* pensions scheme providing, subject to certain qualifying conditions, old age pensions of 10/- weekly for insured workers and their wives. The pension becomes payable at the age of 65 for an insured man and at 60 for an insured woman and the wife of an insured man who has qualified for a pension. The scope of compulsory insurance for pensions purposes is rather wider than that for health insurance referred to above, and, as in that scheme, employers and employees contribute weekly to a central fund from which the pensions are paid and which receives substantial State assistance for this purpose.

### *Wartime Extensions*

During the war important new extensions have been made. The availability of the contributory scheme for non-manual workers has been extended, as in the case of national health insurance, to those earning up to £420 a year. Provision has also been made for the payment of supplementary pensions to pensioners whose other means are insufficient, with the 10/- pension, to meet their needs. The pensioner living alone who has nothing much but his 10/- old age pension normally gets a supplementary pension of 10/- a week *plus* a rent allowance. The supplementary pension for a married couple is 15/- a week, making 35/- with their two pensions, plus a rent allowance in addition. Larger payments may be made where there are special circumstances.

### (iv) **Bereavement**

The main provision is that the widows of men insured under the contributory pensions scheme, subject to their husbands having at the date of death satisfied certain qualifying conditions, receive pensions of 10/- a week, with allowances of 5/- a week for the eldest or only child and 3/- a week for each other child.\*

There are also orphans' pensions for the orphan children of workers insured under the contributory pensions scheme.

### *Industrial Assurance*

There is also a vast system of industrial assurance, providing death and funeral benefits, etc., which is not run by the State, but by *private* collecting societies. Many believe that the public social services should be extended to cover the industrial assurance.

### (v) **The General Trends**

These schemes for relief from want due to unemployment, sickness or injury, old age or bereavement are, by far, the main items of the public social services. They have been constantly extended until in 1939 over 70 per cent. of the estimated occupied population was covered for unemployment and about 90 per cent. for

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\* Since August 1943, widows under sixty with young children, for whom they are getting allowances, have been able to get their pensions supplemented on the same terms as old age pensioners, that is, subject to a test of need.

sickness, old age and widowhood. Even in this war, as we have seen, the development has continued and the following tables indicate some of the main trends.

(a) *Numbers Insured in Great Britain (in thousands)*

				Unemployment Insurance	Health Insurance	Widows, Orphans and Old Age
1914	...	...	...	2,237	13,689	—
1931	...	...	...	12,500	18,322	18,515
1939	...	...	...	15,548	21,127	20,679

(b) *Cash Benefits Paid (in £000)*

				Unemployment Insurance	Health Insurance	Workmen's Compensation (in certain industries)
1914	...	...	...	386	8,010	3,465
1931	...	...	...	80,169	18,907	5,497
1939	...	...	...	41,521	19,093	6,397 (1938)

(c) *Rates of Benefit—National Health Insurance*

				1912	1920	Jan., 1942
Sickness Benefit at Ordinary Rate for Men	...	...	...	10/-	15/-	18/-

(d) *Rates of Contribution—Unemployment Insurance*

					1912	1942	
					Man	Woman	Man
Employer	...	...	...	...	2½d.	2½d.	10d.
Employee	...	...	...	...	2½d.	2½d.	9d.

### 3. Providing the Necessities of Life

There are two obvious methods of helping people whose incomes are low. The first is to provide some more income and some developments in that line have just been reviewed. The other method is for the Government to act, in a variety of ways, to make available to people of low incomes facilities and advantages normally available only to the well-to-do.

In this line, many positive and constructive provisions have been made, designed to ensure the essentials not only of life, but of healthy, civilised life. Some of these provisions may be considered under the headings of *housing* and *health*.

#### (i) **Housing**

Certain elementary services such as water supply, drainage and sewage services, street cleansing and refuse disposal, etc., are taken for granted. In general, a highly efficient system is provided but it breaks down partly over the extension to all rural areas. This extension seems the next logical possibility and problem.

But a more direct attack on the problem of unsatisfactory housing has been necessary, for on the differences in housing are based most of the differences in the standard of living.

As long ago as 1868, an Act of Parliament enabled Local Authorities to compel the owners of houses "unfit for human habitation" to make them fit or demolish them. A Government Committee in 1918 laid down a minimum for working class housing—a living-room, a separate kitchen, three bedrooms, a bathroom and water-closet, all with windows to the open air and a ventilated larder. In the twenty years following, this standard was by no means achieved but considerable progress was made.

*Houses between the Wars*

Over 4,000,000 houses have been built, accounting for one-third of all the houses existing today. Of these, Local Authorities built 1,000,000 themselves, and private enterprise was given financial assistance for another 435,000. The remainder were built by private persons or firms without a subsidy from the State. The type of house varies but the most characteristic is a cottage with its own garden, providing a living-room, two, three or more bedrooms, a kitchen, and a bathroom—which measures closely to the 1918 specification.

On this record progress has been great. The war has interrupted it, though there has been a good deal of new housing provided for war-workers, and there is particular interest in the experiment of the Ministry of Labour in managing hostels for many thousands of work-people.

Moreover, Local Authorities have been busily engaged in organising and carrying out repair work on war-damaged houses. Arrangements are also being made to meet the post-war demand for new houses.

**(ii) Health**

Towards the maintenance of health all the schemes already mentioned contribute and this has been a focus point of public service since the beginning. The list of specific provisions is long :—

*(a) Maternity and Child-Welfare*

Maternity and child-welfare service has been developed under the Local Authorities—either by direct administration or by grants for the work to voluntary associations. The general principle is of payment according to means, so that for the poorest families the service is free.

Normally the service includes centres where the expectant and nursing mother can get examination, advice and special food, a public midwifery service, public and private maternity wards in hospital, health visitors to advise in the home and welfare centres for the examination and treatment of the babies. The result is seen in the reduction of the maternal death-rate by nearly one-half and of the infant death-rate by two-thirds since 1900, and in the substantial decrease in all kinds of children's diseases.

*(b) School Services*

At school the medical service continues. All elementary school-children are given a full medical examination at least three times during their school careers, and there are periodical examinations during secondary school. On the basis of these inspections, minor treatment is given and valuable guidance is offered, and all this without charge to children from the poorer homes.

There are also "nutrition schemes" such as the school milk scheme which by the end of 1942 was providing cheap or free milk for well over three million children and was still expanding. In addition, the school meals scheme covered over one million children and that number was still increasing.

Perhaps the achievement has not been perfect. For example, improvement in health achieved through action at school may often be checked by ignorance or carelessness at home. But the progress towards a clean bill of health and hygiene for all children has been very marked.

*(c) After-School Services*

During the working career, the schemes of National Health Insurance and the Poor Law Medical Service operate to provide cheap or free medical attention. The more important is, of course, the National Health Insurance scheme which makes available to the insured workers—but not to their dependants—medical attendance and treatment by general practitioners, including the provision of medicine.

This scheme has become very popular and many suggestions have been made for its extension. One proposal is to make it cover the whole community, instead of the present insurable population, and so turn it into a comprehensive State service. A lesser extension, which is also suggested, would make it cover the dependants of insured workers as well as the insured workers themselves. There is also a demand that it should make available specialist attention as well as the services of general practitioners.

*(d) The Hospitals*

Behind all these schemes lies the great system of hospitals, or rather the two systems, voluntary and public. Over a thousand voluntary hospitals exist today, many instituted by charitable endowment and ranging from the thousand-bed size in the towns to the small cottage hospital in country districts. The public hospitals are far more numerous but of more recent growth. Some remain under Public Assistance authorities, and others have become public general hospitals. In general their growth has raised the question of the efficiency of the double system, which often has placed two types of hospital, unrelated to each other, in the same neighbourhood. Many methods of co-operation have been devised and the war has speeded this development, for example, by the organisation of a joint blood-transfusion service.

*(e) Special Services*

Around the hospitals have grown special services, such as those for tuberculosis and for venereal disease. Generally these are the responsibility of the Local Authorities and provide free examination and treatment. Many problems still remain; for example, many want the notification and treatment of venereal disease made compulsory in Great Britain. But that the death rate from tuberculosis had fallen from 1,904 per million persons in 1900 to 602 per million in 1938 is a fair measure of the progress.

**(iii) Future of the Health Services \***

On a general view of all these services, there is possibly still much to be done. The question of a minimum healthy diet has been raised. It has been estimated that in Britain, before the war, about 40 per cent. of the population was somewhat undernourished. As a remedy for this state of affairs, some people want to retain in some form, after the war, such measures as those adopted by the Government at present for the general rationing of essential foods and the allocation of certain items, such as oranges and eggs, to special sections of the population. This involves, as a "concealed" social service, expenditure by the Government of about £140,000,000 for the year 1942-43, to block the prices of many of these articles.

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\*See the summary of the White Paper on a National Health Service on pp. 548-52.

There must also be consideration for the charge that the principle of *preventive* treatment, seen in the maternity, child and school services, is not maintained in later years, when the panel doctor is called in, generally, not to prevent illness but to cure it or make it more bearable. How can we improve the health services directed towards positive prevention? Whatever the answer, there is in the present attainment plenty of excuse for pride, but none for a sense of complacency or completion.

#### 4. Use of Leisure

About this point a multitude of aids has been provided, chiefly by the Local Authorities—municipal parks, recreation grounds, swimming pools, community centres, etc. In 1937 Parliament, by a National Fitness and Recreation Act, instituted a scheme for financial aid to voluntary organisations and Local Authorities in developing certain provisions for recreation. The war ended this experiment, like many others, but it will be renewed—as always, if we want it.

#### Extension of State Provision?

It seems certain that under this heading, our record of *public* service has not been extended as far as that of Germany or Italy or Russia. The Nazi "Strength through Joy" movement or the elaborate Russian provision for leisure and holidays represents State intervention far greater than anything we have undertaken or accepted. The general reason is clear—that use of leisure is so much an individual expression that a democratic government must hesitate to interfere at all. If we do decide to extend the public services here, then somehow a balance has to be worked out that will encourage the constructive use of leisure without denying individual freedom of choice or regimenting a holiday excursion.

#### 5. Marriage and Child-Rearing

We noted earlier that one of the causes of want lay in the fact that the income of the breadwinner was based on the work done and not on any consideration of the number to be maintained. This holds an obvious possibility of poverty for a large dependent family. Many of the social services already reviewed, such as widows' pensions and orphans' and children's allowances, bear on this problem, but they operate generally only in cases where some other factor such as bereavement is present.

#### Family Allowances

There is a demand by many for specific family allowances. Already there is some indirect allowance, through relief from income tax in respect of dependent children, but further and more direct allowances are sought. The proposed schemes vary—from a weekly payment by the State to the family for each dependent child to the issue to each mother of coupons entitling her to a free or very cheap supply of certain essential foods, ensuring for both mother and child a minimum standard of diet. Some objections are raised which see the possibility of danger in the intervention of the State in family life—the possibility of the State excluding parents from their natural care and responsibility.

At any rate, social service is again on the move and another issue is being raised for decision—our decision.



## 6. Present Position

If we look back over this record of the public social services, certain general features are immediately recognisable.

### (i) Early Development

In the years 1906–1914 a wide range of social services was introduced, dealing with school medical attention, old age pensions, employment exchanges, minimum wages and maximum hours, health and unemployment insurance. Since then there have been frequent developments, which have continued even during this war, as we have seen.

At present, if the four main provisions for help, the “ Big Four ”—unemployment insurance, workmen’s compensation, health insurance and old age pensions—are taken as a standard test, few other countries in the world are close to our achievement. New Zealand may even be a little in the lead over us, since her great charter of 1938. But that apart, few are quite up to our shoulder. U.S.A., for example, lacks health insurance and some other important provisions, although the development of her social services has been rapid and extensive.

### (ii) Development to Meet Specific Abuses

Generally any service has been an effort to counter some existing abuse such as bad conditions in mills or heavy unemployment. We have sought to remedy specific conditions rather than to forestall with a comprehensive plan, and so the whole system has grown up piecemeal and has never been tackled as a whole.

As a result there are gaps and anomalies which are none the less deplorable because they may be the accidental results of such haphazard growth. Thus the services do not cover all sections of the population who might need relief: small shopkeepers, middle-aged spinsters and separated or deserted wives are often not covered by the schemes of social insurance. In addition, there are many specific hardships. An unemployed man with a wife and three children will get 41/- a week—which, you may say, is little enough. Yet if the same man, still unemployed, falls sick and, assuming it is not an industrial accident, becomes permanently disabled, his benefit falls to 18/- and then to 10/6. Again, there is the limitation in our sickness insurance which provides only general practitioner treatment for the insured man and nothing at all for the man’s wife and children if they go sick.

As a result of such anomalies there is a demand that the services should be planned more comprehensively, by defining certain minimum standards of food, shelter, health, etc., as was done for housing in 1918, and by ensuring that no individual shall be allowed to fall below these standards.

### (iii) Variety of Administration

Another consequence of this piecemeal growth is the variety of methods of administration. Responsibility may belong either to the State or to private organisations, as in the case of hospitals. Even where it is a *public* social service, it may be administered either by the central government or by the Local Authorities—witness the difference between the unemployment insurance scheme and the maternity and child welfare services. There is no uniform method of meeting the cost; thus *unemployment insurance* is a scheme of compulsory self-help by weekly contribution, while *unemployment assistance* is paid for entirely out of taxation. Similarly the system of the “ means test ” is applied in some schemes but not in others, and even where it is applied it may take one of four different forms.

This variety is not necessarily nor entirely a handicap. In some instances it gives wide scope for experiment and initiative. But many are of the opinion that it produces an amount of intricacy and overlapping which is quite unnecessary. Some go so far as to suggest a Ministry of Social Security with responsibility for the whole system.

## 7. The Future\*

This survey has not, of course, been complete, but it has at least glanced at most of the main types of public social service, and with one eye on post-war development. That eye might also have seen the Government already busy with these problems through various special committees.

### (i) Beveridge Committee on Social Insurance

In the whole range, the main items are the "Big Four" social service schemes—unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, health insurance, and old age pensions—for they provide against that "interruption of earnings" which has been estimated to have caused five-sixths of the want in Great Britain before the war. The improvement of these different schemes must, therefore, be the first aim in the development of the social services.

Accordingly in the long list of committees set up by the Government to consider post-war problems, the most important for the social services is the Inter-Departmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services, presided over by Sir William Beveridge and generally known as the "Beveridge Committee on Social Insurance." Its terms of reference were:—

"To undertake, with special reference to the inter-relation of the schemes, a survey of the existing national schemes of social insurance and allied services, including workmen's compensation, and to make recommendations."

It was later decided to confine the responsibility of making recommendations to the Chairman of the Committee.

The Report will probably have been published by the time you read this. Its preparation will be a measure of our practical concern with post-war reconstruction; but that must be matched and implemented by our interest. Read the Report or a summary at least: discuss it as fully as possible, for here as always it is our business—to be minded by us.

### (ii) Conclusion

Quite apart from any future development, it seems a fair conclusion from this survey that not only do we have the best social services in the world (apart possibly from those established in New Zealand), but that we are moving officially and practically for their improvement. We are expressing in practical terms the underlying assumption that the nation is a living and growing community, in which each citizen is a serving member with responsibilities to all the others. It is a community, determining its own destiny by democratic processes, insistent on freedom for the individual, but insistent too that that freedom shall be based on a minimum standard of life and health for all.

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\* See the summary of the White Papers on Social Insurance and Industrial Injury Insurance on pp. 563-9.

## Chapter III.

## EDUCATION\*

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### 1. The Extent

Education is the best known of the social services, for everyone has been to school; it is also one of the largest, as the following approximate figures (for 1938) show:—

	<i>No. of pupils</i>	<i>No. of schools</i>	<i>No. of teachers</i>	<i>Cost</i>
England and Wales ...	5½ million	23,000	200,000	£100 million
Scotland ...	900,000	3,000	26,000	£20 million

Various questions naturally occur to us about so important a part of the national life. What is the purpose of all this education? What different kinds of schools are there? How are they run, and how does a child get into them? How does British education compare with that of other countries? Is it as good as it might be, and how can it be improved? The soldier will want to know in particular how he may himself benefit from further education, and how his children may get the best that is possible.

### 2. The Purpose

Broadly speaking, the aim of education is to make everyone as complete a human being as possible. We are all born with different amounts and kinds of brains; these cannot be altered or increased by education, but they can be given the chance to develop. Moreover, education does not end with schooldays: we are always learning something fresh about our fellow-men and the world we live in. There is thus nothing childish about continuing one's education.

Looked at more closely, education has to prepare us for the three main sides of life: we all have to earn our living; we are all citizens of a democracy; and each one of us is an individual with thoughts and interests of his own.

#### (i) As Workers

Whatever one's work, one must know how to read and write and do simple sums; it is therefore the law of the land that every parent must see that his children learn that minimum. For any but quite unskilled work more knowledge is needed. It is a great advantage to be able to express oneself clearly and effectively in speech or writing; and such subjects as mathematics, mechanics, electricity or geography form a basis for the special knowledge required in various occupations; the actual job is learnt either in a technical school or by apprenticeship. It is

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\*This chapter was written in 1942 when suggestions for the reform of English education were in the air, but the Government had not yet formulated its policy. In 1943 the Government published a White Paper outlining comprehensive measures for the reconstruction of education in England and Wales. Parliament has now passed an Act giving the necessary authority for the Government's plans to be put into effect.

This chapter is reprinted in its original form and gives a picture of the existing educational system which remains broadly true for the time being. In reading it, however, it should be borne in mind that far-reaching and progressive changes in nearly every department of education are already planned—changes in administration, in structure and in terminology, besides an expansion in the quality and length of schooling and the provision of up-to-date buildings for all schools. Some of the main changes and developments contemplated under the new Act are outlined in footnotes to B.W.P. 11 "Education and the Citizen" and a general summary of the Act is given on pp. 546–8.

the duty of the school to discover, so far as possible, what each pupil is fitted for and to give him the appropriate sort of knowledge. But that is not as easy as it sounds, for children do not always develop as we expect; besides, as things are, boys and girls often have to take any job they can find, whether they like it and can do it well or not.

### (ii) As Citizens

We pride ourselves on being a democracy; we are fighting this war to preserve democracy against the menace of dictatorship. Yet we have constantly to admit that democracy is not working perfectly; as the war goes on people are being more and more compelled to do things that they have not done of their own accord. Why should this be? It is because democracy cannot work unless people realise that they are all ultimately responsible for what happens: they cannot just leave it to "them," to "the Government."

Hitler has educated the Germans to be his blind slaves; we have the far harder task of educating responsible citizens. For that, we must have an intelligent understanding of current affairs, both at home and abroad, and we must have learnt to some extent the very difficult art of thinking straight, so as not to be at the mercy of propaganda and ignorant prejudices. This sort of training is especially important for those who fight for a democracy; for that reason A.B.C.A. and the "British Way and Purpose" have been started, to give you the chance of discussion on a basis of genuine knowledge. Without knowledge discussion is waste of breath.

### (iii) As Individuals

But besides being workers and citizens, there are times when we want to be just ourselves. In other words, each of us has a private life, when we read or listen to music, go to the pictures, play football, go cycling or camping, dig in the garden, or carry on whatever our particular hobby happens to be. Tastes differ enormously; but most people will agree that some leisure-time pursuits are more worth while than others. It is an important aim of education to enable us to make the best use of spare time. An educated man is better able to provide his own entertainment, and is not bored or at a loose end when cut off from cinemas or the pools; he can distinguish good books or films or music from bad; in general, he will spend his leisure on interests that mean some effort on his part, in which his mind or body or hands are actively engaged.

## 3. The State and Education

Let us next inquire how we in Great Britain try to achieve these aims. And, first, how is this great service organised and administered?

Education in Great Britain differs from that in many other countries in two principal respects: (i) much of it lies outside the State system; (ii) the State system is administered locally, with a central supervising authority (the Board of Education).

### (i) Outside the State System

It is only within comparatively modern times that the State has taken charge of education; even now many of the oldest and most famous schools are independent of the State, and it is still legally possible for anyone, whatever his qualifications, to set up a school. The great change was made by the Education Act of 1870, since when an increasingly large part has been played by the State—or rather, by the nation, since the word "State" gives the impression of some totalitarian

authority other than the people. The nation, then, has had to take charge of its education, for two chief reasons :—

(a) The cost of education is constantly going up. Buildings, equipment, playing fields are more generously provided, and teachers are better paid. Very few parents could afford to pay what their children's education actually costs ; the vast amount of money needed to run the schools must be contributed by all, in the form of rates and taxes.

(b) Since education is the people's concern, it must be managed by the people through elected bodies. Public management is more democratic than private, and as a rule more efficient.

## (ii) Administration by the State

Let us look briefly, then, at the local and central authorities concerned with the State system of education.

### (a) Local

The Council of every county and large town appoints an Education Committee, which forms the " Local Education Authority " (L.E.A.) ; there are 315 of these L.E.As. in England and Wales, 31 in Scotland. The chief duty of an L.E.A. is to see that there are enough elementary schools for the children in its area. About half of these schools are owned and managed by the L.E.A. itself ; these are known as " provided " or " Council " schools. The others, which belong to religious bodies, are called " non-provided " or " denominational " (or often " Church ") schools ; though aided by the L.E.A., they are on the whole somewhat poorer than the provided schools. In addition, the larger L.E.As. are responsible for " higher " education, i.e. secondary and technical schools and colleges.

L.E.As. obtain the money for running the schools from the education rate ; to that is added a grant, roughly equal to half the total expenditure, paid by the Board of Education. Thus the cost falls on both local rates and the national exchequer.

### *The Advantages of Local Responsibility*

The advantage of putting education into the hands of L.E.As. is that they are in touch with the neighbourhood and know what people want ; that is essential in a democracy. If all educational administration were centred in the capital, as in some countries, it would be too rigid and uniform ; but if there were no central authority the discrepancy between different parts of the country would be too great. As it is, L.E.As. differ considerably in size, wealth, and progressiveness, so that the quality of a child's schooling and his chances of higher education depend a good deal on where he happens to live. There are strong arguments for rearranging the areas of the local government, and also for doing away with the " dual system " of provided and non-provided schools.

### (b) Central

The central authority for England and Wales is the Board of Education ; for Scotland, the Scottish Education Department. The Board is a large Government Department, like the War Office or the Ministry of Labour ; it is manned by civil servants, and its President is a Cabinet Minister. The Board deals with matters that affect the whole country, though any change in the law (e.g. raising the school-leaving age) has to be made by Parliament.

Thus the Board lays down the general lines of policy, and then sees, by means of its Inspectors, that these are carried out by the L.E.As.

The Board does not provide any schools or make strict rules about what is to be taught ; but if an L.E.A. does not come up to scratch, the Board can reduce or withhold its grant. The Board also supervises the school medical service, and the provision of milk and meals for school children.

This partnership between the central and local authorities works on the whole very well, especially where the Director of Education (who is the chief officer of an L.E.A.) is vigorous and progressive. But however good administration may be, it is only the means of bringing teachers and children together under the best conditions ; in fact, the real quality of a school depends on the skill and devotion of the teachers.

### (iii) Your Responsibility

Again, administration is the machinery ; the drive must come from the demands of the people. When voting for a Member of Parliament you have your share in deciding the national policy for education ; when voting for your local Councillor you exercise a more obvious influence on the schools of your neighbourhood and on the amount of the education rate. Nearly all election addresses make some reference to education ; and if you realise its importance you will scrutinise very carefully what they have to say about it.

## 4. The Schools

The war came at a time when the framework of English education was under reconstruction. It will be necessary therefore to describe briefly the present position, and to indicate the changes that are likely to be made.

At present, such is the variety of schools that it is difficult to distinguish them all. Thus there are elementary (including infants', junior and senior), central, secondary, junior technical and nursery schools ; there are special schools for the blind, the deaf, cripples and mental defectives ; and, outside the State system, there are the Public Schools and innumerable other private schools.

### (i) Elementary Schools

These are the most familiar, for they are found everywhere, and five million children go to them. Attendance is compulsory between the ages of 5 and 14, and no fees may be charged in public elementary schools. At 14 the great majority leave, which means that about 70 per cent. of the population say good-bye to full-time education at that age. When elementary education was first designed, its aim was merely to turn out efficient and law-abiding workers ; of the three sides of a child's nature only one was considered. Little was taught beyond the 3 Rs. But gradually the aims became wider and more humane ; more subjects were introduced and lessons were made more interesting ; there was a real attempt to train children, so far as was possible when they were so young, as citizens and as individuals.

#### *Recent Reconstruction*

During the last 18 years, elementary schools have been undergoing a reconstruction (known as the Hadow Scheme) ; by this, children are sorted out, at about the age of 11, according to the kind of ability they show. Speaking very roughly, some are best at books, and so might do well as clerks ; others are best with their hands, and might become mechanics. The idea is to give children a fresh start, by moving them on to the school that will suit them best. By 1938 over 60 per cent. of the children were in reorganised schools.

## (ii) Secondary Schools

The national system of secondary education has grown up in the last 40 years. Before that time there were hundreds of grammar schools in the country, many of them centuries old ; but they were sometimes old-fashioned and often not situated where the need was greatest, and there were hardly any for girls. Elementary education was supposed to be complete in itself, so that very few boys went on to secondary schools ; the two grades were quite separate. But since the Act of 1902, by which L.E.As. were given power to build and manage secondary schools, the numbers have steadily grown, with a particularly big jump at the end of the last war ; there are now 1,400 schools, with 247,000 boys and nearly as many girls.

Children enter the secondary school either as fee payers, or by success in the scholarship examination at which they compete, about the age of 11, for "Special Places" (i.e. parents pay full, partial, or no fees, according to their means ; actually two-thirds pay no fees). They stay mostly for 5 years, leaving at 16—17 ; nearly half gain the School Certificate, which opens the door to many professional and business posts.

Two common criticisms of secondary schools are that they lay too much stress on this examination and that they are suited only to the bookish type, to the detriment of those with more practical or artistic ability. Both are justified. At the same time it is true that thousands of boys and girls have received in these schools a fine education, which has developed all sides of their nature.

## (iii) The Public Schools

These are a special class of secondary school. As they do not form part of the State system, it strikes visitors, especially from the Dominions and the U.S.A., as odd that they should be called "public." There is no exact definition of a Public School ; the name is usually applied to certain well-known schools of widely varying size and characteristics, which boys enter at 13, after several years in a private preparatory school, and stay at till about 18. Though they educate relatively few boys, their prestige and influence make them important ; to be an old boy of any of them is an advantage throughout life.

The Public Schools have a famous tradition ; they have educated thousands of men who have given the most distinguished service to the country. But it is now widely felt, even by the schools themselves, that such privileged places do not fit into a democracy ; that, by their exclusiveness, which depends on wealth rather than ability, they preserve and intensify the division of social classes. It is further argued that, as "leaders" have in the past come mainly from these schools, the nation loses by drawing from such a restricted source. It seems likely that the Public Schools will after the war be brought, in some way that has not yet been worked out, into the national system of secondary education.

Education in Scotland has always been more democratic ; there, boys of all social classes rub shoulders in the same schools.

## (iv) Central Schools

Some L.E.As. provide central schools, which are attended as a rule by children who have not won a place in a secondary school. The work is usually more practical, and excellent results are often obtained.

## (v) Junior Technical Schools

Another very successful type is the junior technical school, the aim of which is to fit boys and girls for employment in works and offices, but at the same time

to continue their general education, so that no side of their nature is neglected. Some of them, called trade schools, train for definite kinds of work, of which engineering and the constructive trades are the commonest. The age of entry is 13, and the course lasts two or three years.

The youngsters work keenly, because they have a goal before them and are pretty certain of being placed in a good job. It has been found that in times of slump, boys and girls who have been at a J.T.S. suffer less from unemployment than others; they are more adaptable, because they have the scientific understanding of processes and machines required in modern industry. But at present the junior technical schools accommodate only about 30,000 boys and girls.

#### (vi) Nursery Schools

These are not schools in the ordinary sense of the word, but places where little children under five are cared for. Their chief purpose is to see that these babies are clean, healthy, and happy; they have regular medical inspections, they give good meals and plenty of opportunity for sleep, and for play—which is the little child's natural method of learning.

When it is realised that 40 per cent. of children entering the infant school at five suffer from diseases or weaknesses that could have been prevented, the importance of nursery schools will be plain; yet, when the war began, there were only about 120 with room for between 9,000 and 10,000. Even counting the hundreds of temporary wartime day nurseries (where the children of mothers engaged on war work are looked after), this means that only one in twelve of children under five has the benefit of these services. There is no question of compelling mothers to send their children; yet an adequate provision of nursery schools would lay the foundations of a nation strong in body and alert in mind.

### 5. Education beyond School

For those who have left school the chief means of further education are: day continuation schools, technical schools and colleges, universities, adult lectures and classes.

#### (i) Day Continuation Schools

By the Education Act of 1918 it was to be made compulsory for all "young persons" (aged 14 to 16, and later to 18) to attend day continuation schools, during their working time without loss of wages, for eight hours a week (or 320 in a year). It is unfortunate that, for various reasons, this law has not been enforced; for in Rugby, the one place where all young workers living or employed in the town *must* attend the D.C.S., the results have been excellent. Young wage-earners naturally do not care to be treated like children, and the school has therefore been run on lines that increase their self-respect. Apart from the day classes, the school is open in the evening for those who like to come for study, physical training, games, dramatics, etc.

Both the employers and the workers are well satisfied with the experiment; and, incidentally, juvenile delinquency has greatly decreased. It is a striking fact that £11 covers the cost per head at Rugby D.C.S. for two years—and for less than one month at Borstal. It is probable that after the war some such schools will be set up everywhere; the need is great, for of the 2½ million adolescents in England and Wales, the Rugby school caters for only 1,300.



### *Service of Youth*

Closely related to the work of the D.C.S. is that of the "Service of Youth," a name that includes the many bodies that look after the welfare of adolescents (i.e. those who have left school but are not yet fully grown-up). Some of the best known are the Scouts (with Rovers, Sea Scouts, Guides), Boys' Brigade, Y.M.C.A., etc. Others have been recently started or reorganised to give pre-Service training, such as the A.T.C., and the Army Cadet Force. It is hoped to attract all youngsters into one or other of these associations; their aim is to provide a fuller and more interesting life, with opportunities of doing useful work for others.

### (ii) **Technical and Commercial Schools and Colleges, Schools of Art, etc.**

These are found in most towns; they are provided by L.E.As., aided by grants from the Board of Education, so that the fees are small. The vast majority of the students being wage-earners attend in the evening, after their day's work; very few employers allow their young workers "time-off" to attend technical classes—a policy short-sighted in their own interest as well as the nation's. By comparison with the U.S.A. and the leading countries of Europe, we have neglected technical education, with the result that we have fallen behind in the industrial race; our shortage of skilled workers is very marked today.

This side of our educational system will have to be greatly improved in the future. But, even under pre-war conditions, these institutes were filled to capacity every evening with students of all ages, taking either vocational (i.e. connected with their work) or "cultural" courses, the latter in a wide range of subjects (e.g. languages, music, arts and crafts). In the larger technical colleges a very high standard was reached; the best students took National Certificates (in engineering, building, chemistry, etc.) which qualified them for managerial positions.

### (iii) **Universities**

There are eleven universities in England, one in Wales, four in Scotland, and one in Northern Ireland. Oxford and Cambridge stand in a class apart, on account of their antiquity and the all-round life they can give their students. But as they are expensive and as they could not accommodate more than 10,000 students (about a quarter of the total number in England and Wales), other universities have been founded, of which the most important is London, with 12,000 full-time students. In addition, anyone, in any part of the Empire, can work for the external degrees of London University—as many men in the Forces have done since the war started. The provincial universities are at Durham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Bristol, and Reading. As most of their students live at home, and the fees are comparatively low, these universities are of great value to their areas.

Of the four Scottish universities, St. Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen date from the fifteenth century, and Edinburgh from the sixteenth. Their students number about 10,000—twice as many, in proportion to the population, as in England. Access to the universities is easy and cheap, and it has always been the rule in Scotland for all classes to flock to them.

### *Scholarships and Grants*

About half the students at English universities go up with scholarships or grants awarded by the universities and colleges, by L.E.As., by the Board of Education (these, of which 360 are awarded annually, are called State Scholarships), or by some other source. Every year some 2,500 students enter the universities who

started their education in public elementary schools—about 450 of them going to Oxford and Cambridge. Even so, it is usually a struggle for poor students to reach a university and stay the course; in too many cases their health is injured by anxiety and overstrain, which may prevent them from fulfilling their early promise.

### *University Studies*

University studies are concerned mainly with history, languages, literature, mathematics and all branches of science; in some (e.g. engineering) they overlap with those of technical colleges. Most university graduates enter such professions as law, medicine, the church, teaching, engineering, the civil service or political life; some stay on to do research, which is an essential duty of universities; many important discoveries have been made in their libraries and laboratories.

The universities are self-governing; they receive altogether about £2 million in grants from the Treasury, but otherwise they are independent of the State.

### (iv) **Adult Education**

During the last half century there has grown up a widespread system of lectures and classes for adults, run either by the universities or by bodies like the Workers' Educational Association (W.E.A.) under university auspices. The L.E.As. also co-operate, especially in their evening institutes. In any place where there is the demand, suitable classes (lasting three years, one year, or less) can be arranged. Discussion groups are also formed to listen to broadcast talks. But, so far, adult students are a trifling proportion of the nation; there is room for immense expansion. Army Education and A.B.C.A. have been called the world's greatest experiment in adult education; and no doubt thousands of soldiers will form a lasting taste for genuine discussion.

The British Institute of Adult Education is a central clearing house of plans and ideas; amongst its many activities may be mentioned the guidance it has given to the policy of educational broadcasting and films, the well-known exhibitions of "Art for the People," and classes in prisons and hospitals.

### *Libraries*

Public libraries are an indispensable help, especially to the adult. In most districts any book can now be obtained, and librarians will gladly give advice. And, apart from books, there is C.E.M.A. (the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts), which sends exhibitions of pictures, and first-rate plays and concerts, to the remotest parts of the country. It is a sign that the Government recognises, even in the midst of war, the value of art to the national morale; for C.E.M.A. works under the Board of Education—which, though it has for long paid grants to adult classes, has never before tackled anything like this.

The older student may not learn so quickly or remember so easily as when he was at school; but his greater experience enables him to understand problems that are quite beyond the grasp of children. Technical education increases one's efficiency as a worker; but, on the other two sides, citizenship and leisure, adult education is of outstanding value.

## **6. Possible Improvements**

Our educational services have a splendid record; the changes they have effected in the last 50 years have been described as a "silent social revolution." But the world is moving rapidly, and education must keep pace with it: Britain will require

a "new deal" for education after the war. Everyone is agreed on certain reforms, of which the most urgent are :—

(i) **Raising the School-Leaving Age.**—The outbreak of war upset the decision (made by the Education Act of 1936) to raise the age to 15 in September 1939, with exemptions for what was called "beneficial employment." Opinion has now swung round to the view that 15 should be the age for all, without exception ; and that, at a later stage, it should be raised to 16.

(ii) **Size of Classes.**—There were in 1938 nearly 100,000 classes in elementary schools (and 4,700 in secondary schools) with over 30 pupils, a number that makes real education impossible. Though it will mean a large increase of teachers and rooms, classes must be reduced to 30 at the outside.

(iii) **Buildings.**—Many school buildings are obsolete, and some are even insanitary. It was estimated before the war that £100 million would be required to bring them all up to a satisfactory standard. There is also a crying need for playing fields ; asphalt or gravel yards are just not good enough.

(iv) **Nursery Schools.**—As one writer has well remarked, these should be almost as common as pubs.

(v) **Technical Schools and Colleges.**—These are at present quite inadequate for the country, and are often not found where most needed. Here, too, a large building programme was judged necessary before the war. And how many schools, of all sorts, have been (or will be) blitzed out of existence ?

(vi) **Adult Education.**—There should be ample facilities, not only for lectures, discussions and classes, valuable as these are, but also for carrying on any pursuit that interests men and women. Hitherto adult classes have usually met in school rooms, which are neither inspiring nor comfortable for grown-ups ; pleasant surroundings should be provided, with plenty of room and varied equipment. A start has been made, e.g. in Cambridgeshire, where several village colleges house both schools and adult education. There are already a few residential colleges, where men and women live for periods, usually up to a year ; many more are needed.

(vii) **The Curriculum.**—The subjects taught in both elementary and secondary schools are considerably out of date. One example is that we teach the language, but little about the lives and customs, of foreigners. Ignorance of other peoples is a prime cause of war.

## 7. General Aims for the Future

These are details of some immediate reforms. But what is really needed is that the nation should come to recognise the immense importance of education. We have thought of it as something to be got over like measles, so that children can start earning at the earliest possible moment. We shall have to change our whole outlook. The higher the animal in the scale of evolution, the longer it takes to reach maturity ; human beings are hardly grown up by 21. Till that age education is their main job, and other work must not be allowed to interfere with it. That is all the more necessary now that the number of children is going down, owing to the declining birthrate.

### (i) Education for Individual Needs

Everyone will not have the same amount or kind of education, for some workers (e.g. doctors, architects, etc.) will always need a very long full-time training, but all should be under some kind of educational care until the age of maturity. And

there should be a wide variety of schools at the "secondary" stage, open to all children aged 11 or 12 to 16 or over, without any fees, and with easy means of moving on to another if a wrong start has been made.

Such wrong placing can be largely prevented by psychological tests; some of these will be known to soldiers from the work of the Army Directorate for Selection of Personnel. There should indeed be a great extension of *vocational guidance*, i.e. finding out in advance what work will best suit any individual. A happy life depends as much on choosing the right job as the right wife; yet it is often a matter of accident or luck.

### (ii) The Importance of the Teacher

However good school buildings may be, it is what goes on in them that matters. We shall therefore need teachers with better training, and with wider experience of human nature and everyday life. There is no end to the influence of really good teachers; to suppose that their job is to give lessons and keep kids in order is a common but complete mistake. As we come to realise what education can and should mean, teaching will be recognised as a highly responsible and honourable profession.

### (iii) Equal Opportunity for All

Education thus covers almost every side of human welfare, and at every age. For all young people, in particular, there must be equal opportunities, in the nation's interest as well as the individual's. As a great American thinker, John Dewey, has said: "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy."

## Chapter IV.

## THE INFORMATION SERVICES

By ALAN THOMAS

*Editor of "The Listener"*

### 1. Public Opinion

The Scots have a reputation for canniness. It was a Scotsman who wrote:—

"For when I dinna clearly see,  
I always own I dinna ken,  
And that's the way with wisest men."

And one might guess it was a Scotsman who declared that he believed only half what he saw and nothing that he heard. Few of us could achieve that degree of detachment, even if we wanted to. Yet in forming our judgment of affairs, especially in wartime, it is well to be cautious—and, if possible, intelligent.

#### (i) Does Your Opinion Count ?

"But," you may ask, "how can it matter what sort of judgment I form? What does my opinion count for anyway?" The answer lies in the value of public opinion, which is an indispensable factor in the art of government. Without the support of public opinion no ruler can keep in position—not even Hitler. (Why, if public opinion did not matter, does Göbbels spend so much time moulding it in

Germany and the occupied countries? His way of doing it is another question, which we shall come to presently.)

But what is public opinion? A book might be written on the subject; but for our purpose at the moment we may take it that public opinion is the impression produced by the sum of individual opinions—what a chairman would call the consensus of the meeting; and anyone who wants to influence public opinion must have the means of influencing individual opinion. In other words, *under democracy* (these words are important: we shall return to them) individual opinion is the basis of public opinion. Hence the importance of individual opinion—of what *you* think.

## (ii) Means of Influencing Public Opinion

In the modern world the means of influencing public opinion exist in *showing* people things and in *telling* people things. *Pace* the man who believes only half that he sees, for the vast majority of mankind seeing is believing. If you look out of the window and see a military band marching down the road, you are at once convinced that a military band is marching down the road. The marching of the band becomes for you a fact. But suppose you are sitting in a room and a friend of yours, looking out of the window, tells you that a military band is marching down the road—is the marching of that band still a fact for you? Undoubtedly yes, because in the first place you have every reason to believe your friend, and in the second place you can probably hear the band yourself.

But suppose you are in another street altogether where you cannot either see or hear the band, and suppose a complete stranger tells you that he has just seen a military band marching down such and such a street—do you instantly believe him? You probably do, for the simple reason that it doesn't matter to you one way or the other whether a band has been marching down the street or not. But if for some reason it *does* matter to you, and still more if it matters to a whole lot of other people to whom you have to pass on the news, you would be foolish to take the stranger's word without corroboration. You would be more foolish still to make immediate deductions from the stranger's statement, e.g. that because a band was marching down the street, therefore there was a recruiting drive on, or therefore a contingent of troops was taking up its quarters in the town.

### *What We See and What We Hear*

Now the instance of the military band, which can be both seen and heard and is just the kind of attraction that can easily give rise to talk and rumour, is itself suggestive of the ways in which the public may be influenced. Things that can be seen (like plays, pageants, pictures, the cinema, advertisements, newspapers) and things that can be heard (like concerts, community singing, public speeches, private conversations, rumours and, above all in these days, broadcasting) constitute the means whereby in varying degree opinion may be moulded.

## 2. How the Nazis Influence Public Opinion

In discussing the ways in which these means are used, we have first to consider the type of audience we are addressing. We have already mentioned Dr. Göbbels and, whatever we may think of him as a man, we have to admit that as a propaganda merchant he has shown great ingenuity and cunning. He is in fact an ace at the game—in Nazi Germany.

**(i) Complete Nazi Control**

Now it is common knowledge that in Germany today the Nazis are in complete control of everything, including the means of influencing opinion. That amounts to saying that in every field of cultural activity—in art, in literature, in journalism, in the cinema, on the radio—everything must be done just the way the Nazis want it to be done, and not otherwise. Certain kinds of art are declared to be “decadent” and are therefore not allowed to be exhibited; certain books are pronounced unhealthy for the people (they might give them “ideas”) and are therefore banned; editors of newspapers are given their instructions and there is no question of departing from them (unless the editor wants to explore the inside of a concentration camp); and over the radio the Germans are told only what the Nazis think is good for them to hear, whether in the matter of facts or inventions or expressions of opinion. And if anyone in Germany is caught listening to an enemy broadcasting station (the B.B.C. for example) the penalty may be, and often is, death.

**(ii) Effect in Germany**

What is the result? Successful propaganda of this kind—and it has been successful in Germany, because the German people have allowed themselves to fall for it—produces an audience of robots; people, that is to say, who are discouraged in every way from thinking for themselves, who, as Hitler says, have been “saved from thought,” who are taught to regard individualism as the greatest enemy of the State, whose critical faculty has been completely overwhelmed and whose characteristic, so far as ideas are concerned, is a lamb-like dependence on the will of their leaders.

It follows from this that, in talking to the German people, Dr. Göbbels has no need to be particular about the accuracy of his facts—nor is he. “Propaganda,” writes the doctor, “has only one object, to conquer the masses. Every means that furthers this aim is good; every means that hinders it is bad.” And so, without fear of being taken to task, he tells his German audience just what he likes—and they, like the good Nazis they are, solemnly believe it. And as for untruths, did not the Führer himself say in *Mein Kampf*: “Only particularly big lies, which are so big that nobody can believe that they are lies, are effective”?

And so in Nazi Germany today the distinction between fact and opinion has lost its importance, since both are subordinate to the needs of propaganda and the people have no yardstick whereby to measure either.

**(iii) German Propaganda to Britain**

But Dr. Göbbels is ingenious. He knows well enough that what suits Germans will not necessarily suit other people. So he adapts his methods accordingly. Take, for example, the way he tackles us, the British. To try to bludgeon us with crazy doctrines about blood and soil and race superiority would be worse than useless. We should simply laugh. What he does, therefore, is to try to undermine, in every way he can think of, the chief citadel of our belief—our belief in ourselves.

W. A. Sinclair, in his excellent booklet entitled *The Voice of the Nazi*, brings out this point very well. “In their broadcasts,” writes Mr. Sinclair, “the Nazis are simply trying to weaken and discourage us by saying anything at all that they can think of to arouse dissension among us, to make us lose faith in our leaders, and lose confidence in ourselves. These broadcasts are very carefully planned for this purpose. In each of them, mingled with all the bare-faced lies, there is usually some item which is more or less true; and occasionally some quite sound criticism. These are inserted to lead us on, just as a share-pusher, or a three-card-trick man, always lets his intended victims win a little to begin with, so that they may be led on and then completely swindled.”

**(iv) Effort to Break Allied Unity**

A recent example of the kind of thing Mr. Sinclair is referring to is the way in which Göbbels has been trying to sow dissension between us and the Americans, by inserting in his broadcasts to Britain stories alleging that American troops in Britain had behaved badly and spoken arrogantly. "He hopes," observed Mr. Sinclair in a recent broadcast talk, "that somebody somewhere will hear one of these stories and that he will repeat it to a friend. He may repeat it with the comment that it is absurd, but then his friend will repeat it and so on. And this will go on until some feather-headed creature hears it, without understanding that it is a Nazi story, and if he—or she—doesn't understand that it is a Nazi story, then it has ceased to be just a story. It has begun a new career as rumour." And we have only to think of the days before the fall of France to remember the extensive use the Nazis made of the weapon of rumour.

**(v) British Resistance to Propaganda**

But in his propaganda to us Göbbels has a far tougher job than he has with his own people. Some of us may be pretty credulous, but no one could say that as a nation we regarded individualism as the enemy of the State, or that we suffered from a lamb-like devotion to the will of our leaders. That is not the English way. We prefer to weigh up a thing for ourselves and to make up our own minds about it; we believe in the salutary effects of criticism; we believe in free speech, free art and free journalism. We naturally regard all propaganda with scepticism. And so it is that the measure of our healthy scepticism is the measure of our immunity to propaganda *from whatever quarter* it may come.

**3. The British Way**

Note that phrase—*from whatever quarter*. For it leads us to consider what our own methods are in this field and in what ways they differ from those of the Nazis. Consider the audience—broadly speaking, as we have said, an audience of freedom-loving, independent minded people, who do not, like the Germans, live in blinkers. What is the use of telling such people lies? Morality apart, they will only find you out and then you are immediately discredited—just as Göbbels and Co. will one day be discredited by the German people. And the truth is, of course, that no decent or responsible organ of opinion in this country ever has it in mind to tell the people lies.

**Responsibility of the Individual**

That does not mean that every newspaper you open is a well of truth or that every item broadcast has to be taken for gospel. What living under a democracy means, in this context, is that every individual has the means and opportunity of sifting things for himself, of making up his own mind whether the things that he sees and hears are true or false—or a bit of both. Clearly, in wartime, the means and opportunity have in the general interest to be restricted, but even so they are not entirely lacking; and through our democratic institutions, particularly through Parliament, we do everything we can to uphold the right of enquiry and of criticism.

**4. The Press**

To illustrate the ways that are open to us for making up our minds whether the things we see and hear are true or false, let us consider one of the several means that exist for informing and influencing the public mind—the news service. "The

primary office (of a newspaper)," wrote C. P. Scott, the great editor of *The Manchester Guardian*, "is the gathering of news. At the peril of its soul it must see that the supply is not tainted. Neither in what it gives, nor in what it does not give, nor in the mode of presentation must the unclouded face of Truth suffer wrong. Comment is free, but facts are sacred. Propaganda, so called, by this means is hateful." These are noble words, and in them is enshrined the ideal of the higher type of English journalism. And what a different note they strike from those of Joseph Göbbels!

"Facts are sacred." But how does a newspaper get all the facts, and how is the reader to judge of their truth?

### (i) Sources of News

In wartime there are two main sources of news both for the B.B.C. and the newspapers. The first is the official communiqué issued by some Government Department or conference, and circulated to the Press and the B.B.C. Such communiqués are reported verbatim and are usually interpreted or placed in their setting for the benefit of the public. But, in the main, newspapers, as well as the B.B.C., rely for their news partly on their own correspondents and partly on the great newspaper agencies—Reuters, Press Association, Exchange Telegraph Company, British United Press, United Press of America, Associated Press of America and other smaller agencies serving special needs. These are private enterprises run and served by free men, subject only to the limitations of such censorship as may be applied in the individual countries. In order to get a picture of the way the system works, listen to what a contemporary newspaper man, Mr. Edward Montgomery, says on the subject:—

"Into the newspaper offices which publish your newspaper flows this great system of news from all over the world. It has already been somewhat condensed, sifted and verified. But no newspaper could ever publish all the hundreds of thousands of words which arrive by that stream. Therefore, the editors of your newspaper have to condense and sift again. They also have to verify again, because, like the news agencies, they are getting the news not only from sources they know they can rely upon, but from many other sources which may not be at all reliable. At this point I can hear you say, 'Why do they ever bother with sources which they have reason to suspect are unreliable?' Even a born liar may tell the truth sometimes. Likewise, even the most unreliable source of news may occasionally put out a story which is true. Unless the editor of your newspaper can, out of his knowledge and experience, definitely reject a piece of news as being obviously untrue and designed to mislead his readers, in fairness to those readers he has got to publish it, for it *may* be true—and if it should happen to be true, then his readers should know it. In other words, in a free country, where people can think for themselves, the final judgment upon the truth or falsity of a piece of news, or an expression of views, must rest with the individual reader or hearer. That individual is you."

### (ii) Judging the News

But how can an individual form his judgment? The answer is that he can do so in very much the same way as a newspaper man does. First look at the source of the news you are reading. It may come from the newspaper's own correspondent;



and no reputable newspaper employs unreliable correspondents ; if it did, and if it were continually printing stories that events subsequently proved to be false, its own reputation would suffer ; the paper would cease to be believed and might even cease to be bought.

But suppose the story comes, not from the newspaper's own correspondent, nor from one of the well known agencies, but from an enemy source, or from a country controlled by the enemy, which amounts to much the same thing. In that case, the reader must try to sort the thing out for himself ; he must think what possible motives the enemy might have in putting such a story into circulation ; he must try to discover whether the story is confirmed from any other source ; and the more sensational the story is, the more he must be on his guard. To analyse the news, to ask yourself questions about it—that is the way to read and listen intelligently ; and the more intelligent you are, the less often will you be fooled. That you will be fooled *sometimes* is inevitable. We all are.

### (iii) The Provincial Press

So far we have been thinking mainly of the daily newspapers whose names are household words in London. But we must not forget that a vast reading public is also served by countless other newspapers, ranging from the well known provincial to the little known but much read "local rag." Big independent provincials like *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Birmingham Post*, *The Yorkshire Post*, *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Scotsman* play an important part in our national life ; they are the organs of opinion which, like Parliament, reflect in their composite whole the feelings of the country, and, taken together, have perhaps a better claim to be called national newspapers than the purely London papers and their satellites which circulate in the provinces and, responding to their central controls, are, on the whole, less concerned with local sentiment.

Indeed to talk about the national Press as distinct from the provincial Press is to make a false differentiation ; the provincial Press as such is hardly definable, consisting as it does of an infinite variety of values and of cultures ; and if one wants a dividing line, there is a good deal to be said for drawing it between the London papers and their satellites on the one hand, and the great independent provincials on the other. It is true that provincial papers, whatever their affiliations, report the national and foreign news ; but the essence of provincial journalism is the reflection of regional opinion and comment ; that is a great part of its value and it is not wise to underrate it.

### (iv) Local Papers

Lastly, for purely local affairs you have the local paper. It is fashionable in some quarters to jeer at what are called "parish pump politics." Such jeers are misplaced. Local government is, or should be, the concern of every citizen, and the medium for reporting the proceedings of local government bodies is the local paper, which in this sense can be likened to the ancient market place in that it provides a forum for the expression of public opinion in our democratic State. This fact alone is enough to justify the existence of these smaller papers published up and down the country—quite apart from their other uses, e.g. the reporting of local news, which, don't forget, is of as much interest to some people as the news of the big world outside.

## 5. Position of the B.B.C.

The B.B.C. is, as most people know but do not always remember, a public corporation and holds a monopoly of all broadcasting in this country. Whether it is wise for the B.B.C. to hold this monopoly is a big question—too big to be argued here. In any case it is one for Parliament to decide; if Parliament doesn't like the system, Parliament can change it.

### (i) Responsibility of the B.B.C.

Meanwhile the B.B.C. has a very great responsibility; it is not, as a newspaper is, a private concern, and its duty is, as Mr. Harold Nicolson, one of its governors, has recently pointed out, "not merely to inform and entertain our own public, but to present a picture of British life and character which shall be coherent, balanced, representative and true." "The B.B.C.," Mr. Nicolson goes on, "is not like a newspaper which can express its editorial opinion or repudiate responsibility for what it publishes; nor is it a Government Department like the Post Office which is obliged to accept and carry any letter, however boring and silly that letter may be. It is an organisation entrusted with the handling of the most potent instrument of publicity that has ever been devised. It must be inspired throughout by the utmost carefulness, which is something wholly different from timidity. And that carefulness must take constant account of the fact that when an idea or an opinion is broadcast, it at once loses its true proportion and becomes magnified or amplified beyond life size."

### (ii) The News Bulletins

For the same reason and because its news bulletins are regarded as "official," that is to say, as the voice of the Government, great care must be taken, especially in wartime, to ensure that no news goes out on the wireless that is not supported by the soundest evidence.

But the B.B.C., in giving the news, has a duty to its listeners. "Neither in what it gives, nor in what it does not give . . . must the unclouded face of Truth suffer wrong." And of this duty, subject only in wartime to the imperative needs of the nation's safety, the B.B.C. is fully conscious. No facts, however grim, are left out of the broadcast news, unless their publication might help the enemy.

## 6. Concerning Censorship

On the needs of national safety the Government alone can be the judge, for the Government alone knows all the facts. If the Government thinks it wise that a certain item of news should be withheld, its decision may be questioned, but it cannot usually be contravened without grave risk to the community—and to the editor or whomsoever it may be who does the contravening.

So far as comments or criticism are concerned, the Press retains a very wide measure of freedom. Provided it does not ignore the directions given by the censor (framed solely for the nation's safety, and not in any sense to stifle criticism) and provided its policy is not such as to undermine the country's confidence in itself or to make it more difficult for us to win the war, a paper can express what views it likes.

### (i) Responsibility on the Editor

The onus of submitting material to the censor rests on the editor or person responsible for publication. If he likes to publish without submission to the censor he may do so; but in that case he may be dropped on if the material published is

injurious to the country's safety. In practice this does not often happen, because editors and publishers generally are sensible people, and the censor, on his side, knows well enough that anything like the stifling of legitimate comment or criticism is calculated to do the country far more harm than good.

### (ii) How It Applies to the B.B.C.

So far as the B.B.C. is concerned the same rules apply, but it must be remembered that the B.B.C. differs from a newspaper in that it is precluded from expressing any views of its own or of adopting a particular policy on a controversial question. The B.B.C. itself therefore does not comment, as newspapers do in their leading articles, on the news; instead it invites comments from others—independent speakers who broadcast their own views on their own responsibility.

## 7. Editorial Influence

Of course you may say that the choice of speakers to broadcast is influenced by the authorities of the B.B.C., just as the choice of contributors to a newspaper is determined by the editor. That is true.

### (i) What Shapes Editorial Policy

So far as newspapers are concerned this editorial influence may be determined by a variety of factors, one of which is, naturally enough, the political views of the proprietors; what these are the discriminating reader will not be slow to gather; he soon gets to know what he may expect from a particular paper and forms his judgment accordingly. Indeed in this variety of views lies one of the meanings of the freedom of the Press. Another factor is the advertising interest. In the past allegations could be heard that, in the case of some papers at all events, this influence was considerable; but allegations of this kind are frequently exaggerated, and in any case the policy of a popular paper striving for a large circulation tends to differ little in its appeal from that of the advertising interest.

The desire for big circulation is in itself a factor which affects the policy and outlook of a paper. In an effort to increase sales in an age of cut-throat competition newspapers will not only seek to be "first with the news," but in some cases they may aim at investing that news with an atmosphere of sensationalism which it does not deserve, but which will titillate the taste of the less sophisticated reader. The "scoop"—the gathering and publication of a news story that other papers haven't got—is always good for sales, and, at a lower level, so are free insurance schemes, the gift of sets of books, and so on—devices which were unknown to readers of an earlier generation.

#### *An Advantage of B.B.C.*

So far as the B.B.C. is concerned, the aim there is to be impartial and to give listeners as fair a picture as possible. Indeed one of the advantages of the B.B.C.'s monopoly, so far as the public is concerned, is that the Corporation is free from the kind of influences that may play round the editorial chair of a newspaper.

### (ii) Presentation of the News

In presenting news and views to the public, not only must great care be taken to keep the two separate so that the reader or listener can distinguish quite clearly which is news and which is views, but care must also be taken to play fair with the public—not to deceive them, for example, by printing a headline which is not

in substantial agreement with the text. Newspaper space, like most other things, is severely limited just now ; the consequence is that news has to be summarised and interpretation of it cut to a minimum. A greater responsibility than ever, therefore, rests on the inside men on a newspaper, the sub-editors chiefly, whose job it is to reduce what is written so as to fit it into the space available and to supply the titles and sideheads.

The work of the sub-editors is never easy and it has to be done all the time against the clock ; inevitable, therefore, that even in the best conducted offices errors of judgment sometimes creep in and items are "splashed" which ought not to be "splashed," and vice versa. Inevitable, too, that in the stop press column, for example, owing to the time factor a story may now and then be given with no source quoted. Omissions of this kind must not, therefore, be assumed to be deliberate ; it may be simply that the paper is working against time.

### 8. The Reader's Duty

All this means that it is more important now than ever for the reader or listener to read or listen with intelligence and a sense of discernment. A working journalist naturally develops a hard core of scepticism ; from his knowledge and experience of men and of affairs he learns not always to take things at their face value, but to probe beneath the surface, to analyse what he finds there, and to draw his own conclusions. He is accustomed to asking questions, of himself as well as of others ; he cultivates a toughness that is proof alike against flattery and bullying ; he is not to be impressed by the great merely on account of their greatness, nor is anyone or anything, however small, beneath his notice merely on account of smallness. The service of his paper and its readers is the trade by which he lives ; and the way he keeps faith with them is the test by which he will be judged.

As for the reader, in a free country like ours he is not, as we have seen, without the means of judging for himself—if only he will take the trouble. Exercising his intelligence, he may even become as canny as a Scot.

FIRST SEQUENCE : SOLDIER-CITIZEN

B.W.P. 3

## CITIZEN OF EMPIRE

January 1943

### Chapter I.

### THE GROWTH OF EMPIRE

*"Instinctively the Englishman is no conqueror."*—(George Santayana.)

*"We seem to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind."*—(Sir J. R. Seeley.)

#### 1. When ? How ? Why ?

The comments just quoted contain at least an exciting invitation to curiosity. It is a matter of record that in the growth of the British Empire acquisition has been made by conquest in only a few instances. Yet somehow the map has been marked red, somehow an empire has been built which now covers 12 million square miles, a quarter of the land surface of the globe, and contains 550 million inhabitants, a quarter of the population of the world. Between the lack of the instinct for conquest and the fact of the greatest empire in the world there lies a question mark demanding information of the methods and motives of the acquisition, and our interpretation of the acquisitions once they had been made. When ? How ? Why ? To what end ?

This chapter will attempt some of the answers—and the attempt within such limits is an audacity nearer to foolhardiness than boldness. Generalisations will have to be made and different phases of growth dated arbitrarily which will involve inaccuracy and invite righteous and right abuse. But at least generally and tentatively the long and varied story can be outlined.

#### 2. The Origins

Like most histories, the story does well to start from the map, where perhaps the primary factors in the growth of the Empire can be read by any two eyes : first, that Britain is a small island on the edge of Europe and, secondly, that she is situated centrally between the old world and the new.

**(i) A Small Island just off Europe**

From the first factor many consequences flowed. Size and insularity meant that England was able to develop early political and economic unity—finally completed by the Union with Scotland in 1707. At the same time they meant that the possibility of expansion by conquest in the continent, though tenaciously sought, was effectively barred by the larger land powers, and by the time of Queen Elizabeth England held in effective possession no territory beyond her shores other than the Channel Islands. On the other hand, for trade with Europe, England had the position, the harbours and the goods. From the 13th century she had been sending out cargoes of wool, cloth, lead and tin, and, with fluctuations, the volume and variety of this trade had increased through the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries.

**(ii) Between the Old World and the New**

With the opening of the oceans, marked by the discoveries of Columbus in 1492, the island had an alternative to the expansion that was vainly sought on the mainland of Europe. It lay in expansion along sea routes which required, not the military strength which she lacked, but just the position, the maritime skill and the energy for trade, exploration and adventure which she had. In the reign of Elizabeth, her subjects were ranging far and wide to Russia, Turkey, Africa, the West Indies and to North America; and finding these excursions frequently in conflict with the claims of Spain and Portugal.

*The Struggle with Spain and Portugal*

At the end of the 15th century the Pope, Alexander VI, had given exclusive rights in all newly discovered lands outside Christendom to Spain and Portugal; to Spain all lands to the West, to Portugal all lands in Africa and the East. It was a monopoly against which the challenge was carried daringly and irresistibly by the Elizabethans—Drake, Grenville, Frobisher and the rest. The success of the naval war with Spain, culminating in the defeat of the Armada in 1588, finally broke the Spanish and Portuguese power to maintain the monopoly, and by the end of the 16th century the efforts of the Elizabethans had established English sea power, behind whose security the work of consolidation and further expansion could continue.

**3. 1603-1649 : Private Enterprise**

In this period, from the accession of James I at the Union of the Crowns to the beginning of Cromwell's Commonwealth, the first phase of successful settlement and colonisation emerged out of the general activities of trade and exploration. This was not due to any deliberate policy of England's rulers; the young Stuart State was too poor and, above all, too preoccupied with the struggles between King and Parliament to undertake schemes either of trading development or colonisation. This, indeed, has been one of the main characteristics of English expansion—its dependence on private enterprise, and as a consequence its freedom from centralised control from home.

**(i) The Different Motives**

At the beginning of the 17th century this private enterprise might be applied to trade, as exemplified in the great East India Company, which had been formed in 1600 for the English monopoly of trade with the East. Its type has played a great part in imperial development—the joint stock company, in which, under a charter of monopoly from the Crown, merchants pooled capital and profits in the

development of trade with the spheres allotted to them. The private enterprise might be a mixture on Raleigh's prescription "for gold, for praise, for glory," such as was seen in the settlement of Virginia by the Virginia Company, chiefly under the leadership of Lord Delaware. Or the motive might be religious—the desire of the Puritans to escape the imposition of orthodoxy and the willingness of their rulers to be rid of them.

## (ii) Achievements

With such motives the first settlements were being made on the eastern shores of North America—in Virginia from 1607, in the four Puritan colonies of Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth and Massachusetts from 1620, and in Maryland from 1632. The East India Company was setting up its trading stations in India, establishing its earliest factory at Surat in 1607. A foothold had been gained in the rich West Indies—the neighbouring Bermudas were annexed in 1609, and the settlement of St. Kitts followed in 1624 and of Barbados in 1627.

In the search for a north-west passage to the riches of the East, Hudson Bay had been discovered but no commercial activity was undertaken by the English until 1670, when the Hudson's Bay Company was formed to develop the fur-trade, and no colonisation till much later, owing to the Company's conviction that settlers and bears would not mix.

## 4. 1649-1783 : Mercantile System

This period opens under Cromwell, who has been described as "the only Englishman who ever understood, in its full sense, the meaning of the word Empire," and ends with the American War of Independence, which lost to Britain her oldest and richest colonies.

### (i) Meaning of the Mercantile System

Throughout, there was predominant a view of Empire based on the Mercantile System, which was not really new but rather the expression of an interpretation of Empire, already implicit.

Generally speaking, the Mercantilist idea was that colonies would contribute most effectively to the strength and prosperity of the mother country in the following ways. First, they would be a source of goods which the mother country could not produce; that meant a preference for such colonies as those in the tropics, producing sugar and tobacco which could not be grown in England, and an insistence that the mother country should have first call on those products. Secondly, the colonies would act as a market for the manufactured goods of England; that reinforced the preference for colonies not producing the same things as the mother country and also meant the exclusion of foreign goods from the colonies. Thirdly, the trade thus promoted between the mother country and the colonies would lead to a strengthening of her position on the seas, by increasing both the number of merchant ships required to carry the trade and the number of warships required to protect it.

It was not peculiarly our theory or practice. Everybody was doing it and, in fact, our adoption of these Mercantilist principles was largely an imitation of France and Holland.

### (ii) Wars with Holland

In 1650 and 1651 Navigation Acts put this policy formally into effect and brought war with Holland, who was threatening to achieve supremacy at sea and had gained such control of sea-going traffic that already she carried the bulk of the

trade between England and the English colonies of Barbados and Virginia. The Dutch wars ended in 1674 with complete success for England and with the general result that she recovered her hold on her commerce, and was able to apply without restriction the Mercantilist principles. Already in 1660 a new Navigation Act, superseding the others, had provided that certain listed articles, including the very important ones of sugar and tobacco, were to be exported from the colonies only to English ports, and that all goods going to the colonies should be sent out from England alone.

### *Gains from Holland*

In terms of territorial acquisition, the conquest of the Dutch settlements on the eastern seaboard of North America led to the foundation of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania as British colonies.

About this time the territory below Virginia was also being settled—North Carolina after 1663 and South Carolina in 1670. This southern group was finally completed in 1732 when General Oglethorpe, inspired by the motive of founding a colony for debtors, began to settle Georgia.

### (iii) Wars with France

The next series of wars in this period, which is generally characterised by gain—and loss—of empire by war, was against France. In 1687 opened a century of Anglo-French rivalry, arising from colonial as well as continental and religious conflicts and with important colonial consequences. Gibraltar was conquered in 1704. By the terms which ended the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713, Britain gained Hudson Bay, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. And after the Seven Years' War, the Treaty of Paris in 1763 gave Britain the whole of Canada, another four West Indian islands and the peninsula of Florida.

### *Developments in India*

France had also an East India Company at work in India and for the first forty years of the 18th century both companies had been content to avoid being mixed up in native politics and to limit themselves to trade. On this line of development the English by 1744 had established three main settlements at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. But both found that the protection and development of trade forced them inevitably and even unwillingly into some extension of their political power.

The French were first to make a comprehensive policy out of this necessity, and Dupleix, in supreme control of their East India Company, conceived the plan of gaining control first of one or two native states, by giving them rulers dependent on his military assistance. From that beginning, the natives of these States, trained and led by the French, would be the means of establishing French power throughout the whole country. From 1744 to 1760, sometimes as part of the general Anglo-French war, sometimes as an independent action, the conflict for supremacy was fought out. In the end, largely through the services of Robert Clive, the decision went to Britain. By the Treaty of Paris, Britain acquired Bengal and the French were strictly confined to trading activities, making no further conquests in India.

The extension of the power and obligations of the Company, desired neither by the Company nor by statesmen at home, brought it to dimensions of national importance, which increasingly required national control. This was first attempted by a Regulating Act in 1773, and later in 1784 an India Act established a Secretary



of State for India, provided that the Governor-General be appointed by the home Government and brought the military and political affairs of the Company under the supervision of the Secretary of State. It was an early and important illustration of a constant feature of imperial development—the passage from private undertaking to national responsibility.

#### (iv) War of American Independence

The great success in India was followed by an even greater reverse in North America, which not only lost to Britain her first colonies but helped to weaken the prevailing faith in the Mercantile System.

It would be wrong to interpret the application of the Mercantile System to the colonies as the only reason, or indeed the main reason, for the American War of Independence, 1775–1782. There were many causes; the primary one was the attempt of the home Government to impose direct taxation on the colonies. But it is easy to see how the Mercantile System contributed to the conflict. This system, under which the colonies acted as a source of raw materials and a market for the manufactured goods of the home country, obviously bore hardest on the settlements in the temperate zones, such as New England, which would normally develop the manufacture of products competing with those of the home country. And undoubtedly this limitation on the development of the colonies did much to alienate their feelings.

At any rate the war ended with the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States. Gradually thereafter the Mercantile System fell into discredit. In many ways it had served its time well; for one thing it had built up the merchant navy to world supremacy. But the next period sees its disappearance until by 1849 all that remained of the Navigation Acts was finally swept away.

### 5. 1783-1877 : Ebb and Flow

The Mercantile System was not replaced for about 100 years by any other comprehensive imperialist principle and public and Government alike were generally puzzled and pessimistic about Empire.

#### (i) Discounting of Empire

The loss of the American colonies led to the general expectation that the destiny of all colonies was to separate from the home country. "When the fruit is ripe it drops from the parent tree," was Turgot's phrase to fit this mood. And this pessimism was reinforced by new conditions and theories of industry and trade in Britain.

By the end of the 18th century, Britain, through a combination of industrial resources and available labour, and the application of unprecedented enterprise and inventiveness to them, was becoming the greatest industrial country in the world. Out of that industrial activity came manufactured products and private wealth, both seeking outlets abroad. We wanted to export goods for sale and money for investment, and certainly the best markets for both were in Europe or the United States, or China or South America, which had the population to buy the goods or the resources which would make investment profitable. Economic practice required, and economic theory, in line with Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776, advocated free trade, which would open all countries to British products, and peace which would let that trade flow without interruption.

To that end the colonies had little to offer. Their small populations and uncertain resources made them unimportant markets: such events as the rebellion

in Canada in 1837, the Maori Wars in 1846, and the Indian Mutiny in 1857 seemed to prove them inevitably troublesome: and their possession always held the possibility of friction with other nations, which would destroy the peace necessary for free trade. About possessions, so comparatively useless for trade, so expensive and troublesome to administer, and so dangerous to peace, prevailing public and official opinion was divided only on the question whether they should be got rid of immediately or gradually.

## (ii) Extension of Empire

And yet even while pessimism was predominant, Britain continued illogically to extend and develop this embarrassing Empire.

### *Wars with France*

A considerable part of the extension was a consequence of the continued conflict with France. The last two wars in the century of rivalry with France, the Revolutionary War, 1793–1802, and the Napoleonic War, 1803–1815, though mainly arising from European causes, resulted in Britain gaining the Cape of Good Hope (the beginning of the Dominion of South Africa), Ceylon, Malta, Mauritius, Tobago, St. Lucia, British Honduras and British Guiana. At the end of the Napoleonic War, Britain had also been confirmed in possession of some parts of the Far East. By readjustment in 1826 she held Singapore, Malacca and Penang, which were placed under a common government as the Straits Settlements.

### *Growth of Population*

Outside the turmoil of these wars further additions were being made, generally by private enterprise and sometimes with official disapproval. One main reason was the great growth in population which accompanied the industrialisation of Britain—from about seven and a half million in 1770 to seventeen and three-quarter million in 1850. The Government made some tentative experiments, but the main enterprise came from advocates of "systematic colonisation," like Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who had a belief in Empire which Governments lacked.

### *Further Colonisation*

Westward expansion was continuing in Canada, and in 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company, which had opposed settlement, had to surrender all its lands. Following the explorations of Captain Cook, the first settlements in Australia were made at Sydney in 1788—and the convenience offered for convict settlement tempted the home Government into action when nobler motives failed. In 1859 the last of the six Australian states was established. The colonisation of New Zealand was finally recognised by British annexation in 1840. Cape Colony was first used only as a naval base, but after 1815 settlement increased, and in the early 'fifties agreements between the British and the Boers confirmed the division of South Africa into the two British colonies of the Cape and Natal and the Boer Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

## (iii) Government Assumes Responsibility in India

Between 1798 and 1805 the Marquis Wellesley, as Governor-General, by a series of successful wars had doubled the area of British control—without the approval of the East India Company, which would still have preferred the pursuit of trade without the responsibility of government. Yet, as we have noted before, the

expansion of trade required the imposition of some stable power on the confused and violent politics of India, and if the Company was unwilling and inadequate for the responsibility, it had to fall on the British Government.

Accordingly, after trying a compromise and after the warning of the Mutiny, 1857-1858, an Act of 1858 transferred all the powers of the Company to the Crown. Since then there has been no further annexation of Indian States, so that India has remained divided into the annexed territories, known as British India, consisting of the Provinces under direct British rule and the Indian States, not annexed and largely retaining control of their own internal affairs, though under British sovereignty and linked to Britain by treaties and agreements. The Act of 1858 provided for the rule of India through the Secretary of State in Britain and through the Governor-General, commonly called the Viceroy, with his Council of officials in India. In 1861 a Legislative Council of "non-official" Indians was appointed to serve with the Viceroy, and similar Councils provided for the Provinces.

#### (iv) Sense of Imperial Responsibility

The process in India exemplifies a trend towards a new sense of imperial responsibility, which became visible particularly towards the end of this period, and which represented the effective work of certain people who had persisted in believing in the future of Empire. In it there was a large humanitarian element, represented by Wilberforce and expressed by such events as the foundation of Sierra Leone in 1787 as a refuge for liberated slaves, by the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and by the emancipation of slaves in 1833. There was also a growing insistence on the necessity for honest administration—marked very early by the impeachment of Warren Hastings at the end of his tenure as Governor-General of India in 1785, against whom Edmund Burke declaimed with righteous and unjustifiable fury that his acts were "the damned and damnable proceedings of a judge in hell."

#### (v) Principle of Self-Government

But, above all, this sense of national responsibility expressed itself in the extension of the principle of self-government to the colonies. It may be true that this extension was acceptable at home largely because it raised the prospect of the peaceful dissolution of the Empire, rather than because of any belief that it could provide a basis on which to maintain imperial relations. At any rate, the experiment was made. All the heavily settled colonies had passed fairly early from the stage of rule by nominated officials to the stage of representative government, in which elected assemblies were given varying powers of law making. These powers were generally limited by the Governor's veto and stopped short of control of the spending of money and the appointment of officials. The next stage was responsible government in which complete power in internal affairs passed to the assemblies and the advance was first made in Canada. The Report by Lord Durham in 1838 and the administration of the Canada Act of 1840 by Lord Elgin as Governor-General, 1847-54, established full internal self-government, economic and political. In 1867 the British North America Act carried the process a stage further by confederating the provinces under a central government. On the Canadian example, responsible government was extended to all the six Australian states by 1859, to New Zealand in 1856, and to Cape Colony in 1872.

The long period, which had been chiefly marked by a mood of disillusionment and pessimism towards the Empire, ended with evolution towards the two fundamental principles of the future—government in the interests of those governed and growth towards self-government.

## 6. 1877-1914 : The New Imperialism

In the last quarter of the century the new interest and belief in Empire, symbolised by the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India in 1877, became predominant.

### (i) The Reasons Why

Partly this was the delayed achievement of the "minority" Imperialism which we have already noted, of Wakefield and Lord Durham and Lord Elgin and the rest. Partly it was a consequence of the increased emigration which gave so many families at home a personal interest in the overseas Empire. Probably it was above all a reaction to external threat, to the growth and aggressiveness of Great Powers all over the world.

In Europe, France and Germany had rapidly growing populations and were applying compulsory military service to them. At first there seemed a certainty of war with France, who, after her defeat by Germany in 1870, turned to colonial expansion and came into conflict with British interests, especially in Africa. But gradually the main threat was seen to be with Germany, finally united in 1871, whose ambitions were mounting dangerously. Russia and U.S.A. were also expanding, and in the Far East Japan was becoming a competitor for trade and colonies. It was an era of powerful empires, heavily-armed, ambitious and increasingly seeking that economic self-sufficiency which would either aid their own aggressions or protect them against aggressors, and which cut across the policies of free trade on which Britain had so long depended.

Largely to avoid becoming a pigmy among these giants, Britain developed an interpretation of Empire which emphasised its unity and common destiny, and expressed itself in further developments along the two lines already noted—the extension of self-government and the justification of the rule of others by a "wise trusteeship of their interests." The names and motives associated with the "New Imperialism" illustrate this new interpretation: the insistence of Disraeli on imperial unity; the mixture of materialism and idealism in the vision of Rhodes; Kipling's phrase and philosophy of the "white man's burden"; the advocacy by Joseph Chamberlain of imperial preference, whereby Britain would impose protective duties on foreign goods and allow the entry of colonial goods at cheaper rates.

### (ii) Further Expansion

One consequence was the readiness for imperial expansion, which applied particularly to Africa. Thus Zululand was finally annexed in 1887. There was an interesting revival of the old principle of the chartered company, such as the Royal Niger Company formed in 1886 for the development of Nigeria, and the British South Africa Company founded by Rhodes in 1889 to settle Rhodesia. The journeys of Livingstone and others had pushed British influence far into Central Africa, and led to the foundation of the Nyasaland Protectorate. Farther north, partly through the necessity of protecting the Suez Canal which had been opened in 1869, there was an extension of influence in Egypt, which since the last war has been a self-governing kingdom, subject to safeguards for British defence, and in Sudan, which since Kitchener's campaign (1896-8) has been an Anglo-Egyptian dependency or "condominium."

### (iii) Extension of Self-Government

But the most characteristic development was in the extension of responsible government. By 1905 all the Western settlements had become provinces of Canada. In 1901 all the Australian states were federated under a central government and

New Zealand was given the status of a "Dominion" in 1907—in that year the term was first used to distinguish these self-governing nations. Progress in South Africa was slower and more troubled. In 1893 responsible government was given to Natal, who thus achieved the position which the Cape Colony had already reached in 1872. The rising conflict with the Boer Republics to the north led to the South African War, 1899–1902, in which the Boers were forced to acknowledge British sovereignty. But thereafter a policy was followed as daring in its generosity as anything in our history. In 1907 responsible government was granted to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and in 1910 the four self-governing units were formed into the Union of South Africa.

In India, by the Act of 1892 and the "Morley-Minto" reforms of 1909, a substantial measure of representative government was introduced, which included the *election* of Councillors for both the central and the Provincial Councils.

#### (iv) Imperial Collaboration

The complementary necessity of collaboration between the self-governing parts of the Empire may be conveniently dated from the first Colonial Conference in 1887, which began the practice of Imperial Conferences at which British and imperial statesmen discuss common problems. The question of political and economic federation was frequently raised, although in the end no such formal pattern has been imposed on the unity of the Empire.

By 1914 the progress which we have reviewed had braced the Empire adequately against the test of war.

### 7. 1914-1939 : Partnership

The developments of this period have not been characterised by any great physical expansion of the Empire. The main additions have been the Mandated Territories, former possessions of Germany or Turkey such as Tanganyika, Togoland, the Cameroons, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Trans-Jordan, which were entrusted to Britain after the last war for administration under the League of Nations. But the principles of self-government and of partnership with those governed have been consolidated and extended.

The following threefold classification of the imperial territories is now general : *first* the Dominions ; *secondly* India—and in the same category Burma, which was separated from India in 1937 ; and *thirdly* the Colonies, Protectorates and Mandates forming the Colonial Empire. Since each of these groups will be dealt with separately in succeeding chapters, this review of their recent history will be brief.

#### (i) The Dominions

The self-governing colonies have become the free and equal Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.\* Under their pre-war status, their self-government was limited to internal affairs. Control of foreign policy lay with the United Kingdom and the war which exacted so much willing sacrifice from them strengthened their demand for a share in that control. Increasingly this claim was admitted and, in 1931, the Statute of Westminster defined a position already reached—the complete sovereignty of the Dominions in all home and foreign affairs.

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\* Eire is also defined as a Dominion. She has not been included in this survey since the story belongs rather to domestic than to imperial history. Eire was originally a part of the United Kingdom and was detached in 1922 and given the same status as Canada. Since then the legal ties with the United Kingdom have been weakened until only a formal association with the Commonwealth remains.

Newfoundland also ranks as a Dominion, but temporarily and at her own request she surrendered that status in 1934, inviting the British Government to assume control of the administration.

The equality and freedom of the Dominions were complete ; if they maintain an association with the United Kingdom that is the most effective league of nations yet achieved, they do so by free choice. They represent the fullest expression of the idea of " Commonwealth," the term now generally used when attention is concentrated on the relation between the self-governing countries, while the term " Empire " is generally used when all the imperial territories are viewed as a whole.

## (ii) India

Beginning with the Report drawn up in 1917-18 by Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, and Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, important steps have been taken towards the aim stated at that time, " the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions."

Development on the first line, recruitment of Indians into the administration, has been steady. Thus in the Indian Civil Service, out of a total of about 1,200 officials, more than 600 are Indian, while in the Provincial and subordinate civil services, out of a total of about 500,000 officials, only about 2,500 are British.

Development towards self-government has carried India to the threshold of Dominion status. A Royal Commission (the Simon Commission), appointed in 1928, reviewed the position and the result of its work and of the Round Table Conference was the Government of India Act, 1935, which provided a constitution for both the central and Provincial governments of India. All its provisions had not been made operative before the war, but it was intended to pave the way towards full Dominion status. And the developments since the beginning of the war, culminating in the proposals carried by Sir Stafford Cripps for " the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion," would have left the shaping of a new constitution for India entirely in Indian hands.

## (iii) The Colonial Empire

There remains, outside the Dominions and India, the Colonial Empire made up of *Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories*.

The Colonies, like the Dominions, are possessions of the Crown, but all exhibit some degree of dependency on the United Kingdom, though it varies greatly—from the status of Southern Rhodesia, where the British Government reserves only limited control over the legislation and administration for the natives and over external relations, to the rule of Gibraltar as a fortress. The Protectorates differ from the Colonies in not being formally annexed but in being granted the protection of the British Crown. The Mandated Territories, like the Protectorates, are not British territory, but are administered by the United Kingdom in trust from the League of Nations.

### *Help Towards Self-Government—*

Colonial policy has been increasingly based on the development of the Colonies towards economic and political self-reliance.

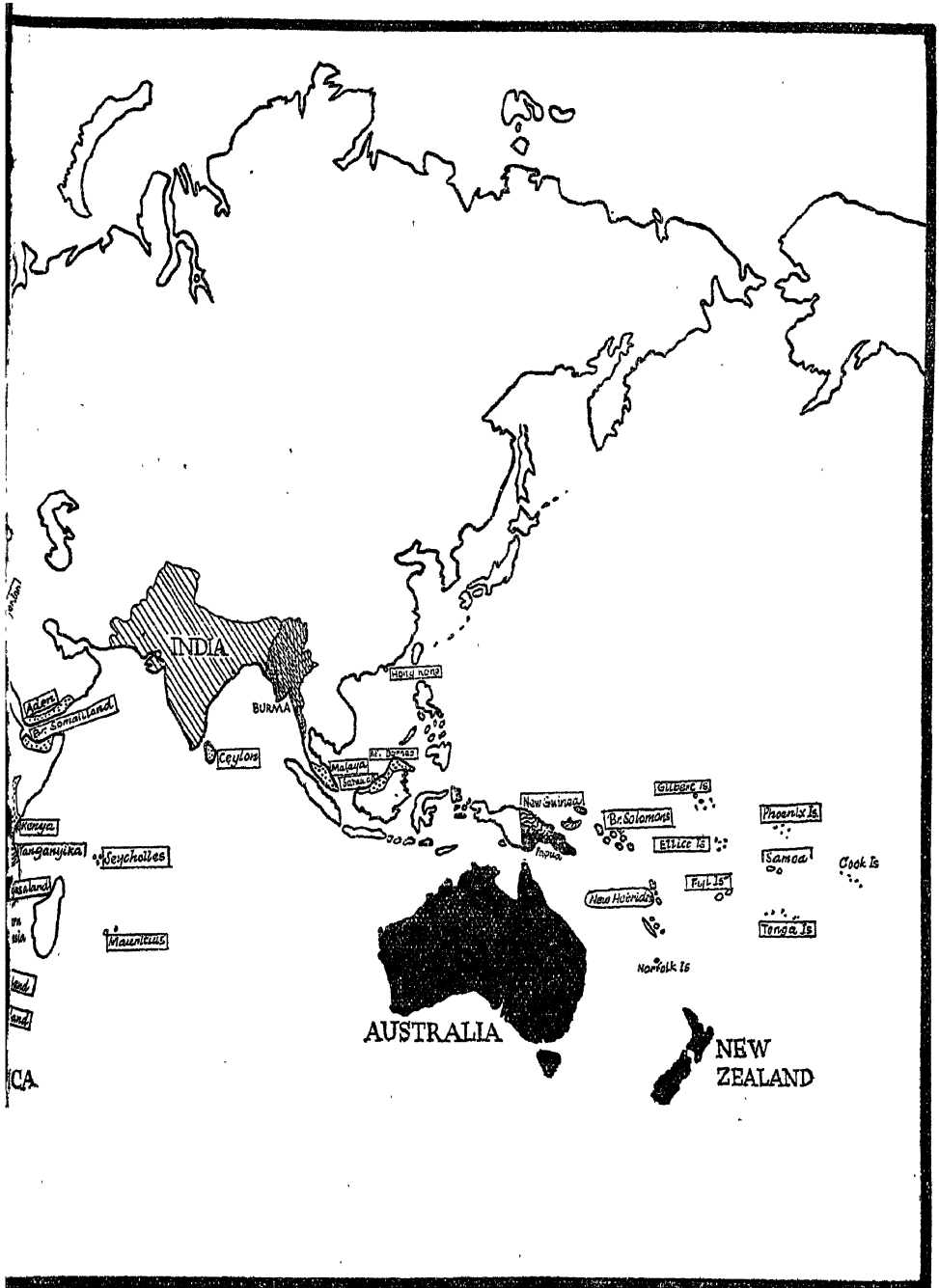
Politically this is expressed in the steady extension of responsible government. Thus in Ceylon, where there is an elected legislature, it is proposed to make the Governor and his Ministers responsible to this legislature in the near future. Even more widely significant is the system of " indirect rule " whereby British administration operates wherever possible through native forms—chieftains, or kings or councils, and which is therefore calculated to prepare for increasing self-government.

### *—And Help in the " Bread and Butter " Problems*

Economic self-reliance is linked with political responsibility in our Colonial policy. There is no doubt that the development of the Colonial Empire was left at



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one time largely to private enterprise. It has been argued that at some stages and in some places this enterprise has run to forms of exploitation; for example, that with native labour so abundant conditions of long hours and low wages have been imposed. It is certain, on the other hand, that private enterprise will not provide all the capital necessary for development, since very often there is no prospect of immediate or indeed of any profit.

Accordingly, British rule has been active on two lines of progress. First, it has sought to give to the natives protection or the means of self-protection: thus the Government has gradually built up a system of labour departments for most of the Colonies, has adopted minimum-wage legislation and has granted the right to form trade unions; all this encouraged by sending out labour inspectors and labour officers from this country, some of whom are officials of our trade unions. Secondly, Britain has increasingly put into Colonial development public money which need not seek any immediate profit, and in 1940 Parliament passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, which provided for the spending of about £70,000,000, over ten years or more, from the British exchequer.

It may not look like an astronomical sum but during the war any expenditure will use shipping and space and men and materials already required and rationed. And at the end of the war it can always be increased if we want it so. This Colonial Empire is dependent—but dependent on representative assemblies, whether they be the Colonial legislatures with limited powers or the British Parliament with complete power. We can ensure, therefore, that this active and practical partnership is continued.

## 8. Conclusion

In consequence of this survey we may not be disposed to claim that the history of the Empire has been one of impeccable virtue or that in the present condition there are no failings. But certain conclusions are justified, on which we can base legitimate pride in the past and hope and determination for the future.

(i) In the main there has been no deliberate, official policy of expansion or conquest. The Empire has not been built on any uniform pattern. It has emerged indirectly, almost incidentally, out of varied activities of trade, exploration and colonisation; all these activities have been generally the outcome of private enterprise, of which the chartered company has been the most significant type.

(ii) The flag has followed the trader, the coloniser, the explorer—that is, national responsibility has been extended over private enterprise where, for instance, that enterprise has incurred great obligations, as in the case of the East India Company, or has checked imperial development as in the case of the Hudson's Bay Company.

(iii) In the circumstances, this assumption of imperial responsibility may have been slow or belated. At the moment most of the criticism of our Colonial policy is not that there has been exploitation by the British Government but that the intervention of the Government has not been active enough.

(iv) In spite of that, principles of growth have been found which consist of free co-operation among Britain and the Dominions and of active partnership between Britain and the Colonies in helping the latter towards political and economic self-dependence. This has achieved a combination of freedom and unity whose value and reality have been proved in two major wars.

We can, without presumption, assert this achievement to be of some value, in a world which is seeking just such a reconciliation of unity and freedom.

## Chapter II.

## THE DOMINIONS

By VINCENT HARLOW, M.A., D.LITT.  
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## 1. Who Are the Dominions ?

They are :—	Area	Population
Canada ... ..	3,694,800 sq. m.	11,419,000
The Commonwealth of Australia ...	2,977,600 sq. m.	7,000,000
New Zealand ... ..	104,850 sq. m.	1,628,900
Union of South Africa ... ..	472,550 sq. m.	10,341,000
Eire (Ireland) ... ..	26,959 sq. m.	2,968,000

The United Kingdom (of Great Britain and Northern Ireland), with its 94,200 square miles and about 47,000,000 people, is small but very densely populated. Most of the Dominions, on the other hand, are very large countries but very small nations. The rapid advance to nationhood has been largely due to the vigour and initiative of the people, to fertile soil and to rich natural resources waiting to be developed. Also it was made possible by the fact that British sea power in the 19th century, when these colonies were growing up, was unchallengeable and provided them with a shield against aggression.

A brief look at each of them in turn will emphasise that they are nations in their own right, with a distinctive quality and outlook of their own—and not just British folk whose grandfathers decided to emigrate.

(i) **Canada**

Let us look first at the different regions of Canada.

*Quebec*

The original colonists in Canada were French, and it was not until the British Army under Wolfe had defeated Montcalm and the French on the Heights of Abraham, outside Quebec (in 1759), that the country came under the British flag. The French were guaranteed the free exercise of their religion and their language and the continuance of their own civil law, and those promises have been faithfully kept ever since. The French population now numbers three and a half millions—30 per cent. of the total population of Canada. These people are not French like the people of France; they are French-Canadians, and very proud of both parts of that hyphenated word. Fearing absorption in the United States, they have always been strong supporters of the connection with Britain.

*Maritime Provinces*

Eastward of the French-Canadian Province of Quebec and fringing the Atlantic seaboard are the "Maritime Provinces" of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. British settlers (many of them Scottish) began to make homes for themselves there during the latter half of the 18th century. They are the smallest of the Canadian Provinces and the least wealthy.

*Ontario*

To the west of Quebec lies the Province of Ontario bordered on the south by the Great Lakes. The majority of the population is of British origin. The first settlements were made by the "United Empire Loyalists," who fled north from the American colonies after the American War of Independence, in order to remain under the British flag. During the last century they were augmented by a steady stream of settlers and merchants from Britain.

### *Prairie Provinces*

Farther west still is the flat, almost featureless expanse of the prairies, one of the richest wheat-growing areas in the world. As this region began to fill up with settlers from Europe, new Provinces with governments of their own were established—Manitoba in 1870 and Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. The people who began a new life in these Prairie Provinces were not only of British and French stock, but also Poles, Czechs, Russians, Germans—in fact, representatives from most of the countries of Central Europe. In a prairie city such as Winnipeg it is possible to buy some dozen newspapers, each printed in a different language. These people are loyal Canadians, but naturally they do not regard Britain as “home.”

### *British Columbia*

Beyond the towering heights of the Rockies is the Province of British Columbia, which includes the Island of Vancouver. The people of this Province are generally regarded as being closer in sentiment and outlook to the people of the United Kingdom than the rest of the Dominion.

### (ii) **Australia**

Australia is different from any other Dominion in that its people are almost 100 per cent. of British stock. This is due to the fact that when it was first settled by the British it was an empty continent except for a number of aboriginal tribes. Moreover, Australians have always clung to the “White Australia” policy and have not encouraged the immigration of non-British Europeans.

### *Settlement and Colonisation*

The colonisation of Australia was preceded by a number of penal settlements for convicts transported there from prisons in Britain. The last of this transportation was stopped in 1868, and Australia was peopled by a great wave of migration from Britain and Ireland which began about half-way through the last century, partly as the result of hard times at home and partly in consequence of the gold discoveries in New South Wales and Victoria.

### *Importance of Wool*

The original Australian colony was New South Wales—so named by Captain Cook, who had explored the eastern coastline of the continent. Inland expansion was held up by the barrier of the Blue Mountains until explorers (in 1813) discovered a pass which led to the Bathurst Plains and other vast areas beyond, which were found to be one of the finest grazing regions in the world. Merino sheep were imported and Australia quickly became a large-scale producer of wool; and this development took place just at the time when the invention of machinery and the consequent growth of factories in England's cloth industry enormously increased her need of the raw material. Australia is now developing various industries of her own, but her prosperity has been built on wool.

### *Discovery of Gold*

In 1834 settlers, following on the heels of the explorers, pushed into the south-eastern corner of Australia, and in 1837 chose the site of Melbourne for the nucleus of a new colony, later named Victoria. In 1851 rich surface deposits of gold were discovered at Ballarat and afterwards at Bendigo and other places in Victoria. A rush of “diggers” (still familiar as an affectionate nickname for Australians) raised the population of Victoria from 70,000 in 1850 to 333,000 five years later.

*Unity in Diversity*

The various Australian colonies (or States as they now are) have very different climates. Sub-tropical Queensland, for example, has its sugar and cotton plantations, while the chief features of the countryside of South Australia are wheat-fields and vineyards. Yet despite these differences and the vast size of the country (Perth on the west coast is about 2,000 miles from Sydney on the eastern seaboard), the people of Australia are one of the most homogeneous nations in the world.

**(iii) New Zealand**

North Island, South Island and the small Stewart Island to the south, which make up the Dominion of New Zealand, lie in the South Pacific roughly in the shape of a hammer.

*Systematic Colonisation*

Most British colonies have been founded in haphazard fashion by groups of adventurous pioneers who received little or no support from the Government at home, which disliked the idea of having to incur fresh trouble and expense in defending them. New Zealand was no exception, for the first settlers were sent out (in 1839) in defiance of the Government. But the colonisation of New Zealand was not haphazard; it was carried out according to a carefully worked-out system which had been devised by Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield. His chief idea was to promote planned intensive cultivation by controlling the price of land and so preventing an uneconomic dispersion of the settlers. Equally important in his mind was the principle that a band of settlers should not be a "job lot," but should be hand-picked, if possible from the same locality. If an emigrating group included farmers, artisans, labourers, and professional men in proper proportions, it would go out as a balanced community in embryo, and progress would be speedier and healthier in consequence. There were flaws in Wakefield's theories, but his basic ideas were sound, and the New Zealand settlements achieved prosperity more rapidly than any of their predecessors elsewhere.

*The Maoris*

When the British began to settle New Zealand, they found about 100,000 Maoris there, most of them in the North Island. Misunderstandings about the original Maori land-laws and acts of injustice by some of the settlers caused trouble, and there were outbreaks and risings until, in 1870, the New Zealand Government made a settlement and allotted about half of the North Island to the Maoris. Today they are increasing in numbers and are citizens of New Zealand, equal in every respect with their fellow-countrymen of British origin.

*Swift Material Progress*

As with Australia, the development of the steamship and refrigeration opened the markets of Britain to Canterbury lamb and New Zealand dairy produce. The rapidity of New Zealand's material progress was paralleled by swift advance in other directions. In many fields of social legislation she has led the world.

**(iv) South Africa**

When the British occupied the Cape during the Napoleonic Wars to protect the sea-route to India and retained it at the Peace Treaty in 1814, there were difficulties almost immediately with the original settlers, who were mainly of Dutch extraction. These Boers or Afrikanders despised the new-fangled British ideas about the rights

of the natives, and the British Government on its side disliked the endless series of troublesome and costly Kaffir Wars caused by the constant expansion of the settlers into the interior.

Irritation rose when the British in 1832 abolished slavery throughout the Empire and owing to a stupid blunder allowed the Cape farmers inadequate compensation for their slave labour. Three years later the "Great Trek" began. Many of the settlers abandoned their farms, packed their belongings into ox-wagons and set off into the unexplored interior, to get away at all costs from a rule which they did not understand and disliked.

### *"Stand-still" or "Follow-up" ?*

It is impossible to tell the full story here, but the underlying problem was this. If the British Government followed the trekkers wherever they might go and attempted to control them, an endless vista of trouble with both the farmers and the fierce native tribes would open up. If, on the other hand, it decided to let them go their own way, the thinly scattered farmers might easily be overwhelmed by the Kaffir tribes and Cape Colony would then be in mortal peril. Unfortunately for the peace of South Africa, the British Government oscillated between the policy of "stand-still" and the policy of "follow-up."

In pursuit of the "stand-still" policy, Britain recognised the Transvaal as an independent Boer State in 1852 and the Orange Free State in 1854. In 1877, when the Transvaal was in danger of being wiped out by the Zulus, the British Government changed its mind, annexed the country and restored order. The upshot was the first Boer War (1880-81), the British defeat at Majuba Hill, and the recognition of Transvaal independence.

### *Opening of the Rand Goldfield*

The situation had remained difficult and was made worse by the opening of the Rand goldfield in 1885. British capital and western industrialisation poured into the country and made it wealthy. Paul Kruger, the President of the Transvaal Republic, and his fellow burghers feared and hated this influx of a strange world into their patriarchal society, and in their fear of being swamped by the intruders (the "Outlanders") they excluded them from political rights while drawing revenue from their enterprise.

### *The South African War*

Finally came the South African War (1899-1902). Fundamentally it was a clash between two different ways of life: that of the Afrikaner rancher who had lived in comparative isolation since the 17th century, and that of the mining engineer of the 19th century. Each had the virtues and faults of his type and period.

The significant thing is the sequel. By the Treaty of Vereeniging (1902) the Boers surrendered and became British subjects; and Britain made a grant of £3 millions towards re-stocking the farms and restarting civil life. Between 1902 and 1904 Lord Milner carried out a thorough reconstruction of the country. Three years later the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were granted responsible government, that is to say, political power was placed—and well placed—in the hands of men such as Botha and Smuts who had fought against us. After two years' discussion and debate, the four South African provinces approved a constitution which was enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain in 1909. The Union of South Africa was born.

### (v) Ireland

Eire, or the Irish Free State as it was previously called, possesses the status of a Dominion in the Commonwealth. Northern Ireland, that is to say, the six north-eastern counties, has a government of its own, to which power in local affairs is delegated by the Parliament at Westminster; but since legislation on matters of principle is enacted at Westminster, Northern Ireland is represented in the House of Commons at Westminster by thirteen members. The phrase "United Kingdom," therefore, means England, Scotland, Wales and the six counties of Northern Ireland.

#### *Special Characteristics of Eire*

Although Eire possesses the status of a Dominion, it is different from the Dominions in origin and outlook. Like Great Britain, it has an original culture of its own and is a *Mother Country* both of the Commonwealth and of the United States. Whereas Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have grown up to nationhood, stage by stage, as incoming settlers helped to develop their commerce, industries and institutions, Eire is an ancient nation, an original member in her own right of the European family.

Between the people of the United Kingdom and the southern Irish there is a psychological gulf which only time and good will on both sides can bridge. The Irish people consist of the original Gaels, secondly the descendants of successive waves of English invasion, who are "Irish to the English, and English to the Irish," and thirdly the Protestant Scots of the north-east. It has been well said that "Irish Protestantism and Catholicism represent different cultures and different outlooks, and rare is the Irishman whose culture and outlook are not associated with his creed."

#### *Dominion Status in 1922*

After the Easter Rising of 1916 and what is sometimes called "the Anglo-Irish War" of 1918-21, the constitution of the Irish Free State was brought into operation on December 6th, 1922. The new State was given the same position in the Commonwealth as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. For the first ten years Mr. Cosgrave's Party was in office, and during that time it gave the country a stable political life and reorganised its economic system. The work then done was invaluable in helping to establish a new spirit in Anglo-Irish relations.

#### *Policy of Mr. De Valera*

In January 1933, Mr. De Valera and the Fianna Fail Party came into power. Their policy was to prepare the way for the declaration of a Republic and to terminate the country's economic dependence on Great Britain by reducing Anglo-Irish trade to the minimum. In pursuance of this policy the oath of allegiance to the Crown and the right of appeal to the Privy Council were abolished, and most of the remaining links with the British Commonwealth were severed one by one. In 1937, under the new constitution of "Eire," the Governor-General (representing the Crown) was replaced by a President elected by universal suffrage.

#### *The Naval Bases*

One of the greatest impediments to Anglo-Irish harmony has been the strategic factor. Ireland is so close to her larger neighbour that she has always been a potential spring-board for an invasion of Britain by a powerful European enemy. In previous centuries England tried to safeguard her western flank by controlling Ireland by

force and by giving political power to English immigrants, who were given the estates of dispossessed Irishmen. In May 1938, Britain, as a gesture of trust and goodwill, and in recognition of Eire's nationhood, voluntarily handed over the naval bases—and since 1939 has paid a heavy price for her action.

### *Present Position*

The present position is that the United Kingdom and the Dominions continue to regard Eire as a member of the Commonwealth and its constitution as that of a Dominion, while the Government of Eire acknowledges no allegiance to the Crown and does not accept the Dominion conception of the unity of the Commonwealth. Experience has shown that Dominion nationhood was an organic growth which could not be grafted on to the stem of Irish nationalism and then produce the same sort of fruit as in the case of the overseas Dominions.

## **2. What Are the Dominions ?**

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to provide a snapshot, as it were, of each of the Dominions. Each is independent, because each Dominion Government gives expression to the unfettered will of the Dominion electorate in all matters, whether internal or external. That fact was dramatically illustrated in September, 1939, when Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa each made its own decision to go to war against Germany. The fact that the United Kingdom had declared war did not commit them, and when Eire exercised her independence by deciding to remain neutral, her decision was scrupulously respected.

### **(i) Definition of Commonwealth**

After the Dominions had been granted the management of their own internal concerns, they were still subordinate to Britain in external matters—notably defence and foreign policy. The distinguished and important part which they played in the last war and at the Peace Conference proved that they had become distinct nations with a place of their own in international affairs. The new situation was recognised at a conference of United Kingdom and Dominion Ministers in 1926 which endorsed the famous formula :

“ They (the United Kingdom and the Dominions) are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.”

The principles expressed in that resolution were formally implemented in the Statute of Westminster of 1931. That statute recognised—it did not create—the absolute sovereignty of Dominion Parliaments and it brought certain forms of procedure into line with the fact of equality. No imperial constitution was framed to take the place of the old authority of the United Kingdom Government over the Dominions. The idea of an imperial federation had been discussed at intervals during the preceding half century and had been decisively rejected, because the Dominions as the smaller units would have been once more subordinated to the more populous Mother Country, which was after all a Great Power. Consequently, the Commonwealth has no Parliament of its own, no Cabinet of its own, no executive machinery and no central defence force. Dominion Governments appoint their own diplomatic representatives in foreign capitals.

**(ii) What Holds It Together ?**

Foreigners have sometimes concluded that the equal members of the Commonwealth were now held together in nothing more than a loose alliance, with the Crown as a sentimental figure-head. This view, of course, misconceives the whole relationship. The Crown, which used to be the means of central control, has become "the symbol of equal communion." The Sovereign of the United Kingdom is also the Sovereign of Canada, Australia and so on. Thus, when King George VI visited Canada in June 1939, he took the place of the Governor-General (his representative) and gave the Royal Assent to a number of enactments which the Canadian Parliament had passed, just as he does with the enactments of the Parliament at Westminster. It would, therefore, be possible for His Majesty's Ministers in South Africa (for example) to advise him to declare war against some foreign Power while his Ministers in the United Kingdom gave contradictory advice. What then holds the Commonwealth together ?

The answer is that we stand together because we want to ; because we want to preserve ideas and a way of life which we all value, and to defend common interests. The point was well put in the Report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 :—

"The British Empire is not founded on negations. It depends essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals. Free institutions are its life-blood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security, and progress are among its objects."

**3. How the Team Works Together**

If we have no central legislature, no central judiciary or defence system and no uniform foreign policy, how do we manage to achieve concerted action ? It is done by discussion and consultation. It follows that the system of communication and contact is of vital importance. The machinery is briefly as follows :—

**(i) The Imperial Conference**

In peacetime this is the most important of the methods for exchanging ideas and planning joint action. It meets at intervals of five years or less. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom is the President, and its members include the Prime Ministers (or their deputies) of the Dominions, other members of the Commonwealth Governments and of the Government of India, and at least one representative of the Indian States.

It is an advisory and consultative body, having neither legislative nor executive authority. Its resolutions are not legally binding, even upon those Governments whose delegates have agreed to them. Action to implement the resolutions lies solely at the discretion of the individual Governments. But the Conference provides an opportunity for meeting together and discussing common problems such as foreign policy, defence, and imperial relations, and, since the decisions of the Conference are almost always unanimous, they carry great weight with all the Governments and usually result in parallel legislative or executive action. It has played a major part in preserving the unity of the Commonwealth without hampering the free development of the individual members.

**(ii) Technical Committees**

Co-operation on technical matters has been furthered by various specialised organisations, e.g. *the Imperial Economic Committee*, *the Imperial Shipping Committee*, *the Executive Council of the Imperial Agricultural Bureaux* and so on. The



*Committee of Imperial Defence* is similarly an advisory body, for consultation on such matters as co-operation between the Royal Navy and the Navies of the Dominions. There are numerous other official, semi-official and private associations organised on a co-operative imperial basis. Taken together all these associations form a vital part of the fabric of the British Commonwealth.

### (iii) **The Governors-General**

Before the equal status of the Dominions with the United Kingdom was formally recognised (at the Imperial Conference of 1926), the Governor-General in a Dominion acted as the agent of the United Kingdom Government. Since then he has been solely the "representative of the Crown, holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion as is held by His Majesty the King in Great Britain." He is appointed by the Crown, usually on the nomination of the Dominion Government.

It is important to note that with the disappearance of the authority of the Parliament at Westminster over the Dominions, the Crown acquired an even greater significance than before as the common link of the Commonwealth. The people of the Dominions and the United Kingdom are united in a common allegiance to the Crown, by virtue of which they are all British subjects.

### (iv) **The High Commissioners**

Since the Governor-General no longer represents the United Kingdom Government, a High Commissioner has been sent to each Dominion to act as a kind of Ambassador. High Commissioners deal with questions affecting Britain which the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs in London may instruct them to discuss with the Dominion Governments. Similarly the Dominion Governments appoint their own High Commissioners in London, who represent their countries in negotiations and discussions with the United Kingdom Government and perform other functions similar to those of an Ambassador.

In all international matters of common concern, including defence, the Dominion High Commissioners are kept constantly informed, and there is the added advantage that they are in close contact with each other. During the war almost daily conferences take place between the Dominion High Commissioners and the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, who attends meetings of the War Cabinet to further this close and continuous liaison.

### (v) **Correspondence between Prime Ministers**

The right of the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and the Dominions to communicate with one another direct was recognised by the Imperial War Cabinet in 1918. This method has the advantage of speed and is used in times of crisis. Important consultations during the present war take place in this way.

## **4. Wartime Co-operation**

In wartime special measures have been adopted for effective co-operation.

### (i) **The Imperial War Cabinet**

The War Cabinet at Westminster is open to special representatives of the Dominions, should their Governments wish to send them. The Australian Government, feeling a need for closer and more permanent contact with the United Kingdom Government, was the first Dominion to send a special representative to the War

Cabinet, and New Zealand soon followed suit. In addition, Dominion Prime Ministers frequently attend meetings when they are in London (e.g. General Smuts, in November 1942).

**(ii) The Pacific War Council**

Pacific War Councils have been established in London and Washington. Australia and New Zealand are represented on both these Councils and Canada on the Council in Washington. The two Councils maintain intimate contact with each other.

**(iii) The Eastern Group Supply Council**

This Council was set up in February 1941, to be a central co-ordinating authority for securing full use of the resources available for the needs of the fighting forces in that area. On the information supplied to it, the Council decides where a particular demand shall be allocated, and it is then for the Supply Department concerned to carry out the order in the manner it thinks best. The scheme utilises shipping space to the best advantage and pours supplies into all the war zones east of Suez, including the Russian Fronts. Thus Australia has supplied wool for Indian mills, built ships and training planes for India and sent rolling stock to Persia. India has sent cloth to New Zealand, South Africa and Australia, to be made into battledress, and fabricated steel buildings to Palestine and Egypt. South Africa and India have sent food and other supplies to the Middle East.

**(iv) The Middle East Supply Centre**

This organisation is another important means of co-operation in supply. Established at Cairo in August 1940, it looks after the *civil needs* of an area of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million square miles in the Middle East with a combined population of about 50 million people. Many of these territories are at present cut off from their normal sources of supply. The Supply Centre works to find new sources and to arrange new methods of purchase. The scientifically planned exchange of commodities which is being organised will be of enormous value to these countries after the war.

**(v) The Fighting Forces of the Commonwealth**

In peacetime interchange of technical information with the Dominions led to a certain degree of uniformity in the organisation of defence forces. Military supplies and equipment were standardised as far as possible so that their several forces could be welded into a fighting unit without confusion or delay. In all parts of the Commonwealth (except Eire) the military, naval and air forces are organised on similar lines and use the same training manuals.

The increase in the armed forces of the Dominions since the outbreak of war has been as striking as the development of their war production. In Canada the permanent force in 1937 was under 4,000, with a reserve of about 134,000. By the end of 1942 it numbered 335,000, excluding reserves. The strength of the other Dominion armies has seen a similar increase.

The ultimate control of their own armed forces is in the hands of the Dominions, and the despatch of troops abroad and their dispositions at home is a matter for each Dominion to decide for itself. Dominion troops are never moved to a different theatre of war without the Dominion Government concerned being consulted, although Dominion troops serving abroad have been placed for operational purposes in British and other Army Commands.

#### (vi) **British Commonwealth Air Training Plan**

Since the outbreak of war a very striking example of Commonwealth co-operation has been the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. It was conceived and proposed by the United Kingdom, who contributed under the original agreement aircraft valued at £45 millions. The United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand take part, sharing the cost, and the Government of Canada acts as administrator and manager. The original scheme was considerably expanded as the result of a second conference at Ottawa in May 1942, with the result that the air training plan is no longer limited to the British Commonwealth. By the end of 1942, fourteen nations were collaborating in the scheme, and their airmen so trained are to become more and more interchangeable and may now be sent out in any combination of nationalities to any part of the world. This is an excellent example of Commonwealth co-operation leading on to co-operation on an international basis.

### **5. Post-War Co-operation**

Enough has been said to show that the United Kingdom and the Dominions have evolved a free and equal partnership of nations which is unique in the history of the world, and which has stood the test of two world wars. As Mr. Vincent Massey, the Canadian High Commissioner, has said: "The Commonwealth has fulfilled the faith of its founders. At a time when alliances on all sides were dissolving and common action everywhere had failed, five British nations stood together."

#### (i) **The "Core of Stability"**

It is impossible yet to see the shape of the post-war world, but one thing is clear. The British Commonwealth, tried and tested in the fire of adversity, can form "a core of stability," and in association with the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China can lay the foundations of a system which can make future aggression impossible and promote equality of opportunity for all peoples, large or small.

#### (ii) **Economic Relations**

On the economic side of Commonwealth relations there has never been an attempt to create a closed economy (i.e. a self-sufficient "Co-Prosperity Sphere"), either between the United Kingdom and the Dominions or including the Colonial Empire. Apart from the fact that any such attempt would have been contrary to the general trend of Commonwealth development, it would not have worked because, on the one side, the United Kingdom as a great industrial nation needs world markets for her products and world sources for the raw materials for her factories; on the other side, the Dominions need a wider market than the United Kingdom, and the interchange of Dominion commodities is strictly limited by the fact that their economies are similar.

#### *Ottawa Agreements*

In 1933, at a time of acute trade depression, representatives of the Commonwealth countries came together at Ottawa to devise a system of reciprocal preferences. Two years before, the United Kingdom had imposed a 10 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all goods imported from non-Commonwealth countries and, broadly speaking, the result of the Ottawa Agreements was to canalise trade within the Commonwealth on the same lines.

These Agreements did not involve any general lowering of tariffs, but they tended to stabilise trade within the Commonwealth area on a basis less unfavourable

for commerce than was the case in the rest of the world. In other words, the Ottawa system helped to cushion the Commonwealth against the repercussions of unfavourable external trade influences. Since the Agreements did not involve any real net reduction of tariffs, but rather an increase against foreign countries, they must have had some detrimental effect on world trade, though not a substantial effect because of the small proportion which Commonwealth trade bears to the whole. On the other hand, they were less detrimental to the maintenance or development of world trade than the attempts at greater self-sufficiency in many foreign countries.

### (iii) Post-War Reconstruction

Clearly the economic reconstruction of the world, when the present devastation is over, will have to be on a comprehensive world scale, with the elimination of trade barriers to the utmost possible extent. Within such a framework there is ample opportunity for Commonwealth co-operation, which will benefit the member-States without detriment to world society.

From being debtor States the Dominions as a result of the war are passing more and more to the position of being creditor nations. After the war they will have capital to invest, and there is the prospect that the Dominions and the United Kingdom will further each other's development by investing their surplus capital in each other's enterprises. Even greater benefits to the world at large would result if Dominion capital were invested in the Colonial Empire (where capital investment is badly needed to raise the standard of living); and if that were to happen the Dominions would become associated with the United Kingdom in the trust which we hold for fostering the welfare of backward peoples in the Colonies.

Finally, the enormous industrial development which the war has stimulated in the Dominions will make them less dependent in the future on selling foodstuffs and raw materials such as wool, and there will be less general demand for United Kingdom manufactures. But there seems no reason why we should not become a co-operative manufacturing team, each member concentrating on the components which it is best fitted to produce.

There are great tasks ahead for this free and equal partnership which we call the British Commonwealth of Nations. In the hour of adversity it stood like a rock—alone against triumphant enemies; and by standing in that supreme crisis it made the gathering of the United Nations possible. Plainly it is our duty to understand how this Commonwealth works, what it stands for, what the other members are like and how they think, in order that as citizens of the United Kingdom we may be in a position to act wisely and constructively when the time comes to re-build.

## Chapter III.

## INDIA

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### 1. The Diversity of India

The Indian Problem is often discussed as if it were a simple problem of nationalism—of a nation “rightly struggling to be free,” like other nations in past history, the Dutch, the Italians, the Poles, and so forth. But this is quite a false conception. India is not a nation in that sense. It is more like a continent than a country. It is more like Europe than Holland or Italy or Poland. To begin

with, it covers 1,800,000 square miles, an area as big as that of Europe without Russia; and it contains 388,800,000 people, nearly nine times the population of Great Britain, nearly three times that of the United States, and about one-fifth of all the people in the world.

### (i) Complex of Peoples

Mere size, however, would not prevent India from constituting one vast nation if its people were roughly homogeneous, like the peoples of European countries. But in fact the Indian people are a complex of peoples, differing from one another in race, language and religion, in ways of life and thought, in almost everything that fosters a sense of common nationhood. There are several major languages, roughly corresponding with the chief racial elements in the population, and a multitude of minor languages and dialects.

#### *Hindus and Moslems*

There is one predominant religion; Hinduism, a faith which embraces many deities and forms of worship, high and low, and also imposes on its adherents a peculiar social system which divides Hindu society into a number of "castes" and keeps them apart by an elaborate code of rules. According to the census in 1941 there are over 255 million Hindus. But that figure includes nearly 50 million who constitute the so-called "Depressed Classes," better known as the "outcasts" because they are outside the caste-system. They are the descendants of the original Indian population, more ignorant and backward than most of their fellow-Indians, and they have been treated as a sort of subject class, employed on the most menial kinds of labour.

The next largest religious community is the Moslems who number about 94 millions. The other communities are relatively small—Christians about 6½ millions, Sikhs 5½, Jains 1½, Parsis 115,000—and none of them, except the Sikhs, who form a compact warlike group of about 5 millions in the Punjab, are strong enough to form a serious obstacle to Indian unity.

### (ii) The Depth of the Gulf

Those 94 million Moslems do form such an obstacle, mainly for two reasons. First, their religion and the way of life that goes with it are in sharp antagonism to the Hindu religion and way of life. Moslems believe in one God; Hindus in many. Moslems abominate idolatry; Hindu temples are filled with idols. Islam is democratic in principle, preaching the brotherhood and equality of all good Moslems; the Hindu caste-system is the reverse. Secondly, the Moslems, who began to invade India about 1,100 years ago, had imposed their rule over the greater part of India for some 300 years before they in their turn were subjected to British rule. Thus, when Indian patriots recall the great days of India's history, Moslems and Hindus are thinking of different periods—the Moslems of the age of Moslem domination, especially that of the last dynasty of Moslem Emperors, the "Great Moguls," the Hindus of earlier periods of Hindu power and civilisation before the Moslems came.

There are similar religious divisions in other parts of the world—there is one near home in Ireland—but none of them goes so deep as the gulf between Hindu and Moslem in India. They live and work in the same towns and villages, yet they are always apart, since no strict Moslem may marry a Hindu and no strict Hindu may even share a meal with a Moslem. Most of the time they live at peace, but the antagonism is always there beneath the surface, and not a year passes, sometimes not a month, without it breaking out in savage rioting and bloodshed.

**(iii) The Cardinal Problem**

India, then, is far more diverse in its make-up than the normal, more or less homogeneous, nation. Yet it is possible to exaggerate the diversity. India is a geographical unit. It is warded off from the rest of the world by the sea and the Himalayas. No strategic frontiers cross it. And there is something real in the fact that the whole country is called "India" and all its people "Indians." Its different races and faiths and customs have all, in a greater or less degree, been Indianised. Even Islam is not quite the same in India as elsewhere. Are the unifying influences strong enough to keep the rival communities together when they are free to do as they wish? That is the cardinal Indian problem.

**2. The Results of British Rule**

The English went to India in Queen Elizabeth's days to trade, and for about 150 years they stayed there as traders, not as conquerors or rulers. But the collapse of the "Mogul" Empire in the 18th century led to such anarchy and chaos that the British trading company, which had become a wealthy and powerful organisation, was forced, if only to defend its trade and to counter the moves of the rival French company, to take part in the struggle for power. Once in, there was no getting out. The result, to put it in a sentence, was the gradual extension of British rule till, by about the middle of last century, it covered the whole of India.

**(i) Two Kinds of Rule**

It was two kinds of rule. India in those days of British expansion consisted of a congeries of kingdoms and principalities, big and small, whose rulers had made a footing for themselves among the ruins of the "Mogul" Empire; and in the course of the long struggle, which in its earlier stages was quite as much a conflict of Indians with Indians as of Indians with British, some of these Princes (as they came to be called) allied themselves with the British, and treaties and agreements were made with them under which they accepted the suzerainty of the British Crown and the British Government's control of their external affairs, while the British Government for its part undertook to respect and maintain their sovereignty in all their domestic affairs.

**(a) The Indian States**

Thus there are a number of territories, called the *Indian States*, scattered haphazard about India, which are only *indirectly* under British rule. Their inhabitants are not "British subjects," though they are under British "protection." Altogether they cover about one-third of India, and their population is nearly 93 millions or rather less than one-quarter of the Indian population as a whole.

**(b) British India**

Over the other two-thirds of India known as *British India*, *direct* British rule was established. The previous rulers were set aside, and the country divided into Provinces, each under a British Governor and Council, but all controlled by a central British Government, known as the "Government of India" and consisting of the Governor-General, commonly called the Viceroy, and his Council. This was not, of course, an independent Government. Like all instruments of British administration it was under the ultimate control of Parliament. The Viceroy and his Council were responsible to the Secretary of State for India, who in turn was responsible to Parliament. Hence the story of the development of self-government in India is a story of the gradual transference of the "trust" for the good government of India from the British Parliament to Indian hands.

**(ii) What Britain Gained**

No impartial historian could maintain that the advantages of the British connection with India were all on the British side. Britain secured a leading place in India's foreign trade, though it was open on equal terms to all other nations, and prosperous British business firms were established, especially in Calcutta and Bombay. The occupation of India also provided an essential link in the chain of imperial defence between Britain and Australasia.

**(iii) What India Gained**

India, for her part, so often in the past subjected to invasion from without and rent by the strife of rival races and rulers within, was safeguarded by the *pax Britannica* externally and internally. The Indian people, moreover, obtained a purer system of justice and a more efficient administration than they had ever known. They also obtained the material equipment of a modern State—railways, roads, telegraphs, post offices, harbour works, and so forth. To meet their most urgent physical need—water in the dry season—the world's greatest system of canals was built. Millions of peasants were provided with irrigated land which had previously been desert. Millions of lives were saved from recurrent famine.

If the development of social services was slower, it was mainly due to their cost. While higher education has been fully developed—there are several universities in India—primary education has not spread far beyond the towns. Nearly 90 per cent. of the Indian people are still villagers, scraping a scanty livelihood from the soil. Only about 12½ per cent. can read and write, and the proportion of fully educated Indians is much lower. Yet this intelligentsia, mostly townsfolk of the professional class, numbers some 30 millions or so all told, and, since the rural masses are ignorant and inarticulate, it controls the course of Indian politics.

**(iv) Ideas Engendered by British Rule**

It is not too much to say that the two main political ideas in the minds of the majority of these educated Indians were engendered by British rule.

***An Indian Nation***

The first was the idea of an Indian nation. Because they were all, for the first time in history, directly or indirectly under a single government, because they could now meet and correspond with one another in all parts of India to an extent that had been impossible before, because, above all, the language of higher education throughout India was now English so that they could understand one another whatever their native tongues, for all those reasons the idea that India was or might become a single nation, inconceivable in earlier days, became an inspiration and a watchword. In 1885 it took shape in the first session of the *Indian National Congress*. It was attended by 72 Indians from various parts of India. It assembled with the full consent of the Government, and its speakers frankly admitted their debt to British rule. Its object was to work peacefully and lawfully for the gradual development of a self-governing Indian nation.

***A Parliamentary System***

The second idea planted in Indian minds, as the result of British rule, was concerned with the form which that self-government should take. About that there was no doubt. The first Congressmen, like their successors, wanted the form of government which, they knew, was regarded by their British rulers as the best in the world—the British Parliamentary system. The Congress, said its founders, was to be "the germ of a Native Parliament."

### 3. The Growth of Self-Government

Early in the nineteenth century British statesmen at home and high officials in India had declared that a self-governing India was the ultimate goal of British policy ; and, before the birth of the Indian nationalist movement in 1885, Parliament had taken the first step towards that distant (as then it seemed) objective.

#### (i) Developments towards Self-Government

Under the Act of 1861 a number of " non-official " Indians were appointed by the Viceroy to serve, together with his Executive Council of officials, as a Legislative Council for purposes of legislation only, and similar Legislative Councils were established in the Provinces. The next step was the Act of 1892, which increased the number of Indian Councillors and provided that some of them should be " recommended " for appointment by various Indian bodies and communities. Questions of administration as well as legislation might now be discussed but not voted on.

#### *The Morley-Minto Reforms*

Another step was taken in 1909 by the so-called " Morley-Minto Reforms "—Lord Morley being the Secretary of State at that time, and Lord Minto the Viceroy. The " recommended " Councillors were now " elected," and together with the nominated members they outnumbered in all the Provincial Councils the groups of British officials of which the whole Councils had originally been composed. In one Province, Bengal, the elected members outnumbered the official and nominated members together. Administration could now be voted on as well as discussed. An Indian, moreover, was now appointed to the Central and to each of the Provincial Executive Councils.

#### (ii) The Obstacles to Parliamentary Government

Thus by 1909 a substantial measure of representative government had been introduced, largely based, as in Britain, on the principle of popular election. Congress, which throughout this period had steadily grown in numbers and influence, welcomed the advances in principle ; their only complaint was that they did not go far enough.

#### *Lack of Underlying Unity*

But at each stage a note of warning was sounded. British statesmen of both parties repeatedly insisted that, while some form of representative government should be developed in India, it could not lead up to Parliamentary government of the British type. For this was based on the principle of " majority rule," and " majority rule " was only workable in a country whose people were so homogeneous, so agreed as to their fundamental ideals and standards of life, that a minority at any time could not only acquiesce in a majority's discussions but could hope to become a majority itself.

In India, it was argued, the situation was quite different. The Moslems—to mention only the most important minority—were divided from the Hindus by a seemingly unbridgeable gulf ; and they were not only a minority today ; since a wholesale religious conversion of Hindus was unthinkable, they would always be a minority. Speaking on the Bill of 1909, Lord Morley, a veteran Liberal, said that, if it were meant to lead up to a Parliamentary system of government, he would have nothing to do with it.



### *Conflicting Demands of Congress and Moslems*

These warnings were not heeded by Congress. It has always declared itself to be a "national" organisation, representing all the communities of India, and it has always had Moslems in its ranks; its present President is a Moslem, Maulana Kalam Azad. These Congress Moslems, it asserts, are the true representatives of Moslem India, patriots who put the cause of the Indian nation as a whole before the selfish claims of their community. Nevertheless, Congress was, and is, a predominantly Hindu body.

Most of the Moslem leaders have remained outside Congress, and the reason for their aloofness confirmed the British point of view. They desired, like Congress, that India should be freed as soon as possible from British rule, but not that Hindu rule should take its place. In 1883, two years before Congress was founded, Sir Syed Ahmed, the outstanding Moslem leader, declared that representative government in India could not be based on "election pure and simple," and in 1909 a Moslem delegation insisted, not only that a proportion of the seats on the enlarged Councils should be reserved for Moslems, but that they should be filled "by separate electorates," i.e. purely Moslem voters. Congress spokesmen have often alleged that in accepting this demand the British Government and Parliament deliberately widened the gulf between Moslems and Hindus, on the principle of "divide and rule." But few Moslems repeat that accusation. Most of them still insist on the necessity of "separate electorates," and more vehemently today than they did in 1909.

### **(iii) Act of 1919**

The advance made in 1909 did not satisfy the Indian nationalists, and after the first World War a new and more striking move was made. Indian troops had taken their share in the fighting on several fronts, and money had been freely voted or privately subscribed to the war funds. In 1917, accordingly, a definite pledge was given by the British Government as to the future of India. She was to obtain not only representative, but *responsible*, government within the British Empire, or, as it was presently interpreted, the status of a Dominion.

This was to be done by stages, and the first stage was inaugurated by the Act of 1919 which converted the Central Legislative Council into a full-scale bicameral "Legislative Assembly," mainly elected, and established elected majorities in all the Provincial legislatures. The Central Government remained for the time being responsible to the British Government, but in each of the eleven Provinces part of the field of government was entrusted to Indian Ministers responsible to their legislatures—a division of functions known as dyarchy. It was laid down that this ministerial field might be extended as the result of periodical inquiries into the working of the new system.

### *Significance of the Advance*

Two features of this new scheme stood out. First, the creation of the Central Assembly was a recognition, as it were, of India's nationhood. Second, the introduction of responsible government meant that British statesmen had at last acquiesced in something akin to the British Parliamentary system being tried in India. The main obstacle to it, Hindu-Moslem antagonism, was not ignored, but, as Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, said in their famous Report, the experiment was to be made in the faith that Hindus and Moslems would be inspired by the vision of India's coming freedom to work together for its realisation.

*Dissatisfaction of Congress—*

The hopes of 1919 were disappointed. Congress, then as now far the most powerful political organisation in India, refused to work the Act at all. Previously, under the leadership of Mr. Gokhale, while increasingly dissatisfied with the rate of progress towards self-government, it had adopted the policy of taking what was given and asking for more; it had accepted the goal of Dominion status. Now, under Mr. Gandhi's leadership, it demanded independence within a few years, and it was to be *Purna Swaraj* (complete self-rule), not Dominion status, the status of China, not that of Canada.

In 1920 Mr. Gandhi tried to enforce these demands by a "civil disobedience" campaign, i.e. a rebellion against the law and the Government, but, in accordance with Mr. Gandhi's doctrine of *ahimsa* (soul-force), a "non-violent" rebellion. Though, despite Mr. Gandhi's intentions, this inevitably involved some rioting and bloodshed—the worst incident was the deplorable tragedy at Amritsar—the Government's authority was not seriously shaken. At the same time the attitude of Congress doomed the new constitutional scheme to failure. Responsible government could not be effective in the Provinces as long as the strongest political party was determined to prevent it.

*—And of the Moslems*

The hope of Hindu-Moslem concord was also disappointed. For a year or two the more ardent Moslems joined with Congress in opposition to the Government, but thereafter the old antagonism revived and in a sharper form. The tension between the two communities increased. Riots, involving many casualties and much destruction, became more frequent. And the reason was plain. The Act of 1919, badly though it worked, had introduced a measure of real self-government, and more was to come. Did that mean, the Moslems asked themselves, that they, who had once ruled India, were presently to be subjected to the rule of the Hindu majority?

#### 4. The Act of 1935

The upshot was a reconsideration of the whole problem. It began with the appointment of the Simon Commission in 1928; then came the three sessions of the Round Table Conference in London between 1930 and 1933; then the detailed examination of the results of the Conference by a joint committee of both Houses of Parliament; and, finally, after full debate, the Act of 1935 was passed. In all this long process Indians had played their part. At the Conference, in particular, both the Indian States and all the chief parties and communities in British India were represented—with one exception. Congress had repudiated the whole procedure.

In 1930, indeed, Mr. Gandhi launched a second "civil disobedience" campaign. But under pressure from the Viceroy, Lord Irwin (afterwards Lord Halifax), a truce was called, and Mr. Gandhi attended the second session of the Conference as the sole representative of Congress. But that was all, and, when the Act was passed, Congress rejected it root and branch. The representatives of the States and of the British-Indian parties other than Congress did not wholly accept the Act; for some of them it did not go far enough; but it may be said that they all, including the Moslem representatives, were prepared at that time to give it a trial.

### (i) Provisions of the Act

The content of the Act may be summarised as follows :—

(a) It established complete responsible government in the Provinces and freed them from most of the control hitherto exercised over them by the Centre. In other words, all Provincial affairs, including the control of police as well as the social services, were now to be controlled by Cabinets of Indian Ministers responsible to Indian legislatures, subject only to over-riding powers vested in the Governors for certain specific purposes, of which the most important was the protection of minorities from unfair treatment.

(b) It transformed the Centre into an All-India Federal Centre. Hitherto its government and legislature had only been concerned with British India. Now it would control a Federation in which the Indian States took their place beside the Provinces. It was thus, at last, a full and concrete embodiment of the idea of Indian nationhood. The operation of responsible government at the Centre was not to be so complete as in the Provinces. All but two of the important Departments would be entrusted to Indian Ministers, but the Viceroy would still be responsible to the British Government for the control of foreign policy and defence.

### (ii) Federal Part of the Act Postponed

The Provincial part of the Act came into operation in the spring of 1937. But, since the Princes could not be compelled to join in the Federation unless they wished, it was provided that the Federal part of the Act should not come into force until a sufficient proportion of them had signified their desire to "accede." The long delay which ensued was trebly unfortunate.

(a) In the first place it gave the Princes, who had welcomed the idea of Federation when it had first been broached, time for second thoughts, and they began to draw away from a scheme which, though it made generous concessions to their claims, was bound in its very nature to impinge on the domestic sovereignty they had hitherto exercised.

(b) The Moslems, secondly, were affected in much the same way. It was their more moderate leaders who had acquiesced in the Federal plan. Now the extremists took charge and denounced the Act as one more device for subjecting Moslem India to Hindu majority rule.

(c) Thirdly, if the Federal part of the Act could at least have been tried before the whole situation was distorted by the outbreak of war, it is at least conceivable that Indian nationalists, including Congressmen, might have found that the self-government which the Act provided at the Centre was, within its limits, as real as that which it provided in the Provinces, and, furthermore, that those limits were not rigid. It had been plainly hinted, indeed, by British Ministers that, if all went well, the Viceroy might appoint Indians as his advisers on foreign policy and defence and presently make a custom of accepting their advice. When that happened, responsible government would be complete *de facto* at the Centre. In other words, India would have attained national self-government or Dominion Status.

It is one of the many misfortunes in the history of the relations between Britain and India that this possibility was not given a chance of being realised. But it is important to notice how near the development of Indian self-government was brought to its climax and conclusion in 1935.

### (iii) Operation of the Act in the Provinces

In 1937, the Act came into force in all the eleven Provinces, and the full responsible Parliamentary government it established is still operating in five—Bengal, the Punjab, Assam, Sind, and N.W. Frontier. Taken together the population of these Provinces is about 107 millions—Bengal alone is over 60 millions—and, when propagandists talk of the subjection of India to British rule, they seem to overlook the fact that, in everything save the few matters controlled by the Central Government and apart from war-emergency measures, this vast multitude of Indians are governing themselves. And it is real self-government. The Governors have very rarely interfered and then more on points of law than of policy. The Indian Ministers, backed by their party majorities in the elected legislatures, are the masters of their Provinces.

#### *Provinces with Congress Majorities*

But six Provinces—Bombay, Madras, Bihar, the Central Provinces, United Provinces, and Orissa—have ceased to be self-governing. These were Provinces in which Congress obtained majorities at the elections and formed the Governments from the summer of 1937 to the autumn of 1939. Impartial observers consider that, though there were some obvious weaknesses, the Congress Ministers did well. In particular, they relieved the worst grievances of the peasantry in the matter of tenure and rent and made a real advance in the field of primary education. They also introduced Prohibition.

The main drawback of the Congress régime did not lie in the Provincial Governments or their policies, but in the dictatorial or totalitarian character of the Congress organisation. Thus the Congress "high command" (i.e. the Working Committee, backed by Mr. Gandhi) insisted, first, that no coalitions should be formed with the Moslem League, the strongest Moslem party—the Governments were to be pure Congress Governments; and secondly, that they should submit to complete control by the Working Committee. This not only cut at the root of Provincial self-government by subjecting it to a higher authority; it also deprived those members of the Moslem minorities in "Congress Provinces" who were not Congressmen of all share in government. And, since the Congress majorities were likely to be renewed at future elections, it doomed those Moslems to the position of a permanent and impotent minority. The harsh logic of "majority rule" was thus driven home. Rule in the "Congress Provinces" was manifestly Congress rule, and Congress, said its spokesman, would soon be ruling at the Centre too.

#### *Moslem Reaction*

The Moslem reaction to this was swift and violent. The Moslem League, hitherto relatively weak and ill-organised, quickly obtained a strength and popularity it had never known before. Its leader, Mr. Jinnah, became almost as powerful a dictator among Moslems as Mr. Gandhi among Hindus. Meantime, Hindu-Moslem antagonism in those Provinces grew more bitter than it had ever been in living memory. The Congress Governments were charged, unjustly in fact, with pursuing a deliberately anti-Moslem policy. Rioting increased. There was even talk of civil war. All observers are agreed that, if the Congress Governments had lasted longer than they did, there would have been a widespread outbreak of strife and disorder. When they resigned in November 1939, Mr. Jinnah declared that they must never come back, and the League celebrated a "deliverance day."

### *Moslem Doctrine of Pakistan*

Thus the hopes that self-government would bring the communities together were completely frustrated. As soon as self-government became complete in the Provincial field, the gulf became deeper than it had ever been since British rule began. And the Moslem reaction went still further. Mr. Jinnah now preached the doctrine—and the League accepted it—that India comprised not one nation, but two; that the Moslems were not a “minority” but entitled to rank, though smaller in numbers, on an equal “national” footing with the Hindus; and, finally, that those areas in the north-west and in Bengal where the Moslems were in a majority constituted the Moslem “national homelands” and should be converted into an independent State.

In other words, India would be partitioned into Pakistan (as the Moslem State would be called) and Hindustan. Only so, Mr. Jinnah argued, could the Moslems escape from an intolerable subjection to Hindu rule.

## 5. India at War

Congressmen frequently assert that India was “dragged” into the war against her will. It is true that, since India had not yet acquired Dominion status, she was not free, like Eire, to be neutral. The Viceroy was obliged to proclaim that India was at war without reference to the Indian people. But that did not mean that India as a whole was against participation in the war or refused to share in the war effort.

### (i) The Contribution by India

The facts may be summarised as follows :—

(a) The Central Government and the five non-Congress Provincial Governments have been War Governments in the fullest sense. The former (as will be seen) has now been almost entirely “Indianised.” All the members of the latter are Indians.

(b) The Central legislature—its Congress members abstaining—has accepted India’s belligerency and freely passed the requisite war legislation. The legislatures of the non-Congress Provinces have supported their Governments.

(c) The whole of the Civil Service—a huge company of which only a minute fraction is British—is engaged, directly or indirectly, in the war effort.

(d) The Indian Army, which in 1939 was less than 200,000 strong, has been expanded to over 1,000,000 by wholly voluntary recruitment. Many regiments of this Army have been fighting with all their traditional courage in Africa and the East. The strength of the Indian Air Force and the little Royal Indian Navy has likewise been multiplied several times over—all again by free recruitment.

(e) Lastly, Indian industries have been vastly expanded for war purposes. There has been a shortage of machinery and technicians but none of labour. Many thousands of Indian workers have been freely employed in turning out munitions and other war material, sufficient not only to provide for all the needs of the Indian Army, except for big guns and tanks, but also to send large supplies to the Allied armies in the Near and Middle East.

In sum, therefore, India has made a very great contribution to the war effort. Yet India has not been in the war quite as Britain has been in it owing to the divided mind of a large proportion of the educated politically-minded Indians.

**(ii) Congress and the War**

Congressmen as a whole abominate Nazism, and they sympathised with the victims of aggression, especially with China and, later on, with Russia. But their leaders had long maintained that the outbreak of another war in Europe would give Congress the opportunity to obtain at a stroke the complete emancipation of India from British rule ; and, when the war did come, they demanded a specific statement of British intentions towards India after the war. The reply was "full Dominion status," but that, as has been seen, was not the complete independence Congress wanted ; and in October, 1939, the "high command" declared that India could not co-operate in the war for freedom unless she herself were free, and ordered the Congress Provincial Governments to resign. The Ministers obeyed the order, some of them with evident reluctance, and their Provinces were taken over by their Governors under the emergency provisions of the constitution.

**(iii) Moslem League and the War**

The mind of the Moslem League was also divided. Many of its leading members, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, for example, the Premier of the Punjab, committed themselves wholeheartedly to the war effort at the outset, and all of them were satisfied with the prospect of full Dominion status after the war. But Mr. Jinnah was the dominant personality in the League, and he was not so much concerned with the end of British rule as with the fear of its replacement by Congress rule. He, therefore, refused to give his full support to the British Government unless it pledged itself to make no constitutional changes without the League's consent.

**(iv) Views of the Other Parties**

Of the other parties little need be said. The Hindu Mahasabha, a militant, purely Hindu body, was more willing than Congress to join in the war, but it insisted on a greater recruitment of Hindus in proportion to Moslems, and it made it clear that its main objective was not so much the winning of the war as the ultimate subjection of the Moslems to Hindu rule. The Liberals, a distinguished body of Hindu "elder statesmen," but with little influence over the electorate and few seats in the legislatures, took a moderate line and tried to bridge the gulf between Congress and the British Government. But the gulf that more urgently needed bridging was the gulf between Congress and the League, and towards that the Liberals did little or nothing. The attitude of the Depressed Classes and other minority parties was mainly determined, like that of the League, by antagonism to Congress rule. The Sikhs, on the other hand, became increasingly restive at the prospect of Pakistan ; it was Moslem domination, not Hindu, they dreaded.

**(v) The "August Offer"**

Such was the political pattern in the opening months of the war ; and for two years and a half of sterile controversy it remained practically the same. The fall of France made no real difference. On the eve of the Battle of Britain the British Government tried to break the deadlock with a new declaration of policy, known as the "August Offer." It had three main points :

- (a) No major constitutional change could be made during the war, but the Federal part of the Act of 1935 would be shelved and immediately after the war a new constitution could be devised, not, as heretofore, by Parliament but "primarily" by the Indians themselves.

(b) The British Government could not acquiesce in the coercion of minorities (the Moslems were mainly in mind) to submit to such a constitution against their will, and in the meantime British obligations (the reference was mainly to the protection of minorities and to the treaties with the Princes) must be fulfilled.

(c) On this basis the leaders of the chief Indian parties were invited to take a more effective part in the war effort by accepting seats on the Central Executive Council, to be enlarged for the purpose, and on our Advisory Defence Council on which the States would also be represented.

### *The Response*

The response to this "Offer" was disappointing. Congress denounced it as "an insult to India" and proceeded to claim, with Mr. Gandhi as its spokesman, the right to preach pacifism and persuade Indians to refrain from participating in the war effort as soldiers, munition-workers, and so forth. This was naturally refused, and thereupon Congress launched yet another "civil disobedience" campaign under Mr. Gandhi's personal command. It was not a "mass movement," but individual Congressmen were selected by Mr. Gandhi to defy the law and court imprisonment. Some thousands were arrested, sentenced to jail for a few months, and released. Others were fined. The campaign proved a failure. It excited little public interest, and by the end of 1941 it was petering out.

The League's attitude was also unaffected by the "August Offer." Mr. Jinnah welcomed the British Government's pledge that Moslem wishes should not be overridden, but he declined to join the Executive Council unless its composition accorded with the "two-nation" principle, i.e. the Moslems, though rather less than one-quarter of the Indian population, must have at least half the seats.

### (vi) **Deadlock Remained**

So the deadlock persisted. In July 1941 the Viceroy, since the party-leaders could not be brought in, nominated five distinguished non-party Indians as members of the Executive Council. Previously it had contained (apart from the Viceroy himself) four British members and three Indian; now there was an Indian majority of eight to four. In October the Advisory Defence Council of some 40 members was established. The co-operation of all these patriotic Indians was unquestionably helpful, but it did not relieve the political *impasse*. They were "yes-men," said Congress, docile instruments of British imperialism, and Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants maintained their uncompromising opposition to the Government and to the war effort.

## **6. The Cripps Mission and its Sequel**

Pearl Harbour and the subsequent spectacular advance of the Japanese brought India face to face with the prospect of invasion. Rangoon fell on March 7th. Two towns on the coast of Madras were bombed on April 5th. Not unnaturally there was great alarm in India, coupled with a good deal of "defeatism."

### (i) **Effect of Japanese Threat**

To many Indians, including Mr. Gandhi, the British Empire seemed to be visibly breaking up. That did not affect Mr. Gandhi's attitude to the war effort; he was prepared to offer moral resistance to the Japanese but not to fight them. But there were other Congress leaders, such as Pandit Nehru and Mr. Rajagopalachari, who were not pacifists and desired the people of India to defend their country as

"violently" as they could. But the mass of the people, they said, would only respond to the call of their own leaders. The defence of India, therefore, must be entrusted to a National Government of party leaders. The Liberals and the Mahasabha backed this demand.

But the Viceroy's prolonged attempts to transform the Executive Council into a body of party leaders had been thwarted by disagreement as to how it should be composed, and this disagreement was quite unaffected by the menace of Japanese invasion. Mr. Jinnah still insisted that no constitutional change must be made which might prejudice the principle of Pakistan or which did not provide for the sharing of power between Moslems and Hindus on an equal footing.

## (ii) The Cripps Mission

The British Government for their part had determined to make another effort to break the deadlock. On March 11th Mr. Churchill announced that Sir Stafford Cripps, who had recently joined his Government as Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons, was going to India, armed with a new declaration of policy which, it was hoped, he might persuade the party leaders to accept.

The British proposals, as stated in the "draft declaration" and explained by Sir Stafford at Delhi between March 22nd and April 12th, may be summarised as follows :—

(a) No major constitutional change could be made during the war, but, as soon as possible after it, India would become a Dominion, entitled to secede from the British Commonwealth if it chose. In any case, India would possess all the powers of an independent sovereign State.

(b) To form the basis of the new Indian Government which would take over power from the British Government, a new constitution would be framed by an Indian representative body to be set up immediately after the cessation of hostilities. If the chief parties agreed in preferring some other method of constitution-making, it would be adopted.

(c) Any Province or any State would be free not to adhere to the constitution. Such Provinces would also acquire Dominion status. The existing treaties with non-adhering States would be revised.

(d) The constitution so framed would be accepted and implemented by the British Government subject to the conclusion of a Treaty which would secure *inter alia* the fulfilment of British obligations towards the minorities.

(e) Meantime, while the conduct of the war must still be controlled by the British Government acting through the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Central Executive Council would become a National Government, manned entirely by Indian party leaders except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. It was understood that this Government would operate *as if* it were a Cabinet, i.e. the decision of its majority would normally prevail. But the Viceroy would retain his reserve power of overruling (a power, it may here be mentioned, which for some time past it has not been necessary to exercise).

## (iii) Post-War Provisions Rejected

These new British proposals marked an advance on the "August Offer." In particular, they recognised that the chief difficulty in bringing the Indian communities together was their disagreement as to the future constitution and they



supplied a method of overcoming that disagreement in the non-adherence provisions. As Sir Stafford put it, "If you want to persuade people who differ to come into one room, you must have a door by which, if they want, they can go out." But this scheme for the future was rejected by all parties—by Congress and the Mahasabha because it recognised the principle of Pakistan, by the League because Pakistan was only recognised in principle, the whole spirit of the proposals being in favour of an undivided India.

#### (iv) Hope of Immediate National Government

Nevertheless, the manifest sincerity of the British move and Sir Stafford's candid personality had made such a deep impression on Indian public opinion that all parties seemed willing to leave the constitutional issue to be decided in the future, and, despite their disagreement on it, to consider the possibility of joining in the proposed National Government. On this issue the decision rested mainly with Congress whose Working Committee was sitting at Delhi. It was believed that the League and other parties would come in, if Congress did, without insisting on extravagant terms, and that the other minorities would follow suit.

#### *Checked by Congress*

Up to April 8th the chances of a settlement seemed to be growing stronger. The main question under discussion was defence, and, since Congress was willing that military operations should remain under the control of the Commander-in-Chief in India, it was only a matter of defining the field of administration which would be left to an Indian Defence Minister. Agreement seemed in sight when, on April 9th, the Congress representatives suddenly demanded that the National Government should exercise the full powers of a normal democratic Cabinet. In other words, they wanted independence at once. The Viceroy's reserve power must be suspended by convention or, if that was impossible, by Act of Parliament.

#### *Impossibility of Accepting Congress Demand*

The confirmation of this ultimatum next day brought the negotiations to an end, since clearly Sir Stafford Cripps could not accept it. It involved just the sort of major constitutional change which he had repeatedly said could not be made till after the war, for it would remove the last residue of British control. The reserve power would have to remain till the final change-over was made in order to ensure in the last resort :—

(a) that the Government as a whole supported the military operations and supplied them with the transport, supplies, munitions and all the other materials they would need ;

(b) that British obligations towards the States and towards the minorities were fulfilled ; and

(c) that the rights of the senior civil services, for which the British Government was still responsible, were respected.

All these matters could be settled by the new constitution and the treaty contemplated in the British proposals. Then, but not till then, the last vestige of British authority in India would disappear.

The Congress demand was equally unacceptable to the League. If the reserve power were suspended, the Moslems would have no ultimate protection against

what Sir Stafford described as "an absolute dictatorship of the majority" in the Central Government. The Moslems, said Mr. Jinnah, would be "at the mercy of the Congress."

#### (v) Further Demands by Mr. Gandhi

There can be little doubt that the rupture of the negotiations was mainly due to Mr. Gandhi who was known to be against a settlement. He was reported to have described the British proposals as 'a post-dated cheque on a bank that is obviously crashing.' And after the Mission's departure, deeply regretted by many Indians, including some important Congressmen, Mr. Gandhi openly took the lead.

He asked first for the withdrawal of the British from India as this would "remove the bait" which was tempting the Japanese to invade. On second thoughts he acquiesced in British troops—and there was now an increasing number of American troops also in India—remaining during the war. But the present Government must immediately resign. The gap, he explained, would soon be filled by an Indian provisional Government. The different communities would quickly come together as soon as British control was gone—an assertion which was promptly denied by Mr. Jinnah. Unless this demand were conceded, Congress would use the whole of its "non-violent strength" to enforce it.

#### (vi) Outbreak of Violence

This meant, as Mr. Gandhi frankly admitted, rebellion. It was to be, he said, "the last fight of my life." With the Japanese at the gates, the Government was bound to take up the challenge. In July the Executive Council was again enlarged so that its Indian members were now eleven against four British, and they unanimously decided on firm action. They waited till Mr. Gandhi's policy was formally adopted by the All-India Congress Committee on August 8th, and then Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were arrested. An outbreak of violence followed, fortunately limited to certain areas and order was soon restored by the police and troops.

#### (vii) The Offer Still Stands

Since then there has been little change in the situation. The British Government has declared that the offer of post-war independence stands. All that is needed to achieve it is the requisite measure of compromise between the parties and primarily between the Congress and the League. The most promising move in this direction has been Mr. Rajagopalachari's proposal to come to terms with the League by acquiescing in Pakistan. But in order to pursue this policy he was forced to resign from Congress, and little can come of it unless he can persuade Mr. Gandhi and his followers to change their minds.

If that were to happen, if the Congress leaders would realise that they cannot by themselves dictate the future of India, then a general settlement would be in sight. But it must not be forgotten that on the British side the Cripps proposals went as far in principle as it is possible to go. Points of detail could be adjusted, but, for reasons explained above, a minimum of British control must remain in reserve until the final transfer of power to a fully independent India can be effected.

**Chapter IV.****THE COLONIAL EMPIRE**By **MAJOR W. E. SIMNETT, M.B.E., R.E. (Res.)***First Editor of "The Crown Colonist" and**Author of "The British Colonial Empire"***1. Divisions of Empire**

The British Empire today, like Caesar's Gaul, is divisible into three parts—the Dominions and ourselves, constituting the British Commonwealth; India, an Empire in itself; and, finally, the Colonial Empire, which is the subject of this chapter. Other chapters deal with what may be called the "senior partners" in the Empire family; the Colonial Empire comprises at present the "junior partners," though they are being trained to take increasing control of their own affairs.

**Dominions and the Colonial Empire**

The broad distinction between the Dominions and the Colonies is that the former, under the Statute of Westminster of 1931, are completely self-governing and independent, equal in status with ourselves in every respect, while the latter are in varying stages of political development, and though some have Parliaments or assemblies of their own, all are ultimately subordinate to the Parliament at Westminster. This means that under the democratic system, every elector in these islands, man and woman, is responsible for their welfare, good government and future. Parliamentary control is exercised through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who is a member of the Cabinet and head of the Colonial Office and Colonial Service, but no attempt is made to govern the Colonial Empire from Whitehall. That is done primarily, as we shall see, by the Colonial governments themselves, in which the Colonial peoples have varying degrees of representation.

Another important fact to notice is that the Dominions, though some have dependencies of their own, bear at present no share in the responsibility for the British Colonial Empire; that high stewardship or trust rests exclusively upon the shoulders of the people of these islands.

**2. What Is the Colonial Empire ?**

The Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories which together comprise the Colonial Empire form today a considerable heritage and trust. They number some fifty or more different territories, large and small, scattered across the globe, covering an area of three million square miles, and containing a population of all races, colours and creeds of some 63 million people, rather more than double the total population of the Dominions, excluding Eire. These are the true Colonial peoples today; and we should stop the still prevalent habit of referring to the Dominions as Colonies and their peoples as Colonials, for that in their case is long since obsolete.

It will be best first to give a brief geographical description of the Colonial Empire and then to say something of its varying stages of evolution and government.

**(i) American Territories**

Commencing in the west, we have the British West Indies, among our oldest and most loyal Colonies, once even more important to us than the American colonies which are now the United States. They consist of the following island groups scattered across the Caribbean: Jamaica (the largest); Trinidad and Tobago (the

latter reputed to be Robinson Crusoe's isle) ; the Bahamas, a large chain of islands of which today the Duke of Windsor is Governor and which include San Salvador, the first land discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492 ; Barbados, which likes to be called " Little England " ; and the Leeward and Windward groups, containing several separate administrations.

There are two mainland territories, British Honduras in Central America, which has been a British Colony for well over 200 years, and British Guiana in South America, which may yet become a gateway to the vast interior of the continent and especially to Brazil, a country larger than the United States. In the South Atlantic is the " loneliest isle " of Tristan da Cunha, and off the toe of South America, the Falkland Islands, with their dependencies stretching to the South Pole. Bermuda, farther up the North American coast, is no part of the West Indies, though often associated with them for economic purposes. Newfoundland, known as Britain's oldest Colony, is normally a self-governing unit, ranking with the Dominions.

The West Indies date as British Colonies for the most part from the early seventeenth century, and some of their local legislatures are among the oldest in the Empire. Their mixed population of about three millions is largely of African descent, and they were once, in the great days of the sugar industry, highly prosperous, but of late they have suffered from severe and prolonged economic depression. This has naturally bred much discontent, though it has not affected their traditional loyalty, but following upon the recent report of the Royal Commission, many improvements are being effected, and economic reconstruction will be helped by the American air and naval bases leased on some of the islands, and the work of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. These leases in no way affect our sovereignty or the status of British West Indian citizens, but promote Anglo-American friendship and West Indian prosperity. Irresponsible suggestions have been made that the West Indies be " transferred " to the United States, but these could only have originated in complete ignorance of West Indian pride in membership of the Empire.

## (ii) African Territories

Crossing the Atlantic eastward and passing St. Helena and Ascension, the former the place of Napoleon's captivity and death, we come to the vast continent of Africa, which contains the bulk, as regards area, of British Colonial territory. The future of Africa and its peoples will probably become one of the major international problems demanding settlement after the war, but this is a question too large and complex to be entered into here. Of the total area, which is between one-fifth and one-sixth of the entire land surface of the globe, Great Britain and the Union of South Africa between them are responsible for nearly a third, and for considerably more than a third of the estimated total population of around 160 millions. Here we are concerned, however, only with British Colonial territory, including for this purpose the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, which is a " condominium " of Britain and Egypt.

In West Africa, separated from each other by intervening French territory, there are four British Colonies, the Gambia, the smallest and most northerly, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast (with a strip of Mandated Territory, Togoland) and the great country of Nigeria (with a strip of Mandated Territory, the Cameroons), which is larger than France and pre-war Germany combined. With a population of over 21 millions, it owes its development largely to the labours of two great men, Sir George Goldie and Lord Lugard, and was the scene of our earliest experiments in " indirect rule," to be referred to later.

Crossing the continent, we come to the million square miles of the Sudan, and farther east, on the "horn" of Africa, British Somaliland. The Sudan links the independent kingdom of Egypt in the north with a great stretch of British territory running through East Africa to Cape Town, the capital of the Union, in the south. These territories are, from north to south, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar (off the coast), Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia is, however, a self-governing Colony, in many ways almost in the position of the Dominions. Partially or wholly enclosed in Union territory, and destined eventually to pass to the Union, subject to consultation with the inhabitants, are the three territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, for which Great Britain is at present still responsible. South-West Africa is a Mandate of the Union.

### (iii) Mediterranean Territories

Returning northward to the Mediterranean, we come to the group of Colonies nearest to Britain, inhabited of course by European peoples, and now in the front line of battle, namely, Gibraltar, Malta (G.C.), and Cyprus. Gibraltar and Malta are primarily fortresses rather than Colonies of the ordinary type, and the same applies to Aden, which guards the eastern approach to the Mediterranean through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal, but has attached to it also a great Protectorate stretching across the southern coast of Arabia. On the Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor, Britain is responsible as mandatory power for Palestine and Transjordan, and was similarly responsible for Iraq, which with her help and guidance became an independent Kingdom.

### (iv) Territories in the Indian Ocean

Proceeding eastwards across the Indian Ocean, we come first to Mauritius and the Seychelles, and at the toe of India, to the "premier Colony" of Ceylon, whose six million diverse inhabitants, Sinhalese, Burghers, Tamils, etc., now have virtually complete internal self-government under their own responsible Ministers, with a Parliament called the State Council, and adult franchise. It was a great experiment which on the whole has fully justified itself.

### (v) Asiatic Territories

Farther east lies British Malaya, until lately the wealthiest unit in the Colonial Empire. Originally a poor country, largely covered with impenetrable jungle, it owed its development and wealth to Great Britain, who brought law and order, built a magnificent system of railways and roads, introduced rubber and developed, with the aid of industrious Chinese immigrants, its tin resources. Singapore owed its foundation to Sir Stamford Raffles, who foresaw its greatness. Malaya was not one country, but a group of small States, federated and non-federated, under their native rulers, to whom their peaceful peoples owed primary allegiance under British protection, combined with the Straits Settlements, which had Colonial status under a Governor who was also High Commissioner for Malaya.

Burma, it may here be interjected, was a part of India, until it was separated in 1937 under an autonomous Burmese Government which was to have the same status as India.

On the great island of Borneo are the three British territories of British North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak, the latter ruled by hereditary white rajahs of the Brooke family.

On the coast of China is the British Colony of Hong Kong, known as the gateway of China, and a great entrepôt of trade, where until lately a million Chinese lived contentedly under British rule ; it served Chinese as well as British interests, and its future will probably be determined in agreement with our ally.

#### (vi) Pacific Territories

Scattered across the Pacific are numerous British island groups now in the war zone, of which the principal are Fiji, the British Solomons, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Tonga, the Phoenix group, the New Hebrides (a Franco-British condominium), Nauru (an Empire mandate), Pitcairn, home of descendants of the *Bounty* mutineers, and others. Part of New Guinea and other islands are Australian dependencies, and Western Samoa is a New Zealand mandate.

### 3. Unity in Diversity

Thus we have made a circuit of the Colonial Empire. It has been possible in the brief space available to give only a bare catalogue of its component parts, and barely a hint of the rich diversity of lands and peoples, the romance of their history, exploration or settlement, and their many problems and potentialities. These would well repay further reading and study. But it must be emphasised here that the Colonial Empire is not a fixed and static system of uniform pattern imposed upon it from outside, but a living and growing organism of great complexity, in which we have always endeavoured to preserve individual characteristics and customs, and to adapt native institutions progressively to meet modern conditions. If a motto were sought for the whole, it could only be "Unity in Diversity."

#### Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories

Only some of the units are Colonies in the full sense, with varying degrees of local self-government ; others are Protectorates in which the native rulers or chiefs exercise internal authority with British advice and help ; and there are the Mandated Territories, which, however, are administered on the same principles and policy as Colonies, except that we submitted an annual report of our stewardship to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, until the outbreak of war.

Some countries, like Kenya, the Gold Coast and Nigeria, are made up of both Colony and Protectorate portions, but these come under the same government for the whole ; Uganda is a Protectorate of which the larger portion is the territory of the Baganda people ruled over by their King or Kabaka ; in both the Gold Coast and Nigeria, there are native kingdoms and emirates, like those of the Ashanti peoples, or Abeokuta, Kano or Sokoto ; Zanzibar is ruled by its sultan, with a British Resident ; Tanganyika is a Mandate, as are Palestine and Transjordan ; the Federated and Unfederated Malay States rank as Protectorates, as do Brunei and Sarawak ; British North Borneo was ruled by a chartered company under the general supervision of the Colonial Office ; and there are many other local variations. All very confusing, no doubt, to those who want uniformity, but well suited to the local conditions and peoples.

### 4. How the Colonial Empire Is Not Ruled

Before considering how this Colonial trusteeship is administered, and our aims for the future, let us clear away some active misrepresentations of our enemies, and some genuine misunderstandings of other nations and our own people. Enemy propaganda has always striven to represent Britain as grabbing land all over the

globe, stealing other people's "possessions," exploiting them exclusively for our own benefit, repressing them by force, monopolising their resources, raw materials and trade, and reserving them for our own "living space." The truth is in reality quite the reverse; indeed the allegations more accurately describe the practice, past and present, of the Axis powers themselves in the Colonial sphere.

### (i) German Colonial Policy

German Colonial policy and practice were only too thoroughly exemplified in Africa, East, West and South-West. It was efficient but ruthless. The symbol of German authority was the fortified blockhouse intended to hold down the country. The primary object was to benefit Germany, trade and settlement were monopolistic, order and development followed only on submission, and revolt was ruthlessly crushed, as in the Herrero Campaign in S.W. Africa and also in East Africa. The story can be read in Dr. H. Schnee's *German Colonisation*, which incidentally shows up the infamous Peters, and in English books by Evans Lewin, G. L. Steer and F. W. Pick, quoted in the present writer's book. As to "lebensraum" for German settlers, this was a failure: there were more German settlers in Tanganyika under British rule than in the German Colony.

### (ii) The British Policy in Contrast

We took a very tardy and reluctant part in the scramble for territory during the past century; many parts of the Colonial Empire came to us by voluntary cession or repeated requests for protection, others were opened up by explorers or pioneers as diverse as Captain Cook, Cecil Rhodes, Stamford Raffles, Mungo Park, Goldie, Livingstone or Mary Kingsley; some were handed back after conquest in war. We certainly do not hold the Colonial Empire down by force, since there are only a few local native police and defence forces with a sprinkling of white officers, and our rule everywhere encourages law and order and peaceful development.

### *No Monopoly of the Colonial Empire*

We have never in recent history kept other nationals out of our Colonial Empire or denied them access to its raw materials or trade; large areas are governed by international treaties, which we scrupulously respect, even to our own hurt, prescribing equal trade opportunities for all nations.

Here is the record, in approximate figures, of the goods imported to and exported from the Colonial Empire in 1938 or 1938-39.

Imports	...	...	From United Kingdom	From Rest of the World
			27%	73%
Exports	...	...	To United Kingdom	To Rest of the World
			36%	64%

Lastly, we do not reserve the Colonial Empire as "living space" for our people. There is comparatively little white settlement in it outside the Mediterranean, for it is mainly tropical and for the most part unsuited to such settlement. For that, there is still plenty of scope in the Dominions. The Axis powers, on the other hand, do openly stand for a "master race" ruthlessly exploiting slave or "sub-human" peoples without rights, conscripting their man-power for arms or labour, using their territories as strategic bases and as "lebensraum" for their own people and monopolising their wealth and resources for their own use.

## 5. How the Colonial Empire Is Ruled

We no longer regard the Colonial Empire as a "possession," but as a trust or responsibility. "Imperialism" in the less reputable sense of that term is dead: there is obviously no room for it in the British Commonwealth of equal nations, and it has been superseded by the principle of trusteeship for Colonial peoples, in which the interests and welfare of the native peoples are regarded as paramount. The conception of trusteeship is already passing into the more active one of partnership, and we have declared that our aim for all the Colonial peoples is to help them towards the goal already attained by the Dominions, namely full self-government. We are the only Colonial Power (if we exclude the United States) which has declared such an objective for its Colonies, and we are already actively implementing that policy.

### (i) Local Government

Every Colony has its own government in which the Governor, appointed by the Secretary of State (who, of course, is responsible to Parliament), is generally assisted by executive and legislative councils or assemblies, on which nominated or elected representatives of the people serve in varying proportions with the principal Colonial officials. In certain Colonies, such as Ceylon, this has already evolved into practically complete local self-government; some West Indian Colonies have ancient elected assemblies; and we are now broadening the basis of their government and extending the franchise. Malta and Cyprus had constitutions, temporarily suspended, but in process of restoration and extension.

#### *The Experiment of Indirect Rule*

Many different experiments are being tried, but the most interesting are those based on the principle of "indirect rule" which operates chiefly in West and East Africa, though it is in use elsewhere. Where there are already well-developed native institutions, as in the emirates of West Africa, these are strengthened and adapted under their own rulers or chiefs, recognised by the people, and are given powers for the administration of justice, local taxation, control of the native treasury, public works, education and so forth, all with the help and advice of experienced British officials. Many of these "native administrations" are well developed and doing excellent work. The chief problem is to associate the educated natives with them and in the public service. Other native administrations, in relatively backward communities, are as yet in the elementary tribal stage, but all have great possibilities of development. Parliamentary institutions and western democratic methods may not be equally suited to all peoples.

### (ii) Central Government

The central authority for the Colonial Empire is the Secretary of State for the Colonies (a Cabinet Minister) and the Colonial Office in London, but the greater part of Colonial government is carried out on the spot by the local administration, the Colonial Office only offering general advice and supervision, and controlling policy. The Secretary of State is assisted by many able expert advisers and committees for medicine and health, education, agriculture, labour, forestry, research, development and other purposes, and the Crown Agents carry out all the business, public works and other contracts direct for the Colonial governments.

The Colonial Service is carefully recruited both locally and at home, and its administrative and technical members, at least, are liable to serve throughout the Colonial Empire. Our policy is, besides recruiting the best talent obtainable from



our own young people, to open the Service increasingly to the Colonial peoples, large numbers of whom, of course, already serve in the junior ranks, irrespective of race, colour and creed, so that they may progressively take over a larger share in their own government ; and we are educating and training them for that purpose.

### (iii) Colonial Development and Welfare

Recently we have taken a long and important step forward in this policy of implementing our Colonial trusteeship and fitting its peoples "to stand on their own feet in the conditions of the modern world." In June 1940, at the gravest crisis of the war, when France had collapsed, we passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, which envisages a programme of systematic development of all kinds, social, political and economic, throughout the Colonial Empire, over a period of ten years or more. The scheme is estimated to cost the British taxpayer at least £70,000,000, for medical and health services, education, agricultural and economic development, public works, raising the standards of nutrition and living (in some cases deplorably low) and in every way promoting the prosperity of the Colonies and the welfare of their peoples. A separate annual sum is allocated for research purposes. Even in the midst of war we have already started to carry out this programme, especially in the West Indies, where, as disclosed by the findings of the Royal Commission, the need was most urgent, and where extra funds are made available.

### (iv) The Colonial Empire at War

It is an adequate commentary on these achievements that immediately on the outbreak of war, all the Colonial peoples and rulers alike ranged themselves spontaneously and wholeheartedly at our side, placing their man power, money and resources unreservedly at our disposal. Their peoples have fought and are fighting all over the world freely, side by side with British and other troops, though there is in peace no conscription in the Colonial Empire. Volunteers have flocked to Britain, money gifts have been poured out lavishly, and their foodstuffs and raw materials are at our service. Until the British Government felt obliged to ask them to stop, the members of the Colonial Empire had contributed considerably over £20,000,000 in money gifts alone, in addition to all their other commitments. They are now continuing this aid in the form of loans, mostly free of interest. They originated the now popular Spitfire Funds and, through the Eastern Supply Council at New Delhi, they are contributing great stocks of valuable raw materials, foodstuffs, etc., to the various theatres of war and in readiness for feeding Europe. They are developing in certain parts rubber, tin and other supplies lost in Malaya.

The Colonial Empire has a grand record in this war ; that is why we speak rightly and proudly of " Our Allies the Colonies."

## 6. The Future

The Colonial peoples who are fighting with us in this war and are equally alert to all its issues, will expect their full share in the post-war settlement, and we are pledged to see that they receive it. To demands from other Powers that we " hand over the Colonies," we reply that we are already in process of handing them over to their only true owners, the Colonial peoples themselves. Their welfare and wishes, so far as they can be ascertained, and not the interests or prestige of other Powers, must be the chief criterion in any permanent settlement of the Colonial problem, which must be regarded as a collective responsibility of civilisation. Self-government is better than good government, and we are pledged to train the Colonies

in self-government. We must see if that can become a common Colonial policy accepted by all Colonial or responsible Powers and concurred in by other nations. Of the co-operation of the United States we may be assured.

In the development of the policy which we have accepted, the Colonial Empire will offer many serious problems to be tackled after the war and we are fully alive to their challenge.

#### (i) Social and Economic Development

Under this heading, the following may be mentioned: fighting erosion by afforestation and other means; the combating of pests and diseases, e.g. tsetse fly, locusts, hookworm, malaria, etc.; improvement of agriculture and livestock; the extension of health, medical and other social services; development of economic, including mineral, resources and of communications; vital statistics and research of all kinds; the extension of education, general and technical, for both men and women; raising of living and nutrition standards and the organisation of labour and trade unions; the progressive adaptation of native institutions to modern needs and eventual self-government. Lord Hailey has pointed the way in his masterly *African Survey*. All this will need expert help and guidance and capital investment and loans on a generous scale.

#### (ii) Political Development

Similarly there will be many political problems. Are we to "pool" our Colonies, as is sometimes suggested? International *administration* of Colonies is not feasible, for every Colonial people has become accustomed to the methods and traditions, the laws, customs and language of their rulers; their thoughts and aspirations have been formed in a particular mould. But international guarantee and control in some measure, with financial and technical help, should be possible, leaving the immediate responsibility and guidance to the individual Colonial Power, in conformity with an agreed Colonial policy. In the working out of this and of their own future, the Colonial peoples themselves must take an active and increasing part.

How this can best be accomplished requires further study. They must progressively share in their own local government and increasingly staff the local Colonial Services. Representation in the Imperial Parliament, which has been suggested, would be illusory and ineffective since there could only be a small minority. It failed in France. Better probably would be the formation of a Colonial Council, together with a Parliamentary Joint Committee on Colonial affairs. All these and foregoing questions deserve discussion.

FIRST SEQUENCE : SOLDIER-CITIZEN

B.W.P. 4

## CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

February 1943

### Chapter I.

### BRITAIN AND THE U.S.A.

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#### 1. Relations of the U.S.A. with Other States

A basic difference between the United States and Britain is illustrated by the different use of the word "frontier." In American, it means not the border between one nation and another, but the border which once existed between the area of white settlement and the still undeveloped lands over which the Indians roamed. American history is mainly the history of the ending of the frontier by the settlement of all the 3,000,000 square miles of the continental United States.

##### (i) Immediate Neighbours

In addition to the "frontier" (officially reported closed fifty years ago), there are "borders," one between Canada and the United States and one between Mexico and the United States. The border between Canada and the United States has been demilitarised *by treaty* for over a century. Despite some incidents, there has been no serious threat on either side, at any rate since the settlement in 1871 of the disputes arising out of the Civil War.

Although there is no comparable *treaty* demilitarisation, the border between Mexico and the United States is also practically unfortified and there have been no serious incidents for over a quarter of a century. Thus, one of the great American naval bases, San Diego, is close to the Mexican border; it has in peacetime a large garrison of Marines. But no one in the United States or Mexico thinks of San Diego as being a threat to Mexico, or a means of defending the United States against Mexico. San Diego, like the other American naval bases on the Pacific, is a base for defence against Japan and this is as true of Seattle, near the Canadian border, as it is of San Diego or San Pedro.

## (ii) Tradition of Peaceful Negotiation

The American man in the street, therefore, although he has land frontiers and we have not, is far less conscious of the problems arising from the juxtaposition of two Great Powers or even of a Great Power and a small one than we are. The fate of Holland or the quarrels created by the so-called "Polish corridor" baffle him, for in North America only one nation could possibly menace another and that is the United States herself, and, with two exceptions, all the present borders of the continental United States were defined as a result of peaceful negotiation with Britain, France, Spain, Mexico and Russia. Only in the War of Independence (always called in America "the Revolutionary War") and in the Mexican War of 1846 were territorial questions settled by armed might.

### *How It Has Worked*

No doubt the potential might of the United States was a factor in the other settlements, but it was not used and the American people is not very conscious of the part played by threatened force in the peaceful settlement of most boundary questions in which the United States has been concerned.

Moreover the United States has not always used its power to settle disputes in its own favour. Thus, the Colorado River is one of the two great western rivers of the United States and it rises in and flows through American territory almost to its mouth. But, in fact, it enters the sea through Mexican territory, an arrangement productive of more practical inconvenience than the Polish corridor. But problems of flood control, irrigation, power, etc., have, in fact, been settled by treaty.

On the other hand, the problem of getting leave to build the Panama Canal from the Republic of Colombia was solved by taking advantage of the revolution in the Province of Panama and the creation of the Republic of Panama to obtain from this new State the concessions denied by Colombia. Twenty years later the dispute was finally settled by the payment of a large grant in compensation by the United States to Colombia.

## (iii) War for Ideas and Ideals

In the American popular tradition, the settlement of boundary disputes by negotiation, not by war, is assumed to be right, normal and easy.

And it should always be remembered that the two wars that have most deeply affected American tradition and have left the most living memories were, in one case, a purely civil war and, in the other, an internal revolution. Both are regarded, in some of their aspects, as efforts to defend the growth of American democracy. The overthrow of British rule in the War of Independence (1775-1782) is seen as the removal of one obstacle to that growth and it is also believed (outside the South) that the Civil War (1861-1865) and the victory of the North saved the democracy from destruction. Thus the two great American wars are, in the public mind, ideological and revolutionary. Not only is the American share in the last world war less important in American tradition than the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, but it is regarded as an unsuccessful ideological crusade in which complete military success did not, in fact, make "the world safe for democracy," mainly because of the mistakes made by the Powers associated with the United States.

### *Why Do Other Nations Go to War?*

To many Americans, wars are fought by the United States for ideological reasons, and always won by the United States, but not only do non-American peoples lose wars, they often fight them for unmoral or, at best, mixed reasons and ignore the means of peaceful settlement tried and proved good by American experience.

Although it was by force that the United States got title to the remnants of the Spanish empire in 1898, she did, in fact, give independence to Cuba ; she very soon repented of her imperial ambitions in the Philippines ; and she usually assumes that Puerto Rico, like Hawaii, is fairly content and is on the way, rather slowly, to the adequate political rank of statehood in the American union. The imperialist wave of 1898 was, in fact, shallow, and territorial aggrandisement by force seems to the average American, obsolete, foolish and criminal. That things are different in Europe and Asia, he usually attributes not to different circumstances, but to inherent folly.

#### (iv) **The U.S.A. and South America**

Not only is the United States overwhelmingly powerful on the North American continent ; she is much more powerful than any South American State, even than Brazil, which, though slightly larger in area, has only a third of the population and much less than a third of the economic resources of the United States. Although great parts of South America are as remote from the United States as they are from Europe, the American people thinks of all South America as nearer and more important to the United States than any part of Africa or Europe. So the American people thinks of itself as a natural, invincible and generous leader of the peoples of the two American continents, and tends to discount any geographical and other reasons against this simple view of " here America, there Europe and Asia."

#### *Origin of the Monroe Doctrine*

It is this generous and traditional view of a special duty to the peoples of the two American continents that is the popular basis of the " Monroe Doctrine."

Originally, this policy was designed as much for the defence of the territories of the United States as for the defence of the other American countries. It was believed then that the " Holy Alliance," the equivalent of the modern Axis, was planning to put down the " rebels " who had freed Argentina, Peru, Chile, etc., from Spanish rule. It was thought that the armed intervention of the great European despotisms in the Americas was a menace to the safety of the United States. In fact, in 1823, when the message was sent by President Monroe, the United States was incapable of preventing such intervention by her own power and relied, in fact if not in form, on the British Fleet.

But it should be noted as well that it was only because of a fellow-feeling with nascent American nations that the American people had any immediate interest in the fate of such remote areas as Argentina or Chile, both farther away from the United States than England was. Not only were the Spanish-Americans of 1823 apparently imitating the English-Americans of 1776 in rebelling against a mother country much more selfish and tyrannical than England had been, but they were apparently adopting democratic institutions. As such they had, it was thought, a special claim on American interest. It is worth adding, in this connection, that ex-President Jefferson, who was consulted before the message was issued, wished to include a reference to the Greeks, who were then fighting for their independence.

#### *Principles of the Doctrine*

The Doctrine laid down the following two principles :—

- (a) first, that the American continents were henceforth not to be considered subjects for future colonisation by any European Powers ;
- (b) secondly, that any efforts by the European Powers to extend their systems to any part of the American hemisphere would be regarded as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States.

*Its Early Significance*

The Monroe Doctrine, in its original form, contained both a practical element of self-interest and a sentimental or ideological element of support for democratic progress. These elements have remained in American policy towards the other American States to this day. But for a long time, the element of American self-interest appeared to dominate, so that Mexico, for example, was not noticeably grateful for the fact that it was a polite threat by the United States that made the French Government abandon the scheme of forcing an emperor on Mexico. To many critical Latin-Americans, the United States seemed in the past less a good-hearted big brother than a somewhat superior schoolmaster.

*Development of the Doctrine*

One of the great successes of the foreign policy of Mr. Roosevelt has been to diminish these suspicions to a large degree. The policy of being a "good neighbour" has been proclaimed and acted on. No longer does the United States undertake to collect the interest on loans made by American bankers to improvident South American States. No longer does the United States undertake to administer the little Republics of the Caribbean Sea in the interests of "order."

Mexico, which in the last war was approached by Germany to attack the United States, is now a belligerent on the same side as her great neighbour. So too are Brazil and the Central American and Caribbean Republics. Of the remainder Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay have broken off diplomatic relations with the Axis; only Argentina and Chile are really neutral.\*

In consequence the Monroe Doctrine today is not open to the objection that it is a cover for American imperialism. It is, in the form of "Pan-Americanism," a system of mutual respect and mutual consultation in common policies of defence.

**(v) The U.S.A. and Europe and Asia**

North America does in fact incline north-westwards until it almost touches Asia, and Greenland, Iceland, Ireland, do in fact link it with Europe in a fashion that is more and more important in these days of air transport. In the same way, the western bulge of Africa, the eastern bulge of Brazil, and the existence of the Canary, Azores, Cape Verde islands, link South America to the old world. To east and west of him, the average American sees imperialist and aggressive Powers and their victims; to the south of him, junior partners. In the centre, he sees an American people, bred from the cream of Europe, and, if left alone, capable of immense advances in civilisation. But Europe and Asia will not let America, i.e. the United States, alone.

For it must always be remembered that most Americans do not deny that isolationism is desirable, *if possible*. It is over the practicability, not the desirability or morality, of American isolation, that controversy has mainly raged.

**2. The Resources of the U.S.A.**

The great area, the large population and the vast assets of the United States in agricultural, mineral and fuel resources make it, with its industrial development, the richest and, at any rate potentially, the most powerful national unit in the world.

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\* Since this was published, Bolivia and Colombia have become belligerents, and Argentina and Chile have broken off diplomatic relations with the Axis.

### (i) Its Developed Resources

In its population (130,000,000), as in area (3,026,000 square miles), it is inferior to U.S.S.R., China and India, but in developed resources it is far superior. Its only serious lack is in the supply of rubber and in some rare or semi-scarce metals. But its coal, oil, iron resources are unequalled, and it is a considerable producer of silver, gold, copper and other metals. It can easily feed itself and is the greatest exporter of cotton and tobacco. The population is healthy, energetic, with, in general, a high degree of technical competence. With the practical cessation of immigration in the last twenty years, it is becoming more and more united in language and loyalties.

### (ii) Strengthened by Recent Trends

Except for the general slowing down of the increases in population, all changes in social structure help to maintain the American lead; such developments as changes in the world trade routes, like that brought about by the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914; or the rise of air transport; or the replacement of coal by oil. All aid or, at least, do not hamper the relative competitive position of the United States. Almost the only exception is the weakening competitive position of the maize and pig-raising farmers of the Middle West who have to compete with the vegetable oil producers of the tropics.

## 3. The Character of the U.S.A.

The United States is a competitive, republican democracy; that is to say, in theory, and to a large extent in fact, inequalities are the result of success and failure in an equalitarian competition. Most Americans would agree that there is not perfect social or racial equality, and that the sons of the prosperous do better than the sons of the poor, but the theory is near enough the fact to become part of the national credo and to make natural favourable comparisons between the United States and Europe. Institutions like the public educational system aid equality and the absence of recognised hereditary distinctions has some effect in promoting equalitarian habits.

### (i) The American Looks Around

On the whole, therefore, the average American is less wrong in thinking that his society is equalitarian in tone and tendency, than in thinking that the United States is unique. He finds it hard to believe that some European countries (including England) have equalitarian institutions equal to his or even better than his. He sees more the trappings than the reality. He tends to exaggerate the practical political effects of the survival of monarchy, of obvious class lines, of exclusive school systems. He does not understand that in some ways, Parliamentary, as opposed to Presidential, government, is more not less democratic. He tends to interpret, in his own fashion, such phrases as "British Empire," and thinks of the "British people" or "London" or vested interests of some kind as owning "the Empire," including Canada, Australia, etc., for he has little or no understanding of Dominion status. Brought up to regard himself as a pioneer, politically and industrially, he may often be genuinely surprised to find that in Britain or Australia there are social institutions and even technical achievements more advanced than his.

**(ii) Hostility to Hitlerism**

When the American people contemplated the rise of Hitlerism, it was with a hostility bred of its devotion to the democratic creed which Hitler attacked in word and deed. Any failure of the European democracies to re-act vigorously was attributed to disastrous stupidity or to a sneaking sympathy with "fascism" on the part of the ruling classes of Britain and France. The American people did not appreciate, and could not be expected to appreciate, the weakening effect of the great losses of the last war, for these had no real counterpart in America.

*Early Miscalculations*

Moreover, the American people exaggerated (as did the British and French peoples) the resources at the disposal of the western democracies. Few people in the United States realised how powerful the Nazi war machine had become by the time of Munich (1938). They did not understand what "standing up to Hitler" involved. So they agreed to the passing and maintenance of legislation intended to keep the United States out of war by forbidding the sale of armaments to belligerents, although this meant that, should war come with the law unaltered, Britain and France would not be able to draw on American industrial resources to offset the start gained in the armaments race by Nazi Germany. But when war did come, the American people saw the point, and Congress amended the law to allow armament purchases in the United States provided that they were carried to Europe in non-American ships and were paid for in cash.

*What Brought the Threat Home*

American sympathy was almost entirely on the side of the Allies, but it was thought that the resources of the British and French Empires were quite adequate for the task of ending Nazi tyranny in Europe. It must be remembered that the United States was isolated from any formidable neighbour on land and, like most of the world, reluctant to see how profoundly air power, the submarine, the possibilities of fifth column work and other German and Japanese assets had narrowed old margins of safety. Her own defence plans were based on a large navy and the assumption that the other dominant navy, the British, would never be used by Britain against the United States and that it would never pass out of British control.

It was not until the disastrous collapse of France that it was understood that the United States was endangered as well as inconvenienced by the war. The next stage of American evolution was "all aid to Britain short of war." But the condition was only a pious hope, for the American people was now resolved to prevent an Axis victory *even at the cost of war*.

**(iii) Acceptance of War**

The resolution to fight, if necessary, to prevent an Axis victory was partly based on a realistic acceptance of the fact that if the Axis defeated Britain (and later, Britain and Russia) the United States would be alone in a hostile world in which, at the best, her position of immunity, surrounded by weak neighbours, would be endangered. It was based, too, on a realisation of the dangers of being the only democracy left in the world. And it was based, in part, on a realisation of the dangers to which China would then be exposed. China, largely because of the missionary connection, was, for the average American, the most innocent if not the most interesting of the victims of aggression. So it was psychologically valuable that it was *Japan* which precipitated the actual entry of the United States into the war.



## 4. Britain and the U.S.A.

The relations between Great Britain and the United States have been, and are bound to be, conditioned by the general American attitude to world problems, the attitude of the representative American, not of the American who, for whatever reason, has discarded some or most of the typical American viewpoints.

### (i) Attitude towards Britain

The representative American does, in fact, look on Britain in a special light, *not always a favourable light!* He knows, or thinks he knows, more about Britain than about any other country. His picture of Britain is coloured by his reading, by his education, and he tends to take from Britain examples of what he disapproves, e.g. snobbery, aristocratic inefficiency, as well as examples of what he approves, e.g. similar moral standards, similar sentiments and, in some things, ways of life.

But where American and British ways differ, he usually and naturally thinks his own better and may take British refusal to see this as proof of incurable and, in the modern world, dangerous conservatism. Even apart from the apparent course of the war, he is less surprised to find Britain "taking it," than he is to learn with what success British resources (which he tends to underestimate) have been mobilised to "dish it out." That Britain, per head of population, produces more munitions, more soldiers, sailors, airmen and ships than the United States is seldom realised in America. As he is not navy minded, the average American finds it hard to realise what a practical and sentimental bond unites the British people to their navy and what a great and, possibly, decisive role the Royal Navy and Merchant Service are playing.

### (ii) The Similarities—

Co-operation between the British and American peoples is both easier and more difficult than between the American people and any other. Although probably a good deal less than half of the present American population is of British origin, a permanent mark was left on American life by the English character of the thirteen colonies.

For example, every state, except one (Louisiana), has a legal system basically English in character. There are close similarities in aims, and even in methods, in the educational systems of the two countries. Basic moral and political ideas are similar too. In more than a mere linguistic sense, the two peoples speak the same language. That is an advantage—and a disadvantage, for it increases the ease of misunderstanding as well as of understanding. Because the two peoples have similar ideas, there is a danger that they may be thought to have identical ideas.

### (iii) —And the Differences

Sometimes the ideas are practically identical; they are identical in their loathing of Hitlerism, of its theory as well as its practice. But they are similar, not necessarily identical, when it is a question of how to organise the world against a revival of Hitlerism.

To some extent this difference is simply explained in geographical terms. There were plenty of isolationists of an English type who were educated by the *Blitz*. Their American kin have not had and, probably, will not have such instruction. There is no reason for casting stones. Glasshouses abound in both countries!

#### *In Methods—*

But there are other differences. The American people are used to a written constitution, interpreted by a Supreme Court, the British people to a mainly unwritten

constitution, in which whatever Parliament says goes. The American people, therefore, naturally look to a future organisation of the world for peace in terms of a written document, imposing special and legally described obligations. It, as polls have shown, appreciates the need for such an organisation, the dangers of a relapse into the belief that victory will "keep" without any continued effort after the conclusion of peace. But with its constitutional habits, it naturally scrutinises the terms of world association more carefully than the British people are likely to do. One nation likes its obligations to be set down in black and white; the other has a passion for vagueness.

—*And in Interests*

It is also true that the scope of these similarities and differences extends to more than method. Both countries are democratic, but the methods of achieving the people's rule in each country differ. So, too, do their attitudes to world trade; Americans tend to regard this as a luxury, the English as a necessity. Mr. Hull, the Secretary of State, is more English in his views and policy on this point than are many English leaders, but nevertheless the average Englishman is more conscious of the common economic interests of the world than is the average American. Then, the Englishman has become conscious of a closer degree of unity with Europe than an American has any reason to feel. The problem of world peace will seem, to our man in the street, mainly a problem of Germany. To the average American it may equally be a problem of Japan and, more likely still, a problem of a reorganisation of the world on democratic lines.

(iv) **Need for Agreement**

The American is conscious of reserves of strength and energy, the Englishman of experience (bitterly bought) and of a first-hand understanding of some very immediate problems. It is in the reconciliation of the two views—the acceptance by the American people of some grim and depressing truths about the need of *unity in power* and the acceptance by the British people of the view that a great world revolution is in progress—that lies the opportunity for a common policy which, this time, will make the world safe for democracy.

## Chapter II.

## BRITAIN AND RUSSIA

By SIR BERNARD PARES, K.B.E.

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### 1. Relations of Russia with Other States

The U.S.S.R. covers about half of Europe and a large part of Asia. Europe and Asia are a single continental block. The Ural mountains are not important as a dividing line, and the country on both sides is much the same, a flat stretch of forest and pasture. Russia's problems are as much Asiatic as European and the most formidable States on her western and eastern frontiers are Germany and Japan—now in alliance. She has therefore to take equal thought for both her doors—front and back.

### (i) Relations with Germany and Britain

For Russia, ever since the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, much the most important foreign States have been Germany and Britain. France has counted, but increasingly less; Italy hardly at all.

#### *Trading Relations*

The Germans have gained far more knowledge of Russian conditions than we have, and they have played a much more active part in the life of that country. If it had only been knowledge and industry that were required to secure them a stronger foothold there, the German influence would always have been predominant. But even before there was a united Germany, when the principal connections between the two countries were commercial, the German constantly spoilt his own chances by regarding every bargain solely from the point of view of his own profit. This was not the characteristic attitude of the British trading colony established in Russia from the time of Queen Elizabeth, so that, when we have given them the choice, the Russians preferred our goods and our way of trading.

#### *The German Drive to the East*

Since the union of Germany, the German Government has also pursued a policy of exploitation; and at critical moments—as in 1914 and 1941—it has ruined the results of long and careful spade-work by a direct challenge and threat of conquest. The whole character of the British Empire, a unity based on maritime connections, has precluded any dream of conquest in Russia. The one cause of possible friction was the forward policy of the rival empires in Asia, and in particular British fear—very greatly exaggerated—of a Russian invasion of India, a question which Russia always took far less seriously than we did. For Imperial Germany, on the other hand, which arrived at political unity only when most of the outside world was already taken up, shut off as it was from free access to the Seven Seas, the urge for expansion naturally took a land direction eastward.

From medieval times long before their political union the Germans were always pressing eastward. Towards the end of the last war German writers, condemning that policy of all-round expansion which they said had surrounded their country with a ring of enemies, urged that all future efforts should be directed eastwards, and pointed to the unlimited and undeveloped resources of Ukraine and Siberia as the natural field for German exploitation. This idea has dominated the whole policy of Hitler. German energies and industry had long been concentrated on this dream. The best proof that we presented no such danger was to be found in our general ignorance of and indifference to Russia, which usually left the field open to German influence.

### (ii) Relations with Japan

The very remarkable transformation of Japan in the second half of the 19th century was carried through largely on British and French models; but its main object was always to avoid the fate of China by putting the country on an equality with those of western Europe in the matter of national defence. Thus Japan entered the lists as an opponent of Russia in the control of China. Japan established herself on a strong basis as a result of the Russo-Japanese duel of 1904-5.

Germany, at that time, in every way encouraged Russian expansion in the Far East, as the easiest way of distracting Russian attention from the support of Russia's kinsfolk in the Balkans against German aggression. But there was always a certain similarity in Japanese and Prussian methods and ambitions, and British-Japanese friendship was already beginning to lose its stability as early as the end of the last

war. From 1927 this friendship was already passing into ancient history. Japan from that time felt strong enough to launch out on a most extensive programme of aggression and expansion which must naturally give her the same enemies as Germany. In 1927 the Prime Minister Tanaka already foreshadowed a new conflict with Russia, the conquest of China and the expulsion of British, French and American influence from the Far East.

### (iii) German Efforts to Divide Britain and Russia

It need hardly be explained that from Bismarck onwards it has always been a cardinal aim of German policy to play upon the mutual misunderstandings and suspicions of Britain and Russia, to keep them if possible at perpetual variance. This passed far beyond the domain of actual policy. We were encouraged in every way to see Russia through German spectacles, and our lack of serious study made us an easy prey. The letters of the last Kaiser to the last Tsar and all Hitler's political approaches to us are clear evidence of this persistent purpose.

### (iv) Common Interests Remain

Of the resulting contradictions in which we have found ourselves involved I will take only two. The first is the complete divergence from received opinions here of our typically British colony in Russia, who have always declared with one voice that there is no people with whom we can naturally get on better.

The second is the fact that whenever vital decisions are demanded, we have almost invariably found ourselves allied with Russia against an aggressor. The one exception is the Crimean War, a war of mingled muddle and chivalry, of which the charge of the Light Brigade is the typical phenomenon. We and Russia have over and over again been compelled by the most obvious of common interests to stand together. When we quarrel it is almost impossible to discover where we are to fight and how a decision can be reached.

## 2. Military Position of Russia

There are certain constant elements in the history of Russian military defence.

### (i) Strength in Defence

Russia is always far stronger in defence than in attack, for defence is always the affair of the whole people. Without a sea frontier or any serious geographical boundaries, Russia has always to retire before a sudden aggression. The mobilisation of her forces is in any case a long business. But as soon as the enemy passes the frontier it is not only the regular Russian army, but the whole people and even the country itself that rises to resist him. This involves vast and uncalculating sacrifices, especially at the outset: but to these the stubborn and devoted patriotism both of army and people is always equal.

On the other hand, Russia's vast distances are in themselves a great defence. The object of any invader must be to bring the Russian army to a real decision—to encircle it and destroy it. So long as the army is in being and is supplied, Russia is not beaten. It is this that inspired the tactics of Peter the Great against Charles XII and of Kutuzov against Napoleon. So every advance is contested and in this "back fighting," especially at night with the bayonet, the Russian is a past master. Even the army of 1915, threadbare of all supplies except the bayonet, was never encircled.

## (ii) **Russia's Frontiers**

This "back fighting" results for the enemy in a constant wastage of effective strength. Here the country comes in almost more than the army. Napoleon lost more in this way than in any other. Russia, especially in the north and centre, has a greater proportion of marsh than any country in Europe; in the treeless south, rain churns up the rich black soil into a sea of mud, peculiarly obstructive to mechanised transport. Here we have no such metal roads and built-up areas as in France. Instead, the invader is surrounded, in the north and centre, by vast and mysterious tracts of no man's land—forest or marsh or both together—where only the patient Russian peasant could feel at home or find the way. This gives abundant cover for guerilla warfare all along the enemy lines of communication, and with easy contact with the Russian rear.

### *In the Centre*

Between Poland and Russia there has always been a broad zone of disputed territory which at different times has been attached to one or the other. It is dead flat and comparatively easy to pass through, with the reservations mentioned above. Some believe that there was once even direct water communication between the Baltic and the Black Sea, and the famous Pinsk marshes still partly bar the way to an invader. This zone therefore rather resembles a "glacis," the bank sloping down from a fort over which any attackers were exposed to fire. The real strength of Russian patriotism, i.e. the fort, is only encountered when the invader approaches that natural gateway which lies between two great rivers, the Dvina, running north to the Baltic, and the Dnieper, running south to the Black Sea. Between them lies the direct road to Moscow.

### *In the North*

On the north there is a similar geographical and national "glacis" consisting of the small Baltic peoples, only distantly (like the Letts and Lithuanians), or not at all (like the Estonians) related to the great Russian family. The conquest of this "glacis," to secure a free sea-road out to Europe, was the lifework of Peter the Great. When Russia and Germany collapsed in 1917-18, these little peoples for the first time were able to form national states, but with the recovery both of Germany and of Russia they are in no position to defend their independence against either.

Finland, which in 1914 was also part of the Russian Empire, is like Estonia an entirely non-Russian unit, and the Finnish population reaches as far as some twenty miles from Leningrad. Finnish independence would be no menace to Russia if it were not that Finland is an admirable springboard for a German invasion, a fact which German policy has never lost sight of.

### *In the South*

In the south, the Ukrainians are a people closely akin to the Great Russians who have also been long disputed between Russia and Poland, and in the course of their lively history they have usually sought the easiest master.

### *In the Far East*

If we pass to Russia's eastern frontiers, we have a very different picture.

Eastern Siberia contains a great deal of very broken or mountainous country. Eastward from Irkutsk there is only a comparatively thin stream of Russian population following the main waterways. It stretches out through vast empty spaces, rich with unworked natural resources and inhabited only by small, scattered and

backward tribes which could offer no resistance to Russia's imperial advance. China, hopelessly unorganised, made no counter challenge. Even to a Japanese challenge there are strict limits. Japan might bite off the Maritime Province, but the Japanese would find it difficult to hold even this because they cannot stand the climate. They could control extensive fisheries but could not settle down. Even when Russia was in collapse after the last war, they never ventured far into the interior and eventually withdrew of themselves.

Manchuria, a wonderfully rich country with a markedly easier climate, is a different story. Here, since the last war, the Japanese have established themselves, compelling the Trans-Siberian railway to make a great detour northwards and almost cutting off Vladivostok from the rear.

Beyond Manchuria the Russian frontier again stretches far southward along the Pacific coast.

### 3. The Development of Russia's Resources

Up to the last war Russia in some respects cannot be said to have had real economic independence. In the absence of floating capital, her enterprises were in the main financed by foreign loans and largely manned by foreign technicians. She was quite unable to manufacture her own munitions. It was only latterly that a patriarchal government unwillingly allowed itself to be drawn into any serious exploitation of the immense natural resources of the country. A late beginning was made by the later ministers of the Tsars.

In an extraordinarily short time and only by ruthless energy and compulsion the Soviet Government has carried out a complete transformation. After the disruption and civil strife that followed the fall of the monarchy, the leaders, who had had to face a foreign intervention, were for a long time carried away by the lure of world revolution. It was only from 1928, when Stalin finally triumphed over Trotsky, that he was able to concentrate all the energies of the country on the work of internal construction; and that, with Hitler's challenge of conquest already published in *Mein Kampf*, has only given him so far fourteen years to get level with the long-term achievements of German industry for the work of national defence. It is extraordinary that he should have been able to do so much.

#### (i) Development of Industry

Between 1928 and 1933 no less than 96 new large industrial centres were created—not, like the old ones, for the most part west of Moscow, and therefore, vulnerable to attack, but nearly all tucked away as far back as the Urals or even much farther eastward. Stalingrad, a simple country town before the revolution and now a vast centre of industry, is one of the westernmost of these new bases. Great fields of coal and iron were discovered in Russian Central Asia, and it is largely from these that the Russian army is now supplied. These new Asiatic bases have also for the first time given an industrial background to a new and self-dependent Russian army for the defence of the eastern frontier against Japan.

This vast work has replaced the original school of the early revolutionaries with a new great host of organisers, administrators and technicians, for the first time making Russia independent of foreign supply. It need hardly be pointed out how necessary was this new industrial school in the creation of a mechanised army.

#### (ii) Education

Another surprising achievement was the extraordinary success of the campaign for universal literacy. The Russia of the Tsars was three-quarters illiterate, and

this was a fatal factor in the replacement of officers during the last war. Now illiterates under 55 are hardly to be met with in European Russia; and even among the backward non-Russian peoples of Asia, comparable to the backward populations of India, illiteracy has been half conquered. The work of instruction has proceeded far beyond this, and the Red Army has been put through as serious a course of all-round education as any other.

### (iii) Standard of Well-being

In industrialising Russia, Stalin was thinking still more of raising the whole level of national well-being, and here too his success has been hardly less striking. His ideal has been to work up all the resources of the country in the interest, not of individual producers, but of the community as a whole. Consequently the Russian soldier of today has a far closer interest in the soil which he is defending. He enjoys a wide system of common amenities. Medical and educational services are in Russia free and unpaid. Russian agriculture, though hopelessly backward, was always collective. The old village communities became so many guerilla bands during the invasion of Napoleon. Now the new collective farmers, far better organised and equipped, fulfil the same purpose with much greater effect.

### (iv) Respect for Minorities

Under the Tsars, one of the hundred and eighty nationalities of Russia—the largest, the Great Russian—monopolised the care and attention of the government. The distinctiveness, the culture and even the language of the others was frowned on—in no case more than in that of the Jews. Now there is no difference whatever in rights and privileges for all. The Soviet Government has devoted special care to the preservation and strengthening of the various national cultures. It will be seen at once how much new vigour this new policy has brought into the task of national defence.

### (v) Extent of Military Training

The population of the Soviet Union, in spite of Russia's losses of territory in the last war, is now approximately one hundred and eighty million. Practically the whole of it, not excluding women and children, has now received a preliminary military training.

## 4. Threat of Germany and Japan

Here is what Hitler has to say about Russia in *Mein Kampf* some sixteen years ago:

"When we are talking of more ground and room (for Germany) in Europe, we can in the first place only think of Russia and the border states dependent on her . . . the gigantic empire in the east is ripe for collapse."—*Mein Kampf*, Vol. II, pp. 742-3.

Could there be a more direct threat? Notice that Hitler intended to conquer all that "glacis" of small independent States which formerly belonged to Russia and now lay between her and Germany. But he made it quite clear that he intended to conquer Russia as well. In later speeches he has spoken of how much he would like to have the Ukraine and Urals and he certainly would not stop short of Siberia, the greatest prize of all.

In the meantime the so-called *Memorial of Tanaka*, that memorandum of 1927 by the Japanese Premier, which has since then been followed out in all subsequent Japanese policy, spoke of "again crossing swords with Russia in Manchuria," and there has been a constant succession of clashes on Russia's new withdrawn frontier.

**(i) Internal Consolidation against Threat**

In Stalin's work of internal construction he had driven his people furiously. Undoubtedly faced by systematic attempts of the die-hard world revolutionaries to wreck his plans and by military intrigues with Germany, these opponents of his policy were ruthlessly eliminated. He had now to ask whether he could depend on his people to defend his regime, or even their own country.

No sooner did Hitler become the actual ruler of Germany than Stalin set about a whole series of legislation to give at least some reasonable satisfaction to the primary instincts of the Russian peasantry. Drastic changes were made as to property. This now included the peasant's house, kitchen-garden, allotment and livestock, and all that he had earned by his own labour, which could now be invested and bequeathed. The collective farms were given more latitude to manage their own affairs under their own leadership. Marriage and the family were brought back into full honour and the discipline of children was restored in school and home. Stalin even imposed a progressive tax on divorces.

From a purely international policy Russia had passed over to one which was intensely national. All the heroes of Russia's past, from St. Alexander Nevsky to Peter the Great, Suvorov and Kutuzov, were now held up to admiration.

**(ii) Failure to Find Allies Abroad**

That this national policy has been successful in rallying the country around Stalin's leadership has been abundantly proved by the magnificent Russian resistance. There has been no "Fifth Column"; the collective farmer has become the guerilla of today.

But it was also equally necessary to secure friends abroad, and Stalin naturally turned to those who were threatened by the same enemies. He closed the long-standing breach with America, made a pact and then an alliance with France, altered the whole Soviet attitude to Britain and brought Russia into the League of Nations, where at each new aggression of Hitler he was constantly calling for concerted action against him. Old-time suspicions, dating from the intervention of 1918-20, were still only too strong, and in 1939 eight months of negotiation between Russia on one side and Britain and France on the other failed to bring about agreement.

Stalin was probably even afraid of a possible coalition against Russia, which undoubtedly from the first was the object of Hitler. He did not believe that Britain and France would finally stand their ground against Nazi Germany. He therefore retreated within his own doorway, securing a breathing space which has been well described as less a pact than a duel. While Hitler was engaged in fighting France and ourselves, he converted Russia into a wholesale "defence in depth" and recovered the "glacis" described above, which otherwise must certainly have fallen to the Germans. But he was well aware that the respite was only temporary.

**(iii) German Invasion of Russia**

On June 22nd, 1941, Hitler invaded Russia—probably the most cardinal mistake which he has made. The "glacis" gave the defenders time to recover from the first shock of the surprise attack; but progressively, as the Germans entered the old provinces of Great Russia and approached Leningrad and Moscow, the resistance stiffened more and more. A policy of "scorched earth," which the Russians themselves carried out ruthlessly, left little to the invaders. Whole factory plants were removed in time to new bases in the rear. The guerillas sprang up all over the country, city after city was defended street by street, and in December 1941, the German tide was turned by a counter-attack which was kept up all through the



winter and spring. The German offensive in the summer of 1942, aimed this time not at Moscow but at the Volga and Caucasus, was stayed and countered by the Russian offensives of November and December.

## 5. British and Russian Co-operation

On the very day of Hitler's invasion, the British Prime Minister put all possible help on our side at the disposal of Stalin, an example which was followed by the United States of America, and an allied conference in Moscow for the pooling of munitions set up a programme which has since been carried out with realistic thoroughness in spite of unprecedented difficulties. The debt of Russia to the Navy and Merchant Navy of Britain will only be known in full after the war is over. Now we have from Stalin himself the fullest recognition of the radical transformation of the war outlook achieved by our North African strategy and of the real relief which it means for Russia.

### (i) The Anglo-Russian Treaty, 1942

Meanwhile the comradeship in war has now been carried forward past its end in a treaty of partnership, initially for twenty years. In this Anglo-Russian Treaty of 26th May, 1942, Britain and Russia declare their desire "to unite with other like-minded States in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post-war period." Other clauses provide for mutual support against aggression by Germany or her associates after the war and for the collaboration of Britain and Russia in the organisation of security and economic prosperity in Europe and renounce territorial aggrandisement and interference in the internal affairs of other States.

### (ii) The Scope for Co-operation

Territorially, we have had nothing to quarrel over; any cause of difference lay in our commitments to others, and this Mr. Eden has already set himself to remove. It is clear that we cannot achieve any permanent settlement in eastern Europe without the co-operation of Russia. Peace, to be durable, must rest on a broad basis of real strength. This basis, as is fully recognised, we already have in the four major powers of our present alliance—Britain, Russia, America and China. The two first are specially important for the permanent settlement of Europe. Russia, as much as any other country, has need of a permanent guarantee against German aggression.

That is what each has to offer the other, and it is only necessary that any joint settlement must be of such a character as to take full account of the interests and views of both countries. It is the same with America: if her active guarantee is to be permanent, it will be because full account of her public opinion has been taken in the settlement. It is only on such a basis of united strength that any permanent peace can be guaranteed to the smaller nations.

### (iii) Friendship between the Peoples

Before all, it is essential that such a partnership between Governments should rest on a friendship between peoples. There can be no enforced similarity: each must be free and independent to live its own life according to its own lights. History itself demands this. But there must be far more contact and exchange than there has been in the past, and above all far more study; and there is very much that we can learn from each other.

## Chapter IIIA. CHINA: THE PRESENT BACKGROUND

*"Let the Japanese come, let them drive us back into Tibet. In five years we will be back here and will wrest all China from the enemy again."*—(Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.)

### 1. The Country Itself

Although the following summary is of recent or present developments, any introduction to China begins well with an insistence on the value and antiquity of her civilisation. It may be picturesque, even odd, that the Chinese wear white instead of black for mourning, begin a book on what would be the last page of ours and write the family name before the surname. What is rather more significant is that their culture was already rich and creative 4,000 years ago. Long before Europeans the Chinese had great cities and good roads. They invented or discovered silk, porcelain, tea, printing, gunpowder. They mined coal, issued paper money, had a public relief system and a civil service. On this record, respect for an ancient civilisation must be added to our present gratitude for an ally.

#### (i) The Area

The area covered by the 28 provinces of the Republic of China, which include Manchuria but not Mongolia or Tibet, is about 3,500,000 square miles—bigger than Europe without Russia and more comparable with the U.S.A. "Inner" China, or China proper, which lies within the belt of provinces covering Manchuria, Chahar, Suiyuan, Ninghsia, Sinkiang, Tsinghai and Sikang, is best described as consisting of three great river basins and their intervening highlands—the Yellow River in the north, the Yangtse in the centre and, to the south, the Sikiang.

#### (ii) The People

Estimates of the population vary considerably, but for the 28 provinces it is probably about 450,000,000—in China proper, concentrated mostly in the river valleys. It is roughly true that if the total population of the world were lined up in five ranks, at least one complete rank could be made up of Chinese.

There exist, of course, differences of religion, race and climate, and these diversities are intensified by the great distances of the country. But the unifying process is being fostered under the central government. Thus China has always had the advantage of a common written language and the present vast efforts at mass education will have the effect of bringing millions of peasants within this bond of unity. There are many spoken dialects but a common form of speech has also made great headway.

#### (iii) Resources

*Mineral and Industrial.*—Huge deposits of coal, iron, copper, tin, antimony and tungsten, and some petroleum, all of vital importance in modern industry or war, are known to exist in China. The country has all the resources necessary to make her into a first-class Power and in her rivers an enormous potential of water-power. The present degree of industrialisation is slight, however, although the tin, antimony and tungsten mines have been developed and of the two latter materials China normally supplies 40–50 per cent. of the world's output.

*Other Resources.*—The great bulk of the population, probably about 80 per cent., depends directly on agriculture, though only about 10 per cent. of the total area is arable land. It has been estimated that three or four times that acreage could

be brought under cultivation by modern methods of irrigation and agriculture. Wheat and rice are the most important crops. China is also the world's third largest producer of cotton. Soya beans, valuable as foodstuffs or for explosives, are grown chiefly for the export market, which is supplied mainly by China, and she is the world's second largest exporter of silk.

## **2. China's Foreign Relations**

Until the 19th century China remained comparatively isolated. When relations with the nations of the West were developed they were chiefly economic—China was a market for manufactured goods, a source of raw materials and a sphere for investment for the development of her industry and communications.

She was finally opened to the world after two wars, with Britain 1839-42, and with Britain and France 1856-60, and the negotiation of the "Unequal Treaties" establishing the privilege of extra-territoriality for foreign traders. This privilege gave the traders and residents immunity from Chinese jurisdiction and led to the system of treaty ports and the establishment of settlements or concessions where these foreigners had a large degree of "self-government." This was considered necessary in the 19th century because of the lack of a strong government capable of ensuring the stable conditions necessary for trade and settlement.

### **(i) Growth of Chinese Nationalism**

Partly under the pressure of this contact with other nationalities, Chinese nationalism grew. The development was slow and difficult, but finally in the revolution of 1911-12 a new republican government, headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, was formed to confront the task of unifying and reconstructing China. The aims were defined in the famous "Three Principles of the People"—"Nationalism," "Political Democracy" and "Social Justice"; and since the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, leadership has fallen to one of his disciples, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

In the early efforts which were made to achieve these aims, the central government had to contend with internal cliques and unruly war-lords who refused to accept its authority, but even against such opposition the immense task of reconstruction continued.

### **(ii) Problem of the "Unequal Treaties"**

One result of the growth of Chinese nationalism was resentment against the "Unequal Treaties." Although the trade relations which they established had normally been friendly, and although they greatly helped the development of China, they were regarded as an infringement of Chinese sovereignty. Moreover, they became increasingly unnecessary as the central government became an effective authority, capable of establishing stable conditions for trade. Consequently the Nine-Power Treaty was negotiated in 1921 by China, the British Empire, the U.S.A., France, Japan, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Poland, whereby all agreed to "respect the sovereignty, the independence and territorial and administrative integrity of China." Concessions followed, and, although difficulties persisted, the problem was being tackled.

### **(iii) Japanese Aggression**

In the midst of these efforts, Japan, who had been rapidly gaining a leading place in the trade with China, began the aggression which aimed at reducing China entirely to the service of Japanese interests. The intention was to fit China into

the Japanese economic plan for East Asia, whereby Japan became the country of "precision industries," while China became a dependency supplying raw materials and developing light industries.

The attack was hastened by Japan's realisation that it must be made before the consolidation of China under the republican government made its success impossible. In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria and detached it to form under a "puppet government" the state of "Manchukuo." In 1937 Japan launched the second aggression, and has seized the territory below Manchuria, the coastal plain, most of the river valleys, most of the big eastern cities and the principal railroads and land adjacent to them.

#### (iv) The Chinese Resistance

Although the very widespread activities of the Chinese guerillas prevent this occupation being fully effective, still the loss to China has been heavy. In the north, for example, she has lost the bulk of her iron and coal mines, three-quarters of her cotton industry, four-fifths of the silk industry and practically all the flour mills. The Japanese control of the eastern seaboard and plain has at once removed from China her most modern industrial centres and established a blockade against supplies by sea.

In spite of such dire setbacks the Chinese resistance has been maintained at all cost and, symbolising the whole struggle, has been the great migration westwards of both population and industry. Since Japan invaded the coastal provinces, some 50 million refugees moved over a thousand miles west—as if the whole population of France had moved to the Balkans. They carried with them, in trucks or on the backs of horses or the backs of men, schools and even entire universities, banks and, above all, factories—over 350 factories and 150,000 tons of machinery. Then under the most difficult conditions, these industries were reconstituted to enable the fight to go on.

### 3. The Future

Now China's war, which began in 1931, has merged into the general world war and we fight with her as equal partners in a common struggle. Thus the Generalissimo has become the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations in the Chinese theatre of war, and a loan of £50,000,000 has been offered by Britain, together with all possible supplies of equipment under Lend-Lease arrangements.

In expression of the same spirit of equality Britain and the U.S.A., in October 1942, declared the abolition of extra-territoriality. Accordingly, at the end of the war economic relations will be reconstructed on a new foundation and both Britain and China will have a vital interest in that reconstruction. With the prospect of it, the following chapter is primarily concerned.

But the association with China in the problems of post-war reconstruction may well be wider. In the course of the war she is developing the unity, the principles and the resources which may help to make her one of the greatest democracies in the world, and therefore an equal and essential partner with Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in world leadership.

**Chapter IIIB.****BRITAIN AND CHINA****By SIR JOHN PRATT, K.B.E., C.M.G.***Head of the Far East Section, Ministry of Information, 1939-1941***1. The Position of Foreigners in China**

For almost exactly one hundred years China's relations with Great Britain and the other powers of Europe and America have been regulated by the treaties which the Chinese have branded as the "Unequal Treaties." They acquired this name because they conferred certain special privileges upon foreigners who came to reside or travel in China.

**(i) The Right of Extra-Territoriality**

The most important of these privileges was the right of extra-territoriality by which foreigners were immune from Chinese jurisdiction and were made subject only to the laws and the courts of their own nation. One of the results of the application of this principle was that no Chinese law or regulation could be enforced against, for example, a British subject unless it had been first approved and adopted by the British Government and had thus become a British law.

**(ii) The Treaty Port System**

The treaties also established what is known as the "treaty port system," which was peculiar to China and was not found in any other country in the world. Under this system foreigners were allowed to reside and trade at a number of specified cities, which were usually situated on the sea coast or on the chief navigable rivers, and were therefore known as "treaty ports." At each of these treaty ports foreigners were allowed to acquire land and buildings for the purposes of their trade. The taxes levied on their trade, whether in the form of customs duties on goods imported or exported, or of transit dues on these goods between the treaty port and the place of destination or place of origin in the interior, were fixed at a moderate figure, and the method of assessment and payment was carefully prescribed by treaty.

**(iii) Settlements and Concessions**

At some of the larger ports, notably Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow and Canton, local arrangements were made, after the treaties had been signed, by which certain areas, known as settlements or concessions, were set aside, within which all arrangements relating to roads, lighting, cleansing, public utilities, etc., were placed under the control of municipal councils composed of and elected by foreigners. The police force in these areas was also under the sole control of the foreign municipal council, and Chinese government police were not allowed to enter or function within them. Thus, though Chinese residents in settlements and concessions remained under the jurisdiction of their own authorities, warrants or summonses issued by a Chinese government authority could not be executed in these areas except by the police of the foreign municipality after counter-signature by the senior Consul.

**(iv) Other Privileges**

Two of the most important privileges enjoyed by foreigners were not directly prescribed by the treaties themselves, but were a more or less accidental by-product of the system. A British subject was not liable to pay Chinese taxes (other than taxes on the goods he imported or exported), not because there was any treaty

stipulation to that effect, but because the Chinese law imposing such taxes could not be enforced in a British court : and in some of the treaty ports Chinese as well as foreigners were protected against any possible oppressive action by the Chinese authorities, not by virtue of any specific clauses in the treaties, but by the effect of subsidiary arrangements subsequently agreed to by local Chinese authorities.

## 2. Origin of the System

Any suspicion of injustice always arouses the generous sympathies of the British people. In the 20th century the Chinese complaints of the injustice of the treaty port system have appeared to be well founded. Some people have therefore jumped to the conclusion that it was unjustly imposed on China a hundred years ago, and many imaginary versions of the beginnings of British commercial intercourse with China and the origins of the system have been invented in order to justify this belief. In fact, there is a long and honourable tradition of friendly and helpful relations between England and China, and there is no reason to doubt that Great Britain will recover her former position and will continue to play a leading role in the Far East.

The unusual features of the treaty port system were not due to any excess of original sin on the part of the British. They were a part of that subtle and essential difference between China and the West which most people instinctively feel but which few people have succeeded in defining.

### (i) Chinese Emphasis on Individual Responsibility

The British who went to China in the 18th century in search of trade found a great and powerful Empire organised upon a wholly different principle to the nation States of the West. In Europe the authority of the State rests upon force and the rule of law. The will of the dominant group or groups is expressed in laws which the people are compelled to obey by the superior force at the disposal of the State. In China government was based not upon force but upon the sense of moral obligation implanted in the human breast. It was believed that by means of instruction, example and exhortation, which it was the duty of the ruler to provide, men could be encouraged to carry out the reciprocal obligations arising from association with their fellow men. The State did not concern itself with rights and did not regard it as part of its function to provide machinery to enable men to enforce their rights against their fellow men. The laws were not framed for any such purpose. They were designed to set up ideal standards of conduct which men should strive to attain.

Attention, therefore, was concentrated solely on encouraging men to perform their obligations. The conduct, manners and duties of every individual—whether private person or official—were prescribed in minute detail by regulations dealing with every possible situation in life. The social order was like the geometrical pattern of a spider's web from the fine meshes of which there was no escape, and the web was kept intact, not by force and the rule of law, but by developing the sense of moral obligation and by the principle of devolution of responsibility. Every individual in the hierarchy from the village headman up to the Emperor was held responsible for keeping his portion of the social network in proper order.

### (ii) Application to Foreign Settlements

When foreigners appeared upon the scene they were welcomed because the Chinese were always eager for trade. They were permitted to reside at Canton and the application of the principle of devolution of responsibility made it possible to

admit them into, though they did not form part of, the Chinese social order. Each little group of foreigners—French, English, Americans, etc.—was regarded as a self-contained unit. They were expected to manage their own affairs according to their own laws and customs under their own headman, who was held responsible for seeing that the actions and behaviour of his fellow countrymen were not a cause of danger or offence to China.

It will be seen, therefore, that for more than a hundred years before the "Unequal Treaties" had been thought of, these little groups of foreigners had lived in the factories at Canton where they led their own way of life and enjoyed many of the privileges peculiar to the treaty port system of a later time. The arrangements worked smoothly and difficulties only arose when, as very rarely happened, a case of homicide occurred. The Chinese authorities then demanded that an innocent man should be handed over for execution. This was not, as some have supposed, a proof of the barbarous nature of Chinese law for, in fact, the Chinese criminal code was far less barbarous than our own. The demand was a political act—an act of State—and the British refusal to hand over innocent men was also a political act.

### (iii) Decay and Disorder in China

The Chinese social order and system of government were strangely different to anything the West had ever seen. The principles on which they were based had produced a great Empire, an enduring civilisation and a very beautiful philosophy of life; but at the end of the 18th century the system had already decayed from within, and China plunged headlong into an abyss of disorder, disruption and humiliation which lasted throughout the 19th century. Between 1800 and 1840 disasters came thick and fast upon her—rebellion, floods, famine, piracy, opium smuggling and foreign war. The Chinese government proved quite incapable of coping with these difficulties.

### (iv) Position of Foreigners Established by Treaty

Conditions in Canton rapidly degenerated and war eventually broke out between Britain and China—not over opium as is commonly supposed—but over the refusal of the British to hand over an innocent man for execution. The Chinese were defeated, and the result of the war was that foreigners continued to reside and trade in China and to manage their own affairs under their own laws, but they did so now as a treaty right and not by virtue of the Chinese principle of devolution of responsibility.

The right of extra-territoriality, settlements and concessions and all the special privileges of the treaty port system were thus a natural development out of the previous system that had grown up by reason of the Chinese conception of the nature of law and of the functions of the State. The principal difference that the "Unequal Treaties" made was that foreigners now resided at many other places besides Canton; they were responsible for their conduct not to China but to their own government; they were carefully protected against arbitrary exactions on their trade; and at a few of the larger treaty ports, this protection covered not only British subjects but all, including Chinese, who resided within the areas where foreign municipalities had been allowed to grow up.

## 3. Development of Relations with Other States

Until the 19th century the Chinese believed that the Middle Kingdom, as they called their country, comprised the whole civilised world and that beyond their borders existed only semi-civilised or barbarous States with whom the

only natural relationship was that of suzerain and tributary. In spite of the fact that their institutions were decaying and their country falling into ruin it was a tremendous shock to Chinese pride to be forced to admit the equality of the sovereign States of Europe and to agree to intercourse upon this basis. Two wars were fought by Britain (1839-42 and 1856-60) before the Chinese finally gave way on this point.

#### (i) British Help in Administering Foreign Trade

But a new danger now arose. At a time when the normal attitude of Chinese officials towards any trade or industry was to destroy it by arbitrary exactions the Chinese Government had undertaken to give fair and impartial treatment to all foreign traders. Failure to carry out this obligation might have entailed consequences equally disastrous to Great Britain and China, for the whole foreign trade might have lapsed, like the opium traffic, into a chaos of smuggling, bribery and violence. Fortunately China was persuaded to employ foreigners, chiefly British subjects, in positions where the officials were brought into direct contact with the foreign trader. Sir Robert Hart, who was chiefly responsible for organising the Customs Administration on behalf of the Chinese Government, remained Inspector-General for no less than 50 years, and under his guidance the administration developed a great tradition of complete loyalty to China and successfully upheld China's sovereign rights against both foreign trader and foreign government.

#### (ii) British Policy in China

British interests preponderated so greatly over those of all other foreign powers that she was the acknowledged leader in the impact of the West. This was fortunate for China, for the British sought nothing but trade. They were confident that the splendid qualities of the Chinese people would triumph over the corruption and decay of their government and that their ancient civilisation would be adapted in time to the needs of contact with the modern world. It was the chief aim of British policy therefore to strengthen China against disruption from within or aggression from without.

Declaring that she sought no advantages that she did not wish to see shared by other nations, Great Britain proclaimed the policy of the "open door" and equal opportunity, and sought to maintain the independence and integrity of China. Only in a fully independent China could the door be kept open, and from this it followed that England's major interest was to promote the unity and prosperity of China in order that China might be the better able to defend her independence.

#### (iii) Growth of Trade and Industry

Under the protection of extra-territoriality a considerable foreign trade grew up from which both sides derived great benefit. Owing to the greed and corruption of their officials, Chinese merchants were unable to establish steamship services of their own or to create the systems of banking, insurance and finance which are necessary for modern trade and which would have given them direct access to foreign markets. For all these they had to depend upon the British merchant operating under the protection of his treaty rights. There was thus a constant tendency to enlarge the privileges of the foreign trader, through whom alone this valuable trade could be carried on, and a similar tendency for Chinese merchants to avail themselves, in the name of some foreigner, of the privileges which they were denied by their own officials. Thus, if a Chinese merchant sent foreign goods into the interior or brought native goods down to a treaty port, he could only avoid exorbitant taxation by using the name of a foreigner.



The next important development, in which the British also led the way, was the establishment of industries such as cotton mills on Chinese soil. The Chinese quickly followed suit and established factories for the manufacture of a considerable range of articles formerly imported from abroad, but here again these Chinese industries could only grow up under the protection afforded by settlements and concessions.

On balance, extra-territoriality, which the British were chiefly responsible for maintaining, conferred great benefits on China, for without it there could have been no development either of her foreign trade or her industrialisation, both of which were essential for her economic and political regeneration.

#### **4. Effect of the Nationalist Movement**

It was only after the rise of the nationalist movement in the 20th century that the treaty port system began to become an anachronism and an obstacle to progress.

The aim of the nationalist movement was to get rid of the whole treaty port system, which was deeply resented as a visible sign of China's inferiority. This could only be done by abandoning the traditional social and political order, out of which the treaty port system had grown, and adopting institutions similar to those of European nations.

##### **(i) Desire to Liquidate Foreign Privileges**

Progress in a task which offered so many difficulties was naturally slow. There was a long and disappointing period during which the country was devastated by civil wars while simultaneously futile efforts were made to copy the Parliamentary institutions of western democracies. It was not until the decade after the Great War, 1918-1928, that the nationalist party, the Kuomintang, became the controlling power in China and the discovery was made that institutions similar to those which had proved an effective instrument of government in Soviet Russia were best suited to Chinese conditions. When the nationalist movement brought into power a Government which understood the problems of the modern world and was determined to reorganise their country, reform the system of taxation, encourage trade and foster Chinese industry, it was clear that the time had come to begin liquidating the treaty port system.

##### **(ii) The British Lead**

Great Britain, anticipating this development, again took the lead. At the end of 1926 a policy was initiated of renditing concessions and voluntarily abandoning foreign privileges without waiting for formal treaty negotiations, and a memorandum was issued by the British Government urging that other foreign powers should follow suit. The situation was complicated, however, by the hostility of Japan.

##### **(iii) Opposition by Japan**

The Japanese, in direct opposition to the policy of Great Britain, were determined to prevent, if possible, the rise of a strong and united China. They were also very fearful of communism and of any increase in Soviet influence in Manchuria and North China. They were therefore doubly alarmed when the triumph of the Kuomintang appeared to have been achieved by copying the Soviet model and with the help of Soviet advisers.

The war which is at present being fought out between China and Japan really began in 1931 when Japan seized Manchuria, set up the puppet state of "Manchukuo" and resigned from the League of Nations. This was followed by an

uneasy truce, but when China had recovered and was once more forging rapidly ahead Japan struck again in North China in 1937. This has involved her in a large scale war which has lasted without intermission for more than five years. The Japanese have seized most of the railways and have occupied the chief rivers and the whole of the coastline, including the chief treaty ports with their settlements and concessions.

The shipping, which was chiefly British, has disappeared and the whole of the financial, commercial and industrial activity—both Chinese and foreign—which was based upon the treaty ports has been disrupted. The position which British merchants had built up as a result of 200 years of effort has thus been destroyed and at the end of the war they will have to make a fresh start and build it up again from the beginning.

#### (iv) Final Abolition of Extra-Territoriality

In the new policy, initiated in 1926, the British Government contemplated that the treaty port system would be gradually abolished by a process of negotiation. The war, however, has made it possible to cut the Gordian knot instead of laboriously untying it. On October 10th, 1942, the British and American governments announced their intention of immediately relinquishing their extra-territorial rights in China.

The whole treaty port system has thus been swept away and British merchants will have to embark upon their post-war task in China without any of the special privileges which they formerly enjoyed under the "Unequal Treaties." They will reside and trade in China under exactly the same conditions as in any other foreign country, and enjoy no further protection than that afforded by a commercial treaty of the type usually negotiated between two fully sovereign States.

### 5. Post-War Conditions in China

The treaty port system served a useful purpose in the 19th century, but it could not possibly work under the new conditions that will exist in China after the war.

#### (i) Distribution and Control of Industry

There has been a vast migration of, it is estimated, some 50 million people from the coastal and Yangtze provinces to the far west and south-west, where the seat of the Government has been established, and great efforts have been made to establish new industries in these regions in place of those destroyed by the Japanese. After the war Chinese industry will no longer be concentrated in a few treaty port areas, but will be distributed more evenly over the whole country. China will need all the assistance that friendly nations can give her in the form of money, goods and the services of experts, scientists and technicians, but there will be a strong tendency to maintain the various government controls, established during the war, over imports and exports, over the location and development of industries and over the provision of capital for new enterprises.

#### (ii) Need for British Aid in Reconstruction

The British merchant in the past has played a beneficent role in increasing the wealth of China and raising the standard of living of the people. Vast organisations have been created for bringing foreign goods to China, transporting them to the interior, distributing them in suitable quantities through agencies, sub-agencies, shops and even pedlars, and providing credit facilities at every stage in order to place them within the reach of the Chinese consumer. Similar services have been rendered in connection with the native produce and native manufactures exported

in exchange for these foreign goods. In exercising control of quality and providing transport, shipping and a financial bridge between producer and the consumer abroad the British merchant has played an indispensable role.

It will not be possible to begin to meet the vast demand for foreign goods immediately the war is over until this financial and distributive machinery has been reconstituted and, however anxious the Chinese Government may be to impose systems of State control, it seems certain that the collaboration of the British merchant will be required.

### (iii) Trade Relations between Britain and China

This collaboration should be all the more possible because the interest of China in solving her own post-war problems will be shared by Britain. The Chinese Government will want to reconcile the political differences which may flare up after the war and to establish an efficient administration to deal with the many urgent tasks of reconstruction. The establishment of such stable conditions will carry enormous benefits for the whole world, including Britain.

The economic advantages alone would be very considerable. The whole of Britain's accumulated wealth and foreign investments has been swept away by the war, and a main duty will be to concentrate on the production of those goods the export of which will enable her to import the food and raw materials without which her people cannot live. The existence in China of a stable reliable market for British goods and British credit would be an obvious advantage. One of the chief aims of British post-war policy, therefore, will be to render China every possible assistance in the tasks that await her.

## Chapter IV.

## THE UNITED NATIONS\*

*"For if the ideal of a fuller and finer life for all in a world at peace requires to be given moral expression, it requires also to be translated into practical form. For this purpose we shall have need of political, economic and social organisations and arrangements both national and international. How these may be evolved and set on foot, how they may be given the necessary strength and authority is a problem which must be faced and studied now, even while we are fighting for our lives."*—(The Right Hon. Anthony Eden, September 1942.)

### 1. The First Freedom

Twenty-nine nations† now share the United Nations' Declaration of January 1st, 1942, each Government pledging itself "to employ its full resources, military and economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such Government is at war." The danger uniting them is clear. They find themselves ranged together by the common factor of German or Japanese aggression against them or by the threat of those aggressors for world domination.

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\* For reference to documents mentioned in this chapter and to relevant documents published subsequently, see Appendix B.

† Since this was published, the number has risen by 18th November, 1944, to thirty-five. See the list on p. 571.

### (i) United for What?

After the danger is survived, what use will be made of the opportunity of victory? Already the preceding chapters have reviewed relations between Britain and the three other United Nations on whom will fall the main responsibility of rebuilding the world after the war. They have emphasised the need for these allies to share a common outlook on the main problems of reconstruction. Logically, then, the next concern is to outline what some of these problems are, the common purposes which must be served. The statement of the "four freedoms" by President Roosevelt is the generally accepted summary—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear. These are the ends beyond the end of war, sought not for nations only but for individuals.

### (ii) Freedom from Fear

If in this short survey there is concentration on the freedom from fear, on the security against aggressive war, that may be justified not only because of the limits of space, but because in a very real sense that freedom is primary. On it largely depend all the others.

We want, for ourselves and others, the elementary liberties of expression and religion, and to us in Britain these may seem nothing very new. But the threat of aggression is an obvious menace to them. Any nation fearing war or deliberately pursuing it may be tempted or forced to seek unity by repressing these freedoms.

We want, again for ourselves and others, within the framework of these liberties, freedom from want—and the world-wide realisation of that would be new. It is entirely possible—now. In rough terms, we can say that if all that could be produced in past ages had been divided among all who were alive to share it, the result would still have been a miserable standard of living. The power of production has now been so extended that the world's resources could ensure a high standard of living for all, could provide all the food and clothing and shelter and medical care we need—if only we could fully use these resources. And the check to that possibility offered by the menace of war is obvious. Any nation facing the possibility of war will be tempted or forced to seek strength by hoarding its resources to itself and devoting them to war-production, rather than to raising the standard of living.

Freedom from aggression then is a necessary condition for the other three freedoms. It is fair evidence that Germany, deliberately calculating war, checked civil and religious liberty under the slogan, "One People, One Nation, One Leader," and limited the standard of living by enforcing a preference for guns instead of butter.

## 2. Planning Today for Tomorrow

We want therefore to review the decisions made today for preventing aggression tomorrow and to outline some of the problems still outstanding.

### (i) The Atlantic Charter

In the record of provisions for post-war co-operation, the key statement is the Atlantic Charter. The United Nations in their Declaration have subscribed to the "common programme of purposes and principles" embodied in the Charter. And it is important to note that what the Charter does not do is to chart—in the sense of specifying the practical methods of co-operation. When the Prime Minister described it as a "simple, rough and ready wartime statement of goal," he indicated both what it is and what it is not. It is a sign that the United Nations are making

## WORLD AT WAR:



FIGURE 3

up their minds about the kind of world they want and an outline of the aims and methods on which they agree, the highest common denominator of all their policies for post-war settlement. It is not designed as a final and complete blue-print of the concrete measures.

### *The Limits of the Charter*

The difficulties in the way of such precise specification immediately are obvious and abundant. Nearly thirty nations are involved as well as the toughest political

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and economic problems. Moreover the practical measures must depend on conditions at the end of the war which it is impossible to foresee. To take but one instance, these measures will depend largely on the course followed by the U.S.A. No statement made now, however, by the President or any of his Cabinet can commit Congress, i.e. the Senate and the House of Representatives. It is not so in Britain, where a statement by a Cabinet Minister does commit the Government to a policy. But in the U.S.A. the President and his Cabinet has no such responsibility to Congress, which is not bound in any way by what they say.

Thus one assumption of the Peace Treaties of 1919 and the Covenant of the League of Nations was that the U.S.A. would share responsibility for guaranteeing security against aggression in Europe. Woodrow Wilson, the American President, had given this assurance to the full extent of his power, but it was in no way binding on Congress. In the event, the Senate by the narrowest of margins refused to accept this responsibility and refused to ratify the Covenant. This withdrawal of the American guarantee in Europe weakened in turn the power and willingness of Britain to commit herself and, in the end, left France feeling insecure and forced back on other efforts to counter the menace of Germany.

This could happen again. We must remind ourselves that the Charter is a joint declaration by the Prime Minister and by the President, that Congress has no formal responsibility for it and that Congress is not bound to make any treaty carrying out its policies. That does not mean that Congress will refuse to accept the Charter as binding. It does mean that the full implementing of the Charter must await, among many other things, American decision and interpretation and that disregard of this necessity invites the disappointment and disillusionment of the last settlement. And it means generally that the existence of such conditions, where precise calculation is impossible, makes any final blue-print impracticable and premature.

## (ii) Other Provisions for the Future

In addition to the broad outline afforded by the Charter, agreements have been made and decisions taken among the United Nations which are related to the post-war period. Some are specifically designed to operate after the war. Others are concerned with the immediate prosecution of the war, but nevertheless the policies which they institute now will largely determine the scope within which future policies will be made.

### *Britain and Post-War Trade*

As an example, and an important one, Britain has built great new plants, adapted and rationalised civilian industries and trained a vast amount of skilled labour, all as measures of war-production. In peace all these resources can be turned or returned to the production of goods for consumption, with a great increase in productivity and with a definite improvement in our standard of living—provided we can sell enough abroad to buy the materials we must import. Can we do so?

Certainly the answer will be affected by other war measures. Thus the Dominions have been called upon to provide manufactured goods, as well as foodstuffs and raw materials, and their increased industrialisation for war will undoubtedly mean that in peace they will make for themselves some of the things we used to export to them. Accordingly we should be forced to look elsewhere for markets and so become even more dependent than before on a rising standard of living abroad, which would require and could pay for the goods we can provide.

## (iii) Looking Ahead

Either through the medium of the Charter or through specific agreements for post-war co-operation or through policies of war which cast their influence ahead, we are fashioning the aims and methods of the future. We want to look at that record to see what provision these aims and methods make for establishing the essential "freedom from fear"—certain that while it would be premature to decide too much, it would also be unwise not to think very hard.

### 3. Interdependence of Nations

Against the "new orders" of the Axis, achieved and maintained by force and organised on the principle of racial supremacy with the reduction of all other peoples to the service of that supremacy, the Charter sets the right of independent States to decide their own policies without the compulsion of any higher authority.

This right is not only justified by its fairness in giving to others the freedom we want for ourselves. It is regarded as a practical necessity by many who see in national patriotism the strongest political loyalty at work today and who sometimes argue, for example, that the strength of Russian resistance is largely the result of a shift to a nationalist ideal, summed up in the war slogan "For country, honour and freedom."

But freedom must not become licence. Nationalism must be tolerant and pacific rather than arrogant and bellicose. Co-operation and leadership are essential, but they must be achieved not by domination but by peaceful persuasion.

#### (i) Co-operation

Examples of co-operation already outlined are the Polish-Czechoslovak Declaration of 11th November, 1940, expanded in a further Declaration of 23rd January, 1942, and the Greco-Yugoslav Declaration of 15th January, 1942.

It is sometimes argued that the attribution of full sovereignty and equality to smaller States is little more than a fiction in view of their military and economic weakness; and a dangerous fiction at that, because this sovereignty checks them from the measures of co-operation that could protect them against any aggressive Great Power. In these two arrangements a possible solution is suggested. The first states some of the principles for a Confederation of States in the area of Europe with which the vital interests of Poland and Czechoslovakia are bound. These principles include common foreign, defence, and economic policies and provisions that the Confederation should include other States in the area. The second is intended to lay the foundations of a Balkan Union and sketches the basis for its organisation, including provisions for the co-ordination of foreign policies, economic programmes and defence plans.

#### (ii) Leadership

Complementary to such measures of co-operation is the need for the responsible and united leadership of the Great Powers. Recently a spokesman of the Polish Government, while stressing the value of the arrangements just mentioned, emphasised at the same time the value of positive British leadership in Europe. What form that shall take, how Russia and the U.S.A. will be associated with it, to what extent the Dominions would follow Britain in the acceptance of European responsibilities—these are questions for the future. But it is a future in which that leadership seems to many not only necessary, but imposed on us—by our position as the natural link between Europe on the one side and the U.S.A. and the British Commonwealth on the other, by our experience within the Commonwealth of the principle of free co-operation and by the moral responsibility we have assumed in receiving and recognising in Britain the representatives of the oppressed nations.

### 4. Eliminating the Causes of Dispute

Within this general condition, then, the interdependence of peoples and nations, how is aggression to be prevented? Two general provisions seem necessary—on the one side, the elimination of any reasonable cause of dispute, and, on the other side, organisation to prevent the settlement by aggression of any dispute that does arise.



### (i) Provision for Peaceful Change

Under the first heading congregate a great host of problems. But above all there is the general need of providing means for making peacefully the changes that are necessary and inevitable in a developing world, including provision for revising treaties. Many believe that a fatal weakness in the League of Nations, i.e. in the nations of the League, was their failure to devise some adequate procedure for this purpose.

### (ii) Economic Co-operation

In the Charter the United Nations pledge that they seek no "aggrandisement, territorial or other." But, above all, they recognise that the most urgent specific need is for the readjustment of economic inequalities between different States. Often we tend to believe that if only States can be brought together in some kind of political unity, the solution of their differences about raw materials and trade will be easy. On the contrary it is true that in many, and possibly most, cases agreement on economic issues must be an essential preliminary. What is wanted, then, is economic co-operation between States to ensure that the material resources spread over the earth, and capable of providing a high standard of life for all, shall be equally available for all.

### *The Wartime Example of Lend-Lease*

In wartime, when the necessity of living is largely the necessity of getting the weapons to fight for life, that pooling of resources is being carried out. Under the Lend-Lease scheme, now operating among the United Nations, vast quantities of munitions of all kinds are in effect being contributed to a common pool, from which they are distributed to the fronts where they can be most effectively used. No consideration of finance is allowed to interfere with the full use of material resources.

### (iii) Can the Wartime Co-operation Continue in Peace?

Can this kind of co-operation be geared to the establishment of peace as it is to the job of winning the war? Already the Charter has stated the guiding principles—that all States shall have "access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world," and that the collaboration of all States is desired "in the economic field with the object of securing for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security." And it is emphasised that vanquished as well as victors shall be included. This time no attempt will be made to ruin German trade. As Mr. Eden said on 29th July, 1941: "It is not part of our purpose to cause Germany or any other country to collapse economically. I say that not out of any love of Germany, but because a starving and bankrupt Germany in the midst of Europe would poison all of us who are her neighbours."

### *The Mutual Aid Agreement*

The Mutual Aid Agreement of 23rd February, 1942, between the U.S.A. and Great Britain regarding the final settlement on Lend-Lease, carries these principles further. It calls, in the post-war period, for united action by all nations to expand production, employment, and consumption of goods. This would make the goods available for a rising standard of living, but there remains the problem of moving these goods where they are needed. That movement is impossible if nations attempt to corner markets for themselves or put up excessive trade barriers and tariffs. Accordingly

the Agreement calls, secondly, for the elimination of such restrictions. And finally, it states that any steps agreed by these allies shall be open to participation by all other countries of like mind.

The general purpose of these two documents then is to state the basic principles of fair and equal co-operation, the rejection of special privileges and exclusiveness. The Charter and the Mutual Aid Agreement do not prescribe any detailed policy, but they do outline the courses which, if faithfully followed, lead to the removal of economic injustice and its threat to peace.

## 5. Immediate Disarmament of Aggressors

Even if the reasonable causes of dispute can be eliminated—which would also go far towards proving the unreality of any unreasonable causes—the possibility of aggression is not excluded. Within the community of nations, as within the community of individuals, there may be thugs who are slow to conversion from their reliance on violence. It is necessary, then, to provide for punishment which is heavy and inescapable enough to convince them that resort to aggression will have worse consequences than peaceful settlement. What provisions are made for this punishment?

### (i) The Policies of the Charter

Two definite policies are laid down for the period following immediately after the war. First, the trial and punishment of those guilty of violence against civilians has been declared a principal war aim. Secondly, and more generally, the Charter prescribes the disarmament of nations “which threaten or may threaten aggression outside of their frontiers.” This is another radical difference from the settlement at the end of the last war, which had a provision for all-round disarmament. On this Germany based her hope for military equality and her achievement of ultimate predominance. Now the military predominance of the United Nations is frankly asserted—carrying with it, of course, not only security but the price to be paid for security. This will certainly include the diversion of some of our resources to military production, and might perhaps involve some form of compulsory national service.

### (ii) Possibility of International Police Force

The way in which this military predominance is to be organised is not prescribed. Mr. Sumner Welles has spoken of the possibility that the United Nations might “undertake the maintenance of an international police power.” Such an organisation, whether of a single force for the whole world or of related but separate forces for different areas such as Europe and the Far East, would certainly be more economical than the maintenance by each nation of its own defences. It might be one of the “practicable measures,” to which the Charter refers, “which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.”

### *Useful Wartime Experience*

Moreover a good deal of the necessary experience is being gained in present arrangements. Thus the contingents in Britain of our European allies form part of a joint force with common training. Many United Nations now participate in the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, and the airmen thus trained may be sent out in any combination of nationalities to any part of the world. On many fronts United Nations forces are fighting under a single command and United Nations are using one another's territory and bases freely.

*What Difficulties ?*

The difficulties in the operation of an international force may be great. One, perhaps the greatest, is that each nation would have to accept common decisions for its use. Each self-determining nation would in effect have to agree to some sacrifice of its complete control of its own affairs. Whether States will consider this sacrifice well-made for the security it gives to the freedom from aggression—that cannot be predicted. What can be said is that if the experiment is made, it has a basis in the technique of co-operation now being worked out.

## 6. Permanent Security

The disarmament of aggressor nations is essential, in the words of the Charter, “pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security.” Discussions of this further possibility must be speculative; the organisation of it will be determined by the practical developments of the interim period. But, in general, the permanent system must continue what the immediate concentration of military power in the United Nations achieves—a provision for punishment that will convince any aggressors that they will be worse off, if they prefer war to peace.

### (i) League or Federation ?

Two of the main principles suggested for permanent international organisation are *league* and *federation*. Both agree on the need for some international authority, composed of representatives from the member States, who will transfer to it some power for dealing with matters of common concern and for the application of force to unruly States.

Under a league system, such as the League of Nations, the member States are represented by delegations from their Governments, so that the central authority is in direct contact with Governments and not with citizens, and depends for its authority on the undertaking of these Governments to sacrifice some degree of State sovereignty.

Some believe that an international system resting on the contract of sovereign States to make this sacrifice can never succeed and they incline to the alternative of federation. This differs most essentially from a league in that the central authority is elected directly by the citizens of the member States. It is argued that in this way there is scope for the development of a loyalty to the international authority and, therefore, more prospect that the transfer of some sovereignty from each State to this authority will be accepted.

### (ii) Some Practical Proposals

Brief mention may be made of some of the suggestions for putting these principles into practice.

#### (a) Regional Groupings

It is sometimes suggested that the basis of organisation should be regional. According to this plan a start would be made with the development of an international authority among the States which lie within some well-defined boundary—the Balkans or Europe or the Western Hemisphere.

(b) *Federal Union*

Various proposals have been made for a union of the democracies which, like the regional groupings, stops short of a world-wide organisation. Unlike them, however, it is based on ideological, not geographical, grouping—on the union of States possessed of similar ideas and ideals.

The specific proposal which has possibly received most backing is that Great Britain, the Dominions and the United States should form a Federal Union. This Union would be open to other democracies, as they gained freedom from Axis control, and to other countries as they adopted democratic principles.

(c) *The League of Nations*

It is often argued that the development of such regional or ideological units leaves untouched the danger of conflict between them. Accordingly, the need for a world-wide organisation is stressed—often by those who favour regional organisations but want these fitted into the framework of a “master” plan. Many, therefore, favour the revival of the League of Nations.

In the League the member States were represented by delegations from their Governments. And its Covenant provided not only for peaceful change, but for the judgment of disputes and for the punishment of any State that resorted to war in breach of its obligations to the League. The means were two-fold—economic sanctions and military sanctions.

Why, then, did the League fail to prevent aggression? Some blame the fact that it never included all States and not even all the Great Powers at any one time. Others blame the inadequacy of the machinery set up. Probably more blame the reluctance of members to use the machinery that was provided and point to the fact that each member was left a large degree of discretion in deciding whether to contribute to the sanctions. Suggested reforms, therefore, are directed towards these points.

(d) *The United Nations*

In much of the present discussion about a future international order, for example in Field Marshal Smuts' speech to the Houses of Parliament on 21st October, 1942, stress is laid on the value of the present association of the United Nations. Since this association has developed as a natural growth and is already functioning, many argue that an organisation based on the United Nations, rather than the League of Nations, should undertake the political work, though the technical experience and machinery of the League, such as is found in the International Labour Office, would still have a great part to play.

## 7. Conclusion

Any survey which seeks within these limits of space to outline the problems and possibilities of “freedom from fear” must seem pretentious in the attempt and patchy in the effect. But through all the necessary inconclusiveness one main question has constantly recurred—how to reconcile the value and strength of national freedom with the need for international co-operation. That lies at the heart of all the problems raised—the elimination of the causes of dispute or the possibility of an international police force or the establishment of a “wider and permanent

system " of security. On this central question three final comments may be allowed :—

- (i) *First*, international co-operation is a practical question, not remote from the individual but pressing close on his most intimate concerns—his peace, his freedom, his job. Thus if other States begin new industries that compete with ours or restrict their markets for our goods, these are factors which affect our livelihood and over which we can establish control only by co-operation with other States.
- (ii) *Secondly*, attention to the framing of final and comprehensive plans should not lead us to minimise the value of all the practical working measures we can achieve, however partial they may be. Internationalism will perhaps develop more effectively through concentration on getting nations to co-operate in the practical problems, on getting them, in fact, " more mixed up together " rather than through the devising of final constitutions for their organisation.
- (iii) *Thirdly*, the motive power for that co-operation must come from the individual. In simple terms, nations must get out of the habit of framing their policies without consideration for the needs and interests of others. But nations are what their members make them, and if a new outlook is wanted, then it must come from the members. What is now being said last should have been said first—that no change in the machinery of international relations can be effective without a change in their spirit. Personal contact and better understanding between the members of different States must oust the fear or misrepresentation of the unknown. And Britain, at present, as a main gathering-place of the United Nations, offers a great opportunity to begin this purge of prejudice.

## FIRST SEQUENCE: SOLDIER-CITIZEN

B.W.P. 5

# REVIEW

March 1943

## Chapter 1. GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE

### 1. The Power of Parliament

“We’re here because we’re here”—the chorus is not very illuminating. We are here, most of us, because in 1939 Parliament passed a National Service (Armed Forces) Act providing for the enlistment of men in Britain from 18 to 41 years of age or because in 1941 it passed a National Service (No. 2) Act applying the National Service Acts to women.

We can see at once, therefore, by looking no further than the uniforms we wear, the supreme power of Parliament. It can assume complete control of our persons and our property by the same process which it might use to increase the duty on tobacco or to deal with the opening of cinemas on Sunday.

#### (i) Voluntary Associations

Not that Parliament does normally make laws prescribing all our activities, from the work we do to the small occupations of our leisure. One of the most distinctive features of our way of life is just the lack of regimentation, the scope for free and voluntary activity. That we can test straight from our own experience. The Churches we join or do not join are voluntary organisations, jealous of their freedom from State control in their religious life. The trade unions, in which we do or do not enrol, are workers’ organisations for pursuing the workers’ interests by voluntary action. There are the myriads of clubs, associations and groups, from, say, a national association of hikers to a local rabbit-breeders’ club, each making its own rules and seeking its own policies.

#### (ii) Supremacy of Parliament

The business of these free and voluntary associations is largely to organise and promote the activities of which the State has not assumed control and in doing so they cover a wide sphere of real self-government in Britain.

But it is still true that potentially the power of Parliament is complete. That is what the "sovereignty of Parliament" means. About anything which can affect us so vitally, we want the information that will enable us not only to understand, but to take a share in, its workings.

## 2. How Parliament Works

Parliamentary government has three elements, the King, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. First of all, where among them lies the ultimate power?

### (i) The King

In theory the King is still the centre and source of government, and the Royal Assent is legally necessary before any Parliamentary measure becomes the law of the land. But as a matter of Parliamentary practice this Assent is always given, and the King no longer takes any part in political life except when his advice is sought by his Ministers. This does not mean that he is no more than a figurehead. He is the active symbol of national unity. Moreover, when his advice is sought, it is based on a wide experience, outside party politics, of service to the nation and to the Empire.

### (ii) The House of Lords

The House of Lords is not a popularly elected assembly, but consists of 783 peers, including 26 bishops and some law lords engaged on important judicial work business. And it is not always realised how important its work may be. It contains a great number of experts in different subjects, and there is a tendency to leave the discussion of any topic to those with special experience of it, who have a real contribution to make. Moreover it may take the initiative in "airing" and getting action on non-party matters, such as ribbon development or road accidents, not raised in the House of Commons.

However, the House of Lords has lost much of the power which it once had. "Money Bills," i.e. measures dealing with finance, passed by the House of Commons but not by the House of Lords, become law after a month. All other measures, passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions, during a period of not less than two years, become law even though the House of Lords should repeatedly reject them. What this amounts to is that the House of Lords cannot block permanently any measures wanted by the House of Commons: at the most it can delay.

### (iii) The House of Commons\*

The House of Commons is therefore supreme. It has 615 members, of whom 528 represent English and Welsh constituencies, 74 come from Scotland, and 13 from Northern Ireland.

#### (a) *Selection.—How are the candidates selected?*

Normally, at any election, there will be a choice between candidates chosen by the political parties, though at present, as in the last war, a party truce is in operation and the party system virtually abandoned.

Sometimes this ordinary procedure is criticised, because it seems to limit the choice—like offering someone freedom to choose between blue

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\* See the summary of the two Reports by the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform and Redistribution of Seats on pp. 557-60.

and red when in fact he might want yellow. But most people would probably agree that the system is both fair and inevitable: fair because the parties do represent the main divisions of public opinion, do represent the most popular colours: inevitable, because even if we started from scratch with a set of completely independent candidates, those of similar views would probably organise together for more effective action. They would probably introduce party rules, keep an organisation working locally in the constituencies, and at election-times put that organisation behind their candidates. In fact they would do just the normal work of the present parties.

At any rate, the present system offers each of us the opportunity of membership of one of the parties. There we can make our influence felt, not only in choosing the candidates, but in working out the policies to which these candidates will be pledged.

(b) *Election.—How are the candidates elected as Members?*

A General Election, covering all constituencies, is normally held at least every five years, or more frequently if the Government in power decides that an appeal to the country is necessary. The present Parliament, elected in 1935, has outlived that five-year limit, but it has been agreed to postpone a General Election, because large numbers of men and women are absent from their constituencies, and those who have reached the voting age since 1939 have not been added to the voting lists,\* in addition, the General Election would involve a serious diversion from war work.

At an Election, every person over 21, except "criminals, lunatics and peers," has the right to vote and to do so with a secrecy and freedom from intimidation unequalled anywhere in the world. In exercising that vote, we obviously cannot give directions to the candidates on every detailed issue that will crop up. We cannot even forecast what these issues will be. But we can decide what general policy we want followed; which party is pledged to that policy—and that is learned by looking not only to the parties at election-times, but further back to party conferences, etc.; whether the individual candidate is to be trusted or not. In voting with intelligence and with such information, we are playing a real part, albeit at second hand, in the government of the country.

(c) *Inspection.—The Member at work*

It is not enough to select the candidates and elect the members. We must scrutinise their activities in Parliament and see how they do their job.

The normal procedure of the House is based on the assumption that it will consist of two main parties. The larger of the two naturally intends to impose its policy on the House, and its leader, who becomes Prime Minister, is requested by the King to form a Government. A Cabinet is chosen, normally composed of leading members of the majority party, who individually control the various Departments of State—such as the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, and so on. The Cabinet acts as an executive committee, taking the initiative in deciding policy, conducting foreign affairs, supervising the national finances, and arranging most of the business of the House of Commons.

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\* See the note on the Parliament (Elections and Meeting) Act, 1943, on p. 21.



Opposite the majority is ranged the Opposition, whose task is so important that the Leader of the Opposition is paid an official salary of £2,000 a year. That emphasis is right. The Opposition has constantly to watch, question and criticise the acts of the Government and, all the time, present itself as an alternative Government, eager and able enough for office to keep the existing Government on its toes.

### 3. Local Government

So we can see Parliament at the centre quite supreme but at the same time responsive to our control. But more is needed. Although we sometimes speak of our "tight little island," the fact is that for many of the purposes of efficient government and especially as government becomes more and more active, Britain has to be broken down into smaller areas. Obviously we can do this in two ways. First of all, we can send out officials from the central Government Departments to establish local branches, and this method is seen, for example, in the organisation of the Ministry of Labour and in the appointment of Regional Commissioners in 1939. Secondly, we can devolve duties to locally-elected authorities and this in fact is our general practice, as the more democratic way.

#### (i) Powers of Local Authorities

Accordingly the Local Authorities can undertake only the activities for which they are given authority by Parliament. But this does not mean that they simply rubber-stamp and carry out Parliamentary instructions. Much of their work does consist of duties imposed by the Government. But Parliament also gives them another kind of authorisation—the power to do certain things if they wish. In that lies further scope for local initiative and progress, and for local activity by us to get the progress.

#### (ii) What the Local Authorities Are

Apart from the London County Council, which is an exception, six kinds of Local Authority may be distinguished in England. The following diagram gives their organisation and numbers :—

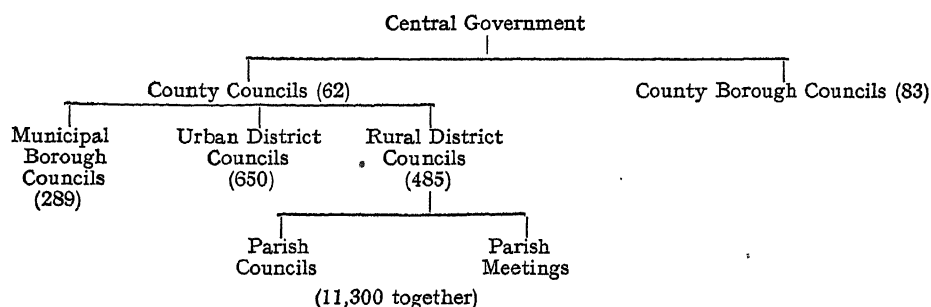


FIGURE 4

In Scotland there are 33 County Councils and also 4 Town Councils, which exercise all the local government functions, except—in the case of the County Councils—the few limited functions carried out by the remaining 20 large Burgh Councils and the 171 smaller Burgh Councils.

All service on Local Authority is voluntary and unpaid, though allowances may be paid for travelling, entertainment expenses, etc.

**(iii) What Can the Councils Do about Us ?**

Immediately, of course, these Authorities can affect us by levying local rates to pay for their services. Money will be raised by other means—by grants from the Government, by loans, by revenue from their services. But rates are the main single item of income, levied on the estimated value of fixed property such as houses and shops (but not of industrial buildings).

On the other hand, what do we get for this money? In general they provide some of the services most essential to our health, safety, comfort, education and recreation. The supply of water, gas and electricity, the provision of transport services, maternity and child welfare, hospitals, the provision of parks and playgrounds, schools, housing, town and country planning, roads and bridges, public assistance, police—with all of these the Local Authorities are concerned. They touch our lives, therefore, in a great variety of ways.

**(iv) What Can We Do about Them ?**

In the elections, which normally take place every year, when a proportion of the Councillors retire in turn, we can vote—if, in general, we own or occupy any premises or land. This franchise excludes some who have the Parliamentary vote, such as people in furnished lodgings and the sons and daughters of the house.\*

But we need not stop with the recording of the vote, for local government is close enough to us to be more responsive to representations by individuals or groups than the central government can ever be.

**4. The Civil Service**

Parliament and the Local Authorities, then, debate and decide the policies. But they do not carry them out. Consider it this way. When Parliament is not sitting and the Cabinet Ministers are on holiday, and when the Local Authorities are not in session, the income-tax collectors do not cease from their labours nor does the water stop running from the municipal waterworks. That they continue is due to the existence of a permanent Civil Service for the central government, which in peacetime numbered hundreds of thousands, and for local government of a great number of permanent officers. These Civil Servants and local government officers do not decide policy—indeed in Britain their distinction from the “politicians” is very heavily marked. But they are responsible for the day-to-day administration of the policy that Parliament or the Local Authority has decided.

**Qualities of the Administration**

From these, our servants, we obviously want certain qualities of ability and character. How do we get them, for example, in the Civil Service? First of all, ability is attracted by such conditions as security of employment and the provision of a pension and by the high esteem in which the Service is held, and ability is given its chance by the general method of competition for entry. Secondly, the quality of integrity is secured by requiring all candidates to meet certain requirements of character before acceptance and by the enforcement in the Civil Service of a strict code of conduct which excludes, among other things, any share in political and party controversy.

Recruitment to the local government service is also subject to definite standards. There is no doubt that, from the office-worker in Whitehall to the policeman on his

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\* See the summary of Interim Report by the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform and Redistribution of Seats on pp. 557-8.

beat, there has been established a system of public administration in which we have led the world and in which many other countries have found an example worth copying.

## 5. The Courts

The laws are made by our representatives and administered by our servants. What happens when this smooth course is interrupted by a breach of the law or a dispute about it?

### (i) Criminal and Civil Cases

That may happen in two ways. You may be alleged to have committed an act, ranging from a black-out offence to murder, which may or may not involve harm to a private individual, but does break the law made for the protection of the whole community—the King's law, and therefore action is taken against you in the King's name. That is a criminal case. On the other hand, it is a civil case, where there is a dispute between individuals or associations (including, for example, companies, trade unions and Government Departments) and where one of them brings the matter for judgment.

### (ii) Principles of Justice

We do not hand over either the criminal or the civil cases to the King's government or any Government Department—that would be too much like making one of the parties to a case the judge of it as well. So we have set up two systems of independent courts, criminal and civil (though some courts deal with both civil and criminal cases), to which Ministers and officials of government are themselves subject. And throughout these courts, certain main principles guarantee our justice:—

- (a) *Rule of Law*.—The courts are bound to apply the law exactly as it stands. It cannot be twisted to suit temporary political convenience.
- (b) *Trial and Punishment*.—No man can be punished except for a breach of the law and except after trial. In other words—no concentration camps.
- (c) *Judge and Jury*.—By a combination of the expert and the ordinary man, questions of law are decided by impartial and practically irremovable judges and questions of fact (in some criminal cases) are left to a jury of citizens.

## 6. Summing Up\*

The advantages of our way of making, carrying out and enforcing the laws have been indicated. We can reasonably take pride in them and still be willing to consider suggestions for their improvement.

Here are some of these suggestions:—

- (i) To reorganise the Parliamentary constituencies in order to prevent such contrasts as that between the Hendon Division of Middlesex which had 180,000 electors in 1935 and Bethnal Green which had 27,000.
- (ii) To introduce a system of proportional representation, which would pool all the votes cast in an area much bigger than the present constituency and give to each party a number of seats proportionate to the total votes it received. At present, to take an extreme example, one party might gain a seat in one constituency by a vast majority of, say, 10,000 to

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\* See the summary of two Reports by the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform and Redistribution of Seats on pp. 557–60.

1,000 while the opposing party might win a neighbouring constituency of the same size by 6,000 to 5,000. Although one party had, in total, gained 15,000 votes and the other 7,000, their representation in the House is the same.

- (iii) To introduce Committees of M.P.s who would supervise the activities of particular Government Departments, in order to reduce the work of Parliament and at the same time secure closer supervision of the Departments.
- (iv) In local government, to abolish the property qualification to vote and extend the vote to all adults over 21.
- (v) In the law system, to reduce the cost of both civil and criminal actions and improve the schemes of free legal help which already exist.

All these proposals have their supporters—and their difficulties. What is common to them all is that they arise, not from any dislike of the principles of Parliamentary democracy, but from an effort to improve its working.

We have every reason to be proud of that system of government. It has been a powerful instrument of social improvement in the past—above all, of self-improvement; for this system of representative government does depend on the informed and active interest of those represented, on the share which we contribute to its operation.

## Chapter II. GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE

### 1. Self-Government in Action

We have looked at the machinery of self-government. Now we ask how we can operate that machinery.

There is the vote. A cynic has remarked that once in five years, at a General Election, each of us, the 30 million voters, sees reflected in the looking-glass the image of a 30-millionth part of a ruler, but that every other morning the image is one of a complete slave. He would probably have been equally cynical about the yearly local government elections. The cynicism does underestimate the power of election and rejection which the intelligent use of the vote gives to us. But certainly if, when we had placed our cross against a candidate's name, we could do no more until the next election, our self-government would not be at all complete.

#### Full-Time Citizenship

Yet we cannot be forever changing our representatives. Government must be carried on. What then can we do? Before the elections, can we take a hand not only in selecting the candidates, but in determining the policies which the candidates will try to achieve? After the elections can we watch what the candidates do, with a view to their re-election or rejection? Can we get the information on which to base independent views of what is happening inside the country and outside it? Can we express these views and organise with others to press for their adoption so that the M.P.s and Councillors are kept informed of the policies we want? Can we be up and doing in an active and informed way, influencing government not once in a while but all the time?

### 2. Forming an Opinion

There is little use in being up and doing, unless we know when to be up and what to be doing. Before action, we require information. Can we get it?

### (i) Freedom of Information

The information which is the raw material of opinion comes partly through our eyes, from books, the cinema, plays, the newspapers: partly through our ears, from lectures, public speeches, rumours, private conversations, broadcasting. And in all that range, we should probably agree that the Press and broadcasting are the most important in helping us to make up our minds about what is happening.

#### *Selecting the Information*

We can see both these services at the centre of a world-wide, fact-gathering organisation. From special correspondents, scouring the earth for information, from the great private agencies such as Reuters and Press Association, from official communiqués, they receive the news. But they do more than just pass it on.

First, out of that vast bulk they must *select*: there just is not room to print it all. Probably we could have more room for news if we wanted less soothsaying or scandal served up. Even so, the selection must be made, not only of what is to be published but of how it is to be published—as an important first item or as a comparatively obscure tail-piece. Obviously in that choice there could be plenty of scope for the exercise of private judgment and, at the worst, for distortion or suppression. But in fact every decent or responsible organ of opinion in this country does follow the rule of first things first.

#### *Interpreting the Information*

Secondly, after the selection has been made, *interpretation* may be added: as well as news, we may get views. This distinction we must watch carefully.

(a) *The Press*.—In Britain each newspaper is a private concern, free to make its own interpretation of the news. Even in wartime, provided it does not ignore the directions given by the censor (framed solely for the nation's safety and not in any sense to stifle criticism) and provided its policy does not make it more difficult for us to win the war, a paper can express what views it likes. So we can expect in each a definite expression of the political views of the proprietors, and in that there is nothing wrong. That is partly what "freedom of the Press" means.

But because it means that, two other things are necessary. First, that a range of interpretations and views should be available. Most assuredly in Britain we can get that variety. In daily morning and evening newspapers alone, apart from the immense number of weekly papers or magazines, London has over 20 and the provinces and Scotland well over 100.

The second requirement is that we should be on tip-toe to distinguish the views from the news in any paper, and willing to weigh against them the different views in other papers. We *can* do it—newspapers of all kinds can be seen in most public libraries. We *must* do it, if we are to act like adult citizens and not like insects feeding on one kind of leaf and gradually acquiring the colouring of the leaf they feed on.

(b) *Broadcasting*.—In contrast with other countries, broadcasting in Britain is the monopoly of the British Broadcasting Corporation and, unlike the newspapers, the B.B.C. is not a private, but a public concern. Accordingly, it cannot express any views of its own nor adopt a particular policy on a controversial question. It, therefore, does not comment on the news: instead it invites comments from others—independent speakers who broadcast their own views on their own responsibility.

## (ii) Freedom of Thought

Seeing and hearing, then, and discriminating in both, we can get the facts. Where do we go from there?

We want freedom to make our own judgment of them. It is, therefore, equally important for us that we should not allow ourselves to be "got at" by unfair propaganda that attempts to shape our thoughts.

And that tradition of freedom goes deep, alike in our history and our everyday life. It is the basis of our education that we are taught *how* rather than *what* to think. Some believe that education might do more: that without being at all partisan, it could, for instance, begin to present the essential problems of home and foreign politics in ways which ordinary people could understand. We need not minimise the difficulties of doing so—how to introduce politics and yet avoid any kind of political bias. The recognition we give to these difficulties indicates the importance we attach to freedom of thought.

## 3. Taking Action

Our minds informed and decided, then, what opportunity have we of seeing that our opinion receives favourable or at least fair attention?

To begin with, we want to be free to act and criticise, without the fear of arrest by secret police on suspicion without any specified charge, and we have that guarantee in our laws and institutions. To some extent it is modified in wartime, to enable the Government to deal promptly with persons, such as spies and the like, who may be dangerous to the community. But the law holds the ring within which we can get on with our action, for or against the Government of the day.

### (i) Freedom of Speech and Discussion

We can air our views, so long as we accept responsibility for them. We can (and do) say what we think in the pub and the club. We can express our opinions in the correspondence columns of the newspapers. We can mount a soap-box in Hyde Park or elsewhere, a feature of British politics that foreigners find nearly as interesting and a good deal more startling than the procedure of Parliament at Westminster. Or we may prefer to press our opinions directly on our representatives, either by letter or by interview—a method most obviously useful in local affairs but important also between an M.P. and his constituency.

In all these ways we are contributing to a public opinion that can be effective. If there is strong feeling in the country, as there was, for example, about the "Means Test" in 1935, about the Abyssinia situation in 1936, about Tube shelters in 1940, M.P.s soon hear about it. And Parliament is kept sensitive to the current interests and desires.

### (ii) Freedom of Association

When all is said, however, it remains true that one man by himself can only demonstrate. Indeed the purpose of such demonstration is always the same—to interest and convince others. If we can get others of like mind to join with us in an organised body, that will carry much more weight. The right of association is a necessity of self-government and we have it.

*Political Parties*

Thus anyone is free to start a political party, with no more formality or regulation than is necessary for any voluntary association. So are possible the great political parties of today, which are of great importance in the working of our self-government. In them we can take a share in choosing the party candidates, working out the party policies and carrying out a constant campaign in support or criticism of the Government.

*Voluntary Associations*

But quite apart from purely political associations, we are essentially a "clubable" people. Institutions so varied in interest and intention as the Churches, friendly societies, trade unions, Co-operative Societies and the whole host of professional, technical, social and recreational societies prove it. Most of them do not exist primarily in order to influence the action of our central or local government at all. In them we organise activities which Parliament has left to the exercise of private initiative and control and in them we have had real self-government in Britain for hundreds of years.

But they are still capable of great influence on Parliament or local government. The trade unions are an outstanding example. From the very beginning of the war, they have been consulted as a body by the Government, in working out the policies which affected the mobilisation, pay and working conditions of wage-earners. But this capacity for political action belongs to even the humblest rabbit-breeders' club. Let something be proposed at the local Council or even in Parliament that affects the interests of either the rabbits or their breeders and the members of the club are ready for action. They know the practical situation, they know the practical consequences of what is proposed and they can bring to bear, on their representatives, pressure that is weighted with real information.

#### 4. Tolerance

Each of us has the information and the freedom necessary for action ; not only the action of an occasional vote ; still less that of an angry shout in response to a headline about which we know nothing ; but constant informed activity.

And at the same time, tolerant activity. That is a basic requirement of it all, without which self-government becomes impossible. Each of us, without yielding up any conviction, must realise that the other fellow has also a right to his belief. The majority must not use its power as a heedless steam-roller, but wherever possible should accommodate the minority interests and feelings, and the minority must accept the majority decision. This tolerance is put into practice when an M.P. regards himself, not solely as a representative of those who voted for him, but as a representative of the whole constituency. Or when the Government of the day frequently accepts amendments to its Bills, not because it fears their rejection in the original form but in order to meet a minority claim. This tolerance, which is an expression of our underlying unity, we must preserve.

Within that condition we can direct the machinery of government. It is our government. It is there to do our will—provided we will and work hard enough.

**Chapter III.****GOVERNMENT FOR THE PEOPLE****1. The Lives We Lead**

We have outlined our form of Parliamentary and local government and examined some of the ways in which we can take our share in it—government not only of the people, but by the people. Now we want to look at it as government for the people, to ask how it affects the lives we lead. For any form of government, even of self-government, is not so much an end in itself; what matters is the kind of life it makes possible for us.

Look at it this way. We do a great many other things in addition to sharing in Parliamentary or local government. We work for a living; we look after the necessities of life and health such as food and clothing and shelter; we attend to our education; we worship in the religion we choose; we devote our leisure to some kind of recreation; we marry and bring up children. In many of these we have preferred to keep the intervention of government to a minimum. Thus in religious activities we prefer it mostly to hold the ring and guarantee for us freedom of worship. But in others we have brought government into the ring, active and aggressive in ways that affect us very closely indeed. We want to look at some of these activities and see what government does about them.

**2. Working for a Living**

Working for a living is the main business of most of us. The lives we lead and the lives we can provide for our dependants are mainly the result of this "bread and butter" activity. In Britain then, first of all, what have we to work with?

**(i) What Have We Got to Work With?**

We can get the general answer without looking much farther than an ordinary map. There Britain appears as a small island between the Old and New Worlds; sea-faring looks like a possibility. On the surface of the land, there is the possibility of agriculture—of rearing sheep or growing corn. And beneath the surface there lie the coal, the iron, the lead, the tin which make a wide range of mining possible. Sea-faring, agriculture, mining, these are the main possibilities of our own resources for work, and all have been used since the earliest times.

**(ii) What the Industrial Revolution Meant**

What the Industrial Revolution, beginning in the 18th century, meant, first, was that the emphasis shifted from agriculture on to other possibilities. We had the coal and our inventiveness discovered the means of turning it into steam-power. We had some iron and we could turn it into machines. So on top of the coal and iron industries, we developed other industries that were dependent on them—the cotton and woollen factories, and the shipbuilding yards. A hundred years ago our work for a living centred round these few basic industries.

***We Depended on Imports***

But notice that the Industrial Revolution meant, secondly, that we were more and more dependent on resources from other countries. Coal is the only raw material of which more than sufficient can be obtained here at home. We needed more iron—before this war we had to import two-thirds of the iron ore used by the iron and steel industries. Likewise all our cotton and five-sixths of our wool had to be brought in. As agriculture declined, more and more of our food has had to be imported. How then did we pay for these raw materials and foodstuffs? By exporting the coal, machinery, cotton goods, and woollen goods.



### (iii) Recent Changes

But in recent times, as we can probably check from our own experience, these old basic industries had been going downhill, partly because other countries had begun to manufacture many of the products for themselves. Thus Lancashire has suffered from the development of the textile industries in Japan and China.

Accordingly a new shift of emphasis was made. But the shift did not take us back to agriculture, which still continued to lose both land and men to industry. It passed to new industries like electrical engineering and motor-car manufacture which in the years before the war were rapidly forging ahead. Such new industries grew up to serve the home market and were the signs of a steadily-rising standard of living.

### *We Still Depend on Imports*

But again they depended on imported raw materials, for all our rubber and almost all our non-ferrous ore, oil and petrol had to come from overseas. And, again, to pay for these imports we had to export. So the peacetime picture of Britain at work was roughly this: agriculture was declining and we were importing over one half of our foodstuffs; the old basic industries were losing ground to new, lighter industries, but for both types we remained dependent on imported raw materials. We were living largely by manufacturing goods from imported materials and paying for our imports of materials and foodstuffs by exporting these manufactured goods.

## 3. Partners in the Job

The mainspring of Britain at work in the past has been private initiative, private enterprise, private investment, and the readiness of private individuals to take risks. On the other hand, there has been the great and growing power of the trade unions, sharing to a large extent in determining the conditions of work and pay in various industries.

But government, representing not any section of us but all of us, has had its share. For instance, there has grown up during the last hundred years a vast amount of factory legislation, concerning length of hours, sanitation, safety precautions, and so on. In some industries, too, where the workers are unorganised, Parliament has set up such machinery as Trade Boards for fixing minimum wages.

### (i) Government and Economic Development\*

But more. A main feature of the history of the last twenty-five years has been the increased readiness of Parliament to step in to control economic development.

Thus an important step was taken just over ten years ago when Britain, which had been a free trade country, allowing almost all materials to be imported free of duty, adopted a protective tariff.

The situation was this. Changes in the distribution of industry and its markets, such as the development of industry abroad and the consequent closing of markets to our goods, brought as a by-product depression and unemployment. Because many of these factors were beyond the control of private employers, the Government acted to minimise the effects. On the one hand, industries were given the protection of a tariff: on the other, they were encouraged to make themselves more efficient by joint action. Thus the coal industry was given power to restrict its output and to fix its prices at a profitable level, while responsibility was laid on the industry to make its methods more efficient. The war came just when this policy was being worked out.

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\* See the summary of the Government White Paper on Employment Policy on pp. 554-7.

**(ii) Future Questions**

But the questions which it raises will still await us at the end of the war. How active should government be in the field of industry and agriculture? Should it seek, for instance, by tariffs and subsidies, to build up our agriculture to meet more of our own needs at home—as the war has proved to be possible? But we can get food more cheaply from abroad than we can grow it, because of the scarcity of good land, the cost of fertilisers and the high wage-bill. Should we then, in agriculture, specialise in the foodstuffs for which British farming and the British climate are most suitable—dairy produce and fresh vegetables?

Would the concentration on the development of industry provide the goods with which to buy foodstuffs and raw materials abroad and to serve at home a rising standard of living? How, in a world where other countries are developing their manufacturing industries or the wartime industries which can rapidly be turned to peacetime use, are we to secure the sale of our goods abroad?

Such questions await decision at the end of the war—our decision.

**4. No Work—No Income?**

Each of us, then, seeks work somewhere within the scope just outlined, and that work provides the income which we spend on all our other activities. But there immediately arise two questions. What happens when we have no work and therefore no income? And what happens when, even with an income, some of us would not be able to buy goods and facilities of the standard which the nation considers necessary for all? The income may be quite high and yet not enough, say, to obtain highly skilled professional services.

**(i) Public Social Services**

In such circumstances government can act because it too draws an income from the work of the country, mainly in the form of rates and taxes of all kinds. Part of this income it spends on a great range of public social services, helping people whose income has stopped or is low, either by providing more income or by making available to them facilities which otherwise might be available only to the well-to-do. These services are administered partly by central and partly by local government, and in 1936–37, for example, about £305,000,000 were spent on them, nearly one-third of the total expenditure of the central and local authorities.

Many similar services are provided by private charitable organisations, but here we are concerned with the public social services. They touch the life of the ordinary man or woman at many points and benefit about half of us each year in some way or other. Our review can mention only some of them.

**(ii) Providing More Income\***

The main reasons why we may suffer loss of income can be listed quickly enough—unemployment, sickness, injury, widowhood, orphanhood and old age. In cases of industrial accident or disease, benefits are available under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, which cover practically all persons working under a contract of service, except non-manual workers earning above £420 a year. The whole cost of this workmen's compensation, however, falls on employers so that it is not a *public* social service.

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\* See the summary of the White Papers on Social Insurance and Industrial Injury Insurance on pp. 563–9.

(a) *Insurance*

For the rest, schemes of unemployment and health insurance, and of widows', orphans', and old-age contributory pensions operate, which apply to practically all manual workers, and to all non-manual workers who are earning not more than £420 a year. The whole cost of these is not borne by government. What happens is that workers and employers make weekly contributions to a fund to which the government also contributes.

These are the schemes of social *insurance* which in a sense are schemes of compulsory self-help, organised by government and subsidised by the taxpayer and by employers. It is with the extension and organisation of such social insurance that the Beveridge Report is concerned.

(b) *Assistance*

For those whose needs are not covered by social insurance, e.g. those who are not insured or who have exhausted their insurance benefits, there are further schemes. They include old-age pensions payable at 70, for which no contributions are levied; supplementary pensions in cases of special need; unemployment assistance allowances; and poor relief—now called public assistance. What is common to these social *assistance* services is that they are paid for entirely out of public funds raised from taxes and rates, and that each person applying for assistance must satisfy some kind of "means test."

(iii) **Providing Services**

We have made government responsible not only for providing more income in cases of need, but for providing certain essentials of civilised life which many of us could not buy owing to their high cost. All these services touch our lives very closely indeed.

(a) *Health\**

The medical profession is one that demands long and specialised training and consequently the qualified doctor can command high fees that might be thought to put his services out of the reach of the ordinary person. But the National Health Insurance scheme, which we have already seen covering all manual workers, and non-manual workers earning up to £420 a year, for benefit in case of sickness, also entitles them to medical attendance and treatment by "panel doctors." In addition specialist advice and treatment is available in hospitals, clinics and sanatoria provided by the public authorities.

Moreover, in addition to this curative medicine, preventive medicine is being developed. In very many Local Authorities there are full-time medical officers, administering services providing for maternity and child welfare and for the care of school children. We may note also the increasing importance attached to good diet. Before the war, public subsidies were being paid to enable mothers and children to obtain milk and other food at prices within their means. During the war, the Government has extended this idea, at a cost in 1942-43 of £140,000,000, to keep down the price of such essential items of food as bread, meat and milk.

(b) *Home*

Modern standards of housing involve high rents to meet costs. For instance, the minimum for working-class housing laid down by a Government Committee in

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\* See the summary of the White Paper on a National Health Service on pp. 548-52.

1918 included three bedrooms as well as a living room, bathroom and kitchen, and this would frequently be too much for a working man's income. Accordingly to keep rents down public subsidies are necessary and forthcoming, and have made it possible to rehouse millions of wage-earners and their dependants in conditions close to the minimum laid down. In the years between the wars over 4,000,000 new houses were built. Of these Local Authorities built 1,000,000 themselves and private enterprise was given financial assistance for another 435,000.

### (c) *Education\**

Not until 1870 did government begin to provide schools. It did so then because the cost of private schooling was too high for many parents and the money needed to run the schools had to be provided by all, in the form of rates and taxes. Since that time, as buildings, equipment and playing fields are more generously provided and teachers better paid, the cost has increased, but with it the quality of the national system of schools has improved. Now this system is one of the largest of the social services, not restricted to one social class and used by the great majority of the community—though a few institutions, such as the Public Schools, are not part of it.

In England, Wales and Scotland its cost was £120 millions for 1938. What do we get for the money? Sticking to the figures, the start of the answer would be 26,000 schools of different types, administered by Local Authorities under the Board of Education. The universities, too, though preserving their independence, are aided out of the public funds. Beyond the figures we can say that elementary education is free and compulsory up to 14, that secondary education of a high quality is becoming more and more widespread, and that the universities have become increasingly open to ability. There is an educational ladder up which, aided by public as well as private scholarships, the intelligent can climb.

That is no claim that all our problems have been met. What of the raising of the school-leaving age? The size of classes? The improvement in the selection of subjects to be taught? The continuation beyond the class-room in Youth Service and adult education? The future relation to the national system of such schools as the Public Schools, which are at present outside it?

All these await our decision: but they will continue, not launch, a "silent social revolution" which has already given us a splendid record of educational services.

## 5. Conclusion

In the beginning there was work and we considered what we had to work with, how that work had developed and what share government took in promoting it. That work produces our income and part of that income government takes in the form of rates and taxes. We considered then one way in which government spends its funds—on social services designed to help those whose income has stopped or is too low to get some of the things we consider essential for civilised life.

We have, therefore, seen the work of the country sustaining, under the voluntary process of self-government, a great variety of public services for the care of its members: the recognition that we are a community in which each of us is a serving member with responsibilities to all the others.

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\* See the summary of the Education Act of 1944 on pp. 546-8.

**Chapter IV.****COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE****1. Citizens of Empire**

So far we have dealt with our responsibilities and opportunities, and the life we live as citizens of Britain. But we are citizens, too, of a far larger unit—so large, indeed, that (as the Germans have never tired of telling us) it covers a quarter of the land surface of the world and contains 550 million inhabitants. Yet most of us are curiously ignorant of the Empire, and this is a bad thing, for two reasons.

First of all, our muddled and confused ideas about the Empire make our minds just the right forcing-ground for what the enemy wants us to believe. Secondly, the Empire has problems, no less urgently demanding solution than those we meet at home. They are our problems, and we can only help to answer them if we have the necessary information.

**2. How Did It Come to Be British?**

At the outset of any attempt that we make to understand the Empire, we are up against questions that must be answered. How has it happened that a small island, in early times quite insignificant and even today carrying a population of only something over 46 millions, has become the centre of an Empire spread over five continents and seven seas? What truth is there in the German assertion that the process was one of force and fraud, conquest and aggression?

**(i) End of the First British Empire**

The opportunity of empire came with the discovery of the New World, because that meant that, ultimately, instead of being on the edge of civilisation, Britain was on its main highway. From Elizabethan times onward Englishmen began to take their opportunity. They did so from a variety of motives; the desire for religious freedom of the Puritan settlers who went to North America: the motive of national glory in the settlement of Virginia; the desire for trade which took the East India Company to India; and many more. Sometimes we gained by war, but generally by war with European rivals such as France, against whom in the 18th century we established supremacy in Canada and India.

The Empire which we were thus building in the 17th and 18th centuries was essentially of its age. Towards it we had the policy typical of the age—that it should be a source of raw materials and a market for the goods which we manufactured, and about that policy we can admit that it asked too much of the colonies and was prepared to put too little into them.

And when the richest and oldest colonies revolted against this scheme of things, in the American War of Independence, we lost not only them but this idea of Empire. When George III exclaimed, on hearing of the surrender of his forces, "By God, it's all over," he might have meant not merely the American War but the policy which helped to cause it.

**(ii) But the Empire Still Grew**

For a long time the loss of our possessions in America made us very doubtful of either the possibility or value of having an Empire at all. The lands composing it seemed troublesome, expensive and certain to break away.

Yet for all this scepticism and disillusionment its growth continued, again with varied motives and in different ways: by peaceful settlement in Australia, following on Captain Cook's voyages of exploration; by organised colonisation in New Zealand, on the scheme worked out by Gibbon Wakefield, which helped to relieve the growing

over-population at home ; by missionary zeal in Africa. Sometimes the expansion was by war ; for example, by the continuation of the wars with France, in which we sought among other things to secure our sea-borne trade by establishing peace at the sources of supply and along the great trade-routes. At the end of the Napoleonic wars, we were established, for example, in the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Malta, and some parts of the Far East.

Moreover, towards the end of the 19th century we began to attach a new value to Empire. This was largely because Great Powers all over the world, including, familiarly, Germany and Japan, were becoming ambitious and aggressive and Britain by itself seemed like a pigmy among them. So came an interpretation of Empire which emphasised its unity and common purpose. That unity has now stood the test of two world wars.

### (iii) A Varied History

Since the end of the 19th century there has been no great addition to the Empire. Looking back over the history of its acquisition we need not claim too angelic a record but still less need we admit the German accusations of profound devilry. The motives were mixed—religious freedom, trade, exploration, over-population, missionary and humanitarian zeal, national pride. The methods were equally varied—mostly by private settlement overseas, sometimes by cession from foreign countries, sometimes at the request of native chiefs, and in a very few instances by conquest.

And at the end of the record stands the present, pressing question—what have we done with the Empire thus built ?

## 3. Do We Now Control the Empire ?

The enemy accusation is constant that we “ own a quarter of the world.” The meaning of the accusation varies and is never very clear. But generally there is insistence that Britain retains control of the whole Empire, and that over this vast territory what we say goes.

Is it true ? What is the real position of the three distinguishable parts of the Empire ?

### (i) The Dominions

The Dominions are Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Eire, with a total population of over 33 millions. Newfoundland normally ranks as one, too, but in 1934 she gave up this status temporarily and at her own request, inviting the British Government to take control of her administration.

#### *Freedom of the Dominions—*

With the exception of Eire (a special case in more ways than one) they were all originally our colonies. Now, after a gradual extension of self-government, they are quite sovereign countries. Each has its own Parliament, and each Parliament has complete control of its own domestic and foreign affairs. No decisions of ours can commit them in any way.

So they shape their own foreign policies, refusing any commitment they do not want—as they did in declining to sign the Locarno Pact in 1925, in which Britain and Italy guaranteed the Franco-German frontier. They decide their own economic

policies, free to raise tariffs against British goods or restrict British immigration. They have done both. They make their own decisions about entering any war in which Britain is involved, and in 1939, Eire in deciding to consider herself neutral and the others in deciding to declare war, were exercising the same right.

—*And their Unity*

Why, then, did these four free nations enter the war on our side? What binds this *Commonwealth\** of Nations together? Partly the link is a personal one. All have the same King. And behind loyalty to a common Crown lies an agreement on essential ideas and ideals that makes possible this unique practical partnership of five nations, working together for their joint survival.

But they are free nations. The Dominions we control in no sense at all.

(ii) *India*

Do we then control India? Or rather the "Indias," for there are two, the Indian States and British India.†

*Indian States.*—These cover about a third of the area and contain about a quarter of the population of India. By treaties and agreements their rulers have accepted the sovereignty of the British Crown and the British Government's control of their external affairs. To that extent, then, we are responsible for deciding their policies. But notice that we have also undertaken to respect their sovereignty in their own domestic affairs, intervening only in cases of gross mismanagement, and that means that we cannot force them to submit to any scheme, our own or anybody else's, to unify India.

*British India.*—Over the remaining two-thirds of India direct British rule was established and the inhabitants are British subjects.

No doubt some of the advantages have been on our side. Britain did secure a leading place in India's foreign trade, though it was open on equal terms to all other nations. The occupation of India also provided an essential link in the chain of imperial defence between Britain and Australia, and India is, at present, an important production centre, not only for the Indian Army but for our Forces in the Near and Middle East.

But the advantages have not been only on our side. India has received protection without, peace within. She has been given purer justice and better administration. To meet her most urgent physical need—water in the dry season—the world's greatest system of canals has been built, providing irrigated land for millions of peasants and saving millions from famine. The material equipment of a modern State, such as railways, roads, telegraphs, have been provided, and the social services, including education, developed.

Above all, the idea of a single Indian nation has been made possible by the unifying influence of British rule, just as the idea of a Parliamentary form of self-government came from the British example.

(a) *The Difficulties in Self-Government*

What have we done then to meet the demands for unity and self-government which we ourselves inspired?

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\* This term is generally used when attention is concentrated on the relation between the self-governing countries, while the term "Empire" is generally used when all the imperial territories are named as a whole.

† In 1937, Burma was separated from India and given a roughly similar Government.

We have admitted the moral justness of that goal—that is definite. But in India, which is more of a continent than a country, with a population of 389 million and a great range of races, languages, religions and cultures, the practical difficulties are clear enough.

On the one hand the Congress Party, claiming to speak for all India, but composed mainly of a comparatively small minority of the Hindus, who number 255 million, want complete unification and independence. Against that, we have to consider the Moslem League, claiming to speak for the 94 million Moslems, which also wants freedom from British rule, but not in a united India where the Hindus would have a permanent majority. We have to consider the Indian States, whom we cannot coerce into any scheme of unity. And we have to consider the present war situation where the position and production of India are essential to the United Nations, and where there is a real danger that Japan would move in as soon as we moved out.

### (b) *The Achievements in Self-Government*

Over the last 80 years we have extended practical measures of real self-government to British India. Under the Act of 1935, full self-government in internal affairs was granted to all the eleven Provinces of British India. In addition, provision was made for an All-India Federation which did not, however, come into effect.

The offer which Sir Stafford Cripps carried to India in 1942 went even further. While the conduct of the war would still be controlled by the British Government, acting through the Commander-in-Chief in India, it was proposed that British India should have immediately a National Government manned entirely by Indian party leaders, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. It was understood that this Government would operate by majority decision, though the Viceroy retained his reserve power to over-rule. Moreover, provision was made for a new constitution for India after the war, which would have given to her the powers of a fully self-governing, sovereign State, on condition that safeguards were provided for the rights of the Indian States, the Moslems and other minorities.

The offer was refused, but it still stands. Its terms and the growth of self-government which preceded it clearly indicate how qualified is our control of India.

### (iii) *The Colonial Empire*

Finally, in what sense can we be said to control the Colonial Empire?

#### *Divisions of the Colonial Empire*

In the fifty odd territories which make up the Colonial Empire, covering about three million square miles and containing about 63 million people, we want to make first a three-fold distinction:

The *Protectorates*, where legally the supreme government may belong to the British Crown, as in Northern Rhodesia, or remain with the local ruler, possibly under British supervision.

The *Mandated Territories*, consisting of territories such as Palestine and Tanganyika, captured from Germany or her allies in the last war, which are administered in trust from the League of Nations.

Finally, the *Colonies* proper, which belong to the British Crown and where supreme power rests with the British Government.

Already, therefore, even in the legal position we can see limitations in our control. Our practice is one of deliberately increasing these limitations.



*Government of the Colonies*

The central authority for the Colonies is the Secretary of State for the Colonies, responsible of course to Parliament. In fact, however, the greater part of the government is carried out on the spot by local administration.

This is hardly based on force, for the British Army, in normal times, is too small to do more than police. It is not based on a vast bureaucracy, for the officials are only a handful compared with the millions whose government they supervise. It is rule by partnership, in varying degrees, with the Colonial peoples themselves. In some Colonies, like Ceylon and Southern Rhodesia, it amounts almost to self-government. In others, such as the more backward parts of Africa, there is the practice of "indirect rule" under which the existing native rulers are retained, with the help and advice of British officials.

In all this immense variety, we have freely committed ourselves to a policy which raises the possibilities and the problems of self-government.

**(iv) Conclusion**

At the end of this brief review of the control of the Empire, we are left with the conclusion that in no sense do we control the Dominions; that in India we have so substantially renounced our control that she is now on the threshold of the status of a fully self-governing State; and that the control which we retain in varying degrees of the parts of the Colonial Empire has been and is being modified by the gradual extension of self-government.

**4. Do We Exploit the Colonies ?**

How then do we discharge the responsibility which we still hold for the Colonies? Have we used it to exploit the peoples? The enemy accusation is loudly and insistently in the affirmative—that we use the resources of these territories to serve our own ends, without any consideration for the welfare of the inhabitants. Again, we can look to the facts without any fear of what they record.

**(i) What Do We Take Out of the Colonies ?**

Certain misunderstandings we can clear immediately. Do the Colonies pay us tribute? Not a penny, for all the money raised by taxation in a Colony is spent there. Do we monopolise them as sources of raw materials and markets? Hardly—the record, in approximate figures, of goods imported to and exported from the Colonial Empire in 1938 or 1938–39 is given on p. 126.

On the whole, we seem to seek nothing unfair out of them.

**(ii) What Do We Put into Them ?**

More positively what do we put into them for their development—apart from a Colonial administration whose honesty and ability is almost universally acknowledged? Most of the recent criticism of our Colonial policy is not that there has been exploitation by the British Government but that our intervention has not been active enough. Accordingly there has been an increasing tendency to take the initiative in Colonial development.

For example, we can see British rule active on two lines of progress. First, we have sought to give the workers security by building up a system of labour departments for most of the Colonies, by adopting minimum wage regulations and granting the right to form trade unions. All of this has been encouraged by sending labour inspectors and labour officers from this country, some of whom are officials of our own trade unions.

*Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1940*

Secondly, we are increasingly putting into Colonial development public money which need not seek any immediate profit. It was in continuation of this policy that in 1940 we passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, designed to extend medical and health services, education and economic development, at a cost to the British taxpayer, over ten years, of £70,000,000. Perhaps, even probably, more will be needed. It will be forthcoming—if we decide so, for the decision and the cost lie with us.

## 5. The Future

In this short review we have let the enemy appeal to history and the present conditions of the Empire and found little to justify his accusations. We need not claim perfection. We have made mistakes in the Empire as we have at home, and we shall go on making them until we are perfect ourselves. But two ideas have emerged which make nonsense of the enemy accusations and which we can count the main justification of the Empire as well as its chief source of strength.

### (i) The Principles of Empire

*Self-government.*—This has already been granted completely to the Dominions, and it is being progressively developed in the still dependent parts of the Empire.

*Partnership.*—In those territories which have not yet achieved full self-government, we are increasingly developing their prosperity and welfare and doing so at an initial cost which we must bear.

### (ii) The Problems of the Empire

In the future development of these principles there will be plenty of problems.

What about economic co-operation among the United Kingdom and the Dominions after the war—especially since some of the latter are now developing industries which will make them less dependent on our products? What of the prospect of emigration to them after the war—which they, of course, control? What of international control of the Colonies after the war? Does that take enough account of the loyalty of the Colonial peoples or the inexperience of many countries in Colonial rule? Should it be decided without consulting the Colonial peoples? Or again, how quickly or completely should the extension of self-government to some of the Colonies proceed? Does the world look like a safe place for small, poor and unprotected peoples?

And so on. The problems—and the opportunities—will press in for our decision. In the end we cannot avoid deciding them. The only choice we have is between deciding them badly out of indifference or deciding them well out of interest, information and understanding.

## SECOND SEQUENCE : REPORT ON THE NATION

**B.W.P. 6**

# THE SETTING

By

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**April 1943**

## Chapter I.

## WHO WE ARE

### 1. Service Based on Understanding

We are all citizens, and so share in the fortunes of our country. Now, in time of war, each one is called on for service. But such service is equally necessary in time of peace if we are to build the sort of world in which we would like our children to grow up. It is especially necessary if we are to avoid another war such as this, for world wars are the unavoidable results of international anarchy.

To serve well we must serve with understanding. To understand the British way of life we must get back to the ancestors from whom we are bred. We must get down to the ground beneath our feet, and study the geography of our country and of the others with which it is connected. Our ancestors have lived in this land, have adapted themselves to it, used and misused its resources and modified the land and themselves by doing so. Thus they built up the society into which we were born, and which we must carry on and modify. Geography and history are foundation studies for the citizen; no one who is ignorant of either of them can be said to be an educated man or woman, for intelligent citizenship must rest on appreciation of both our natural resources and our social heritage.

### 2. Growth of a People

A few simple calculations will throw some light on our growth as a people. Each of you had two parents. Each of them had two parents; so you had four grandparents; and so on. . . . Leave out, at first, intermarriages among your ancestors; and assume that the average length of a generation has been 25 years. How many ancestors had you living at the time of the discovery of America? at the Norman Conquest? or at any past date which interests you?

On these assumptions you had over 60,000 ancestors 400 years ago, and over 8,000,000,000 at the time of the Norman Conquest, only 33 generations back from 1900. The latter number is four times the present human population of the whole world, and perhaps 40 times the population of the world at that date.

### **“Each of Us Descended from a King”**

It is clear that there has been a lot of intermarriage of relatives among our ancestors ; so much that it is quite safe to say that we are all related to one another. We all share our ancestors. Every person of English origin had ancestors on both sides at the Battle of Hastings, and so can take a quite impartial view of that conflict. It used to be said, in joke, that every Irishman was descended from a king. That statement is literally true of every one of us.

Who, then, were these ancestors ? This question may be answered in terms of “race,” or of “nation,” i.e. in terms of :—

- (i) Biological inheritance.
- (ii) Social inheritance.

We want to look at each of these in turn.

## **3. Are We a Distinctive Race ?**

The earliest of our ancestors of whom we have any precise knowledge were the prehistoric people, some of whose remains have been found in the burial mounds, or “barrows,” of this country. What do we know about them ? The remains show that all three of the chief types, or “races,” of present-day Europeans were already in this country. They are :—

- (a) Small, slight, long-headed folk—of neolithic or Mediterranean type ;
- (b) Tall and heavy long-headed folk—of Nordic type ;
- (c) Medium height, stocky, broad-headed folk—of Alpine type.

### **(i) Mixed Racial Origin**

There is, of course, no direct evidence of the colouring of these remote ancestors of ours. Among living people those of Nordic type are usually blue-eyed and fair, while the others are usually brown-eyed and dark-haired. Blue or grey eyes are perhaps the most distinctive Nordic physical character.

But it is only necessary to look at the next 20 or 100 men you meet to see that there are very few whose physical characters put them clearly into one of these types. We are all of mixed racial origin. And the fact that a man has blue or brown eyes, while useful for identification, tells nothing of his mental or moral qualities.

### **(ii) Later Immigration**

Every later immigration has made the mixed descendants of that prehistoric mixed population still more mixed. The Romans brought in men from all their empire, including some of African and Asiatic origins. In the Dark Ages, Angles and Saxons, Danes and Norsemen, came in sufficient strength to impose their languages and ways of life over all the lowlands of the eastern side of Great Britain,\* and to plant smaller colonies all round the coasts of both islands.

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\* Great Britain is the largest island of the British Isles and the term is used to refer to England, Wales and Scotland. Ireland is the second largest of the British Isles, which also includes the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man.

The United Kingdom means Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Later the Norman Conquest and the 500 years' connection with dominions in what is now France, which it started, brought in immigrants from all western Europe. Since then there have been many internal migrations within the islands, and immigrants from outside.

So the British peoples are not a distinctive *race*.

#### 4. Are We One Nation?

What is a nation? Like "race" this word is used in different senses. Can a man be at the same time a Britisher, an Englishman, and a Jew? Or even two of these?

In one sense "nation" means all the people of one "sovereign State." This political usage of the word is general in America, and common in this country. But clearly it does not apply to the British Isles, nor to the Soviet Union, where several nations exist within one State.

A nation is based on the feeling of unity among its members. Without that it would cease to exist. How does, or did, this feeling arise and become firmly established in any nation? And how is it maintained?

##### (i) The Homeland

Look at some facts in the growth of the English nation, with a good relief map of England before you. Its region of origin and homeland is the English Lowland, for the Border Counties, of the North and West, and Cornwall were not fully incorporated till late in our history.

Almost the whole of this region is included in a square whose sides measure only some 200 miles, from the south coast to Lancashire and Yorkshire and from the east coast to the Welsh border. No part of it is much more than 200 miles from its one dominant nodal centre in London. It was not too large to be organised as a single State by the horse-and-foot communications of an age when roads were few and bad.

##### (ii) The English Nation

On this Lowland, as it emerged from the obscurity of the Dark Ages at the dawn of mediæval times, there were a number of distinct peoples, all of mixed origins, but for the most part speaking closely related languages. How did these people become a nation?

Within the Lowland there were no natural barriers to easy communication greater than its forests and marshes. The long and narrow belts of uplands that stretch across it are mostly of porous rocks, and so give naturally dry and open ways of easy movement. As agriculture developed and population increased the whole became one area of continuous, though not uniform, settlement. Its inhabitants had easy intercourse from village to village and from town to town, which led to intermingling and to the modification of their dialects towards a common language. Since the 10th century the whole of it has been under one king, and, except for a few intervals of disorder, it has had one government, and uniform laws based on the customs of its people. So the geographical unity of the region favoured its political unification and the growth of that unity of law, of customs, of traditions, of language, and of sentiment and habits, which made its people one nation.

##### *Marked Off from Other Peoples*

How were the people of the Lowland marked off from other people? This Lowland is not an isolated land, but it is clearly marked off from other regions of similar possibilities. To east and south is the sea, a definite break between the

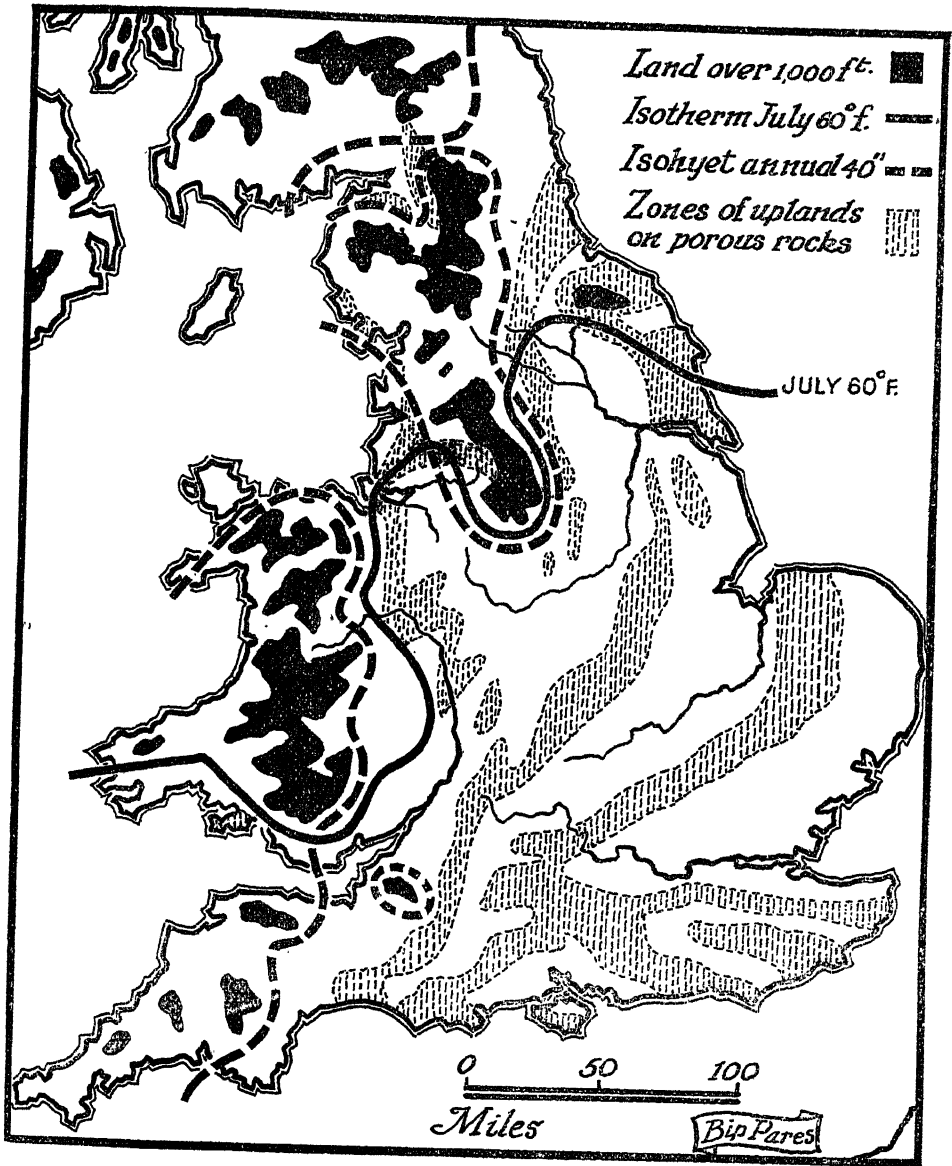


FIGURE 5

*Note.*—An isotherm is a line on a map joining places which have the same temperature at any particular time or for any selected period of time; an isohyet joins places which have an equal rainfall.

Thus the English Lowland is marked off in three distinctive ways: (i) By the limits formed by the highlands. Within the Lowland, the uplands offer no serious hindrance to easy communication. (ii) By the July isotherm. This marks to the north the limits of the growth of wheat except on small and specially favoured sites. (iii) By the annual isohyet of 40 inches. On nearly all the highlands the annual rainfall exceeds 40 inches. Hardly anywhere in the Lowland does it reach 40 inches, though it is everywhere more than 20 inches and therefore amply sufficient for agriculture.

In every climatic respect the English Lowland is the most favoured part of Great Britain and has always been the most fertile and populous.

habitable lands. It was then a barrier sufficient to reduce intercourse far below the amount and frequency needed to maintain community of language and customs between the Danes in England and the Danes in Denmark, or between the Normans in Normandy and the Normans in England, in spite of their political unity under one King and Duke.

Towards Wales there was the physical barrier of the highland, the cultural barrier to easy intercourse set up by differences between the ways of life of agricultural lowlanders and pastoral highlanders, and a difference of language too great to be overcome by dialect assimilation.

Between the English and Scottish Lowlands there is a wide area of difficult country, which was then very thinly peopled, and so the barrier of a distance too great for easy communication before the modern age. Thus, though the peoples of these two Lowlands were, and are, very similar in all that makes a nation, they became two nations in the Middle Ages. They still regard themselves as different nations because of this past history. But is there any greater difference between a Lowland Scot and a Yorkshireman than between a Yorkshireman and a Cockney?

### *Development of Unity*

There are very few geographical regions, of similarly manageable extent, which are at once so well defined and so favoured by internal features which make for unity among their inhabitants, as the English Lowland. Here the medley of peoples slowly became a nation during the Middle Ages. The descendants of Celtic Britons and of immigrants to Roman Britannia, of Angle and Saxon and Dane, of Norman and French and Fleming, became intermingled beyond any possibility of disentanglement.

During the same period a similar development beyond the Channel established the French nation in its region of origin, the Paris Basin. During the Hundred Years' War (from about 1339 to 1453) the English and the French hammered into each other the consciousness of distinct national unity, and an exaggerated sense of the differences between them.

### (iii) Union of Nations

What of the British nation? For many centuries English and Scots were foreigners to each other, and often at war, though closely akin. A Scottish King inherited the Crown of England in 1603, but the countries still remained separate, though there was much more mingling of the peoples because there was now more communication. With the changes due to the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution and the exploitation of overseas lands a closer union became desirable. By the Act of Union in 1707 the two were united for political and economic purposes. The social union based on these, and on the easier intercourse which was by then possible, strengthened the union. It was clinched by the common development of the whole island of Great Britain in the Industrial Revolution, which made it one economic unit. The growth of the great cities drew into them immigrants from all the country. Glasgow became the chief centre of the Scottish Highlanders. Liverpool and Birmingham drew large colonies of Welsh. Londoners are from all the British peoples, as well as from other immigrants.

In both Wales and the Scottish highlands there are still considerable numbers of people whose mother tongue is not English. Are they members of the British nation? So far as that is a political group they certainly are. Are all British subjects members of the British nation—the Irish, the Jamaicans, Indians, and so on? Legally and politically, they are members beyond any question, but do they belong to it in feeling and culture?

In fact the word British is used at times (a) for people of the United Kingdom, (b) for all white people of the British Empire, and (c) for all British subjects.

(iv) **Nationalism in Scotland and Wales**

In both Wales and Scotland there are a few enthusiasts who speak of themselves as Welsh and Scottish nationalists respectively, and claim that the Welsh and Scots should be recognised as entirely distinct nations. Most often the claim is against the term "English" rather than against the term "British." It is in part a reaction against the fact that the inhabitants of England are so much the most numerous of the peoples of Great Britain, and nearest to the mainland, that most foreigners (and some of the English who should know better!) think and speak as if the whole were English.

*The Elements in Welsh Nationalism*

The Scots have played a very full share in the development of Britain and of the Empire, and in ruling both. But Wales was a conquered country. It was never a united country and the conquest was made piecemeal during the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries. It was completed by French-speaking kings and nobles, continuing the Norman Conquest, before either the English or the Welsh had become a nation. And it was so long ago that the two peoples are by now well mixed. Yet there are differences and those who dwell on the past cannot forget the conquest.

Wales is mainly a highland region, and the permanent difference between highlanders and lowlanders marks off its rural population from the English. It is emphasised by the persistence of the language. From the time of the union, under Henry VIII, till about 100 years ago there was little or no official recognition of the Welsh language in Wales. Government and official business was conducted in English. The revival of Welsh was largely due to the Methodists, who preached to the people in their own tongue. It was helped by the factors which led to the general rise of nationalism in Europe. The two languages are now equal in standing in Wales, and no one is likely to flourish in the public life or service unless he knows both—a fact which gives a relative advantage to the Welsh-speaking minority.

*The Elements Absent*

It has been said, probably with some degree of truth, that in parts of Wales all but one of the ingredients of a "minority question" are present, and that what is lacking is real cause for any sense of oppression. No Welshman suffers, anywhere in Britain, because he is Welsh.

But who form the Welsh nation? Is it all the inhabitants of Wales or only those who speak Welsh? Does it include men living elsewhere, some of whose recent ancestors were from Wales? And the same questions can be equally applied to the English or the Scots.

## 5. Conclusion

English is now the language of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of Britain and the Dominions and of the U.S.A. The common term for these peoples, and their culture, is Anglo-Saxon.

(i) **Anglo-Keltic in our Origins**

It would be more correct to call them "Anglo-Keltic" because the Angles and Kelts were the most prominent groups in our formation. In comparison with either of these the Saxons were a small minority though they were in the metropolitan area—Essex, Middlesex, Wessex. Our history and our culture is, in its origins, mainly Anglo-Keltic, with infusions from many other sources. It has



been developed in Britain under the permanent, though unobtrusive, influences of the geographical environment and the differing relations of that environment to peoples who can use it more or less well.

## (ii) Variety in Unity

Thus in these islands we have a people of varied racial types. They have built and maintained a society of free men who therefore can, and do, have many different views and express them freely. Much of this social variety is due to the internal variety and comparative security of our island home, in which we have insulation without isolation from other lands and peoples.

To this land all our ways of life and our institutions have been adapted; for, whatever the origins of our peoples and of the ideas which have influenced them, only those have survived which could be fitted into this environment. The process of adaptation is often difficult, and it is probable that some of our present difficulties are due to the fact that many of the recently developed new ideas are not yet absorbed so that our society has not yet adjusted itself to them.

The keynote of the British lands and peoples is variety in unity. Their rise to wealth and importance in the modern world followed, and in large part resulted from, their effective unity. Both the variety and the unity are essential if we are to give our best to the coming world.

## Chapter II.

## WHERE WE ARE

### 1. Making the Best of the Land

Man is a child of the earth. From the earth he obtains all the materials for his food and shelter and tools. The kind of work he must do to obtain these things is determined partly by the climate and resources of the land from which he gets them, and partly by his own knowledge and skill. These natural resources include the geographical position, the climate, the rocks and soils and minerals, the hills and valleys and plains, coasts and rivers of the land.

Our first ancestors found here a land of marsh and forests on the low grounds, with some open scrub on the uplands where they made their settlements. Later when they developed iron tools capable of cutting down the hardwood forests they moved down to the good land in the valleys. Today with further advances in science, we can, within wide limits, build where we like. What we have made of our land is apparent today in the fields and gardens, roads and railways and canals, towns and villages superimposed on the natural landscape.

Should we be satisfied with this result of our efforts or do we want something better? To improve it we need to study the facts and the possibilities and make our plans in relation to these facts so as to get nearer to the ideal.

### 2. Our Resources at Home

What, then, are the most important facts about this land of ours?

#### (i) A Small Island

One first outstanding fact is that we Britishers are islanders. This at once marks us off from all other European peoples. Since our islands were united under one Crown (in 1603) all our external relations have been overseas affairs, and at every

step our history and our way of life, and therefore our habits of thought and our views of other peoples and their views of us, have been influenced by our island location and the separateness and security it gave us during many centuries.

Secondly, Britain is a small country. The total area of the British Isles is 120,000 sq. miles. This is roughly  $\frac{1}{25}$  of that of the United States or Australia,  $\frac{1}{30}$  of Canada,  $\frac{1}{60}$  of the U.S.S.R. and  $\frac{1}{100}$  of the British Empire. It is less than half as large as Hitler's Germany, three-quarters of the Japanese Islands, and equal to either Italy or New Zealand. How is it that so small a country has become one of the chief world Powers? What are the conditions which have made possible the growth round Britain of the largest and most widespread of the great empires? Since the peoples of Britain became united they have built up two great empires, one which is now the U.S.A. and the present British Empire. These are now two of the greatest world Powers.

But to cover the geography of Britain in a chapter is impossible. Though it is small there are few, if any, equal areas in the world which have so much internal variety. We can note only a few of the geographical facts which have contributed to our present development. In the manifold natural resources let us note briefly some facts of the climate, the soil, the minerals and the geographical position.

### (ii) Climate

A look at a map of the world shows that Britain is farther north than any other populous land. Only in the Scandinavian countries and the northern half of Russia are there any considerable populations farther from the equator than we are. Nearly all the people of Canada dwell south of the latitude of London. Yet we have open winters, because we get the full advantage of the drifts of warm air and water brought by the prevailing south-west wind. We do not suffer from either the enervating heat of the tropics and of the summers of warm-temperate lands, or the numbing cold of the long monotonous winters of most of the cool-temperate lands. Our position is near the poleward limits of agriculture, but it is one of the best for the development of human energy. And we do not suffer from monotony of weather. It has been said that this is the one climate in which a man may be out-of-doors on every day of the year.

Britain is near the northern limits of safe agriculture. At quite low altitudes on our highlands, from about 1,200 feet in Devon to 400 feet in Caithness, the shortness of the frost-free period and the liability to frost in summer nights stops cultivation. Above these levels there is only poor grazing land.

All our agriculture is subject to the variability of British weather; so that it is more of a gamble here than in many other lands. In fact we are just within the north-west edge of the good climatic region of Europe. Here the danger to crops is in the insufficiency of summer sunshine and heat, which is as bad a handicap as the approach to excessive heat and drought on the opposite, desert, edge of Europe. It has been suggested that the relative uncertainty of agriculture in these islands has urged many of our men to seek fortune on, or beyond, the seas and so helped the expansion of our peoples.

### (iii) Soil

For most of our history the soil was the chief of our natural resources. Before the modern age the peoples of Britain were chiefly engaged in agriculture and lived in rural villages. Until about seventy years ago the country grew almost all its own food. Its agriculture was mixed, though arable predominated on the lowlands and pastoral farming on the highlands. These differences in the resources, and so in the ways of life, explain much of the differences which exist between Welsh and Scottish highlanders on the one hand and English and Scottish lowlanders on the other,

We have a high proportion of good land, especially in England, and the best British farming sets the world standards in its animals and crops. But in the last 100 years agriculture has been neglected because of the greater attention paid to other natural resources here, and the exploitation of virgin soils in the New World.

#### (iv) Mineral Resources

The next outstanding resource of Britain is in its coal and iron. The coal was of no practical importance before the industrial age which may be said to have begun when Watt patented his steam engine (1769) and Darby first smelted iron ore with coal as the fuel (1787). Soon after came the wars of the French Revolution, which ravaged all the countries of mainland Europe. From these ravages Britain was secured by its insular position and its sea power, and so was able to develop freely. Thus Great Britain was the first country to become industrialised and to gain the wealth and power that successful industry brings.

#### (v) Geographical Position

The last group of the natural resources is the geographical position of these islands. The climate gives us open seas all the year round. The relief provides many sheltered inlets and harbours. The narrow and shallow seas between us and the mainland, and between the islands, are rich in fish and their extent and form early led to sea-faring. All these things helped to mould the peoples, but none of them made Britain of any great importance in the world before the modern age, at the opening of which its position was suddenly changed.

When Columbus crossed the Atlantic in 1492 Britain ceased to be on the extreme edge of the known world. The formerly impassable ocean became a highway.

##### (a) *In the Centre of the Land Hemisphere*

Now we must look at the globe to see the position of these islands. No flat map can show it correctly, for no such map can show an area much more than 1,000 miles radius without serious distortion. It is safe to say that much of the ignorance which hinders us from seeing our position clearly is due to the wrong idea got from accepting maps as if they told us nothing but the truth. Maps are necessary, and useful to those who can read them, but they can be very misleading to those who do not understand them.

Turn a globe so that you are looking directly at Great Britain. Then the half which is facing you is the land hemisphere. On this half are six-sevenths of the habitable land and nine-tenths of all the people of the world. And we are in the central position on this hemisphere!

Britain is an island. So look at the globe again, giving your attention to the oceans. You see that there are two, and only two, main oceans. In the midst of the land masses is the North Atlantic-Arctic, which is better called the *Midland Ocean*. The other ocean is mainly on the other half of the globe, though it occupies more than half of the earth's surface. It is what poets have called the *Outer Ocean*, and for man it is the empty half of the world. (See Map pp. 196-7.)

##### (b) *At the Focus of Routes*

Look at a map of Europe for our position in relation to that region. In Europe there is a remarkable convergence of natural routeways towards the area between the mouths of the Rhine and the Thames. To the North Sea and the English Channel come the most important of the great rivers of West

Europe. The chief rivers across Europe, the Danube and Rhine, give valley ways from the Near East directly towards the area, which is now focused on London. The Baltic Sea brings the traffic from northern Europe to the same focal area.

On its seaward side the same area is the chief terminus of ocean routes. So here is the chief focus of land and water ways on the earth. And when airways are open after the war it will be also the chief focus of airways, because its position in the midst of the land hemisphere means that it is the area from which all the lands of the earth can be reached by shorter journeys than from any other.

This central position of Britain among the lands of the world is one of great advantage in respect to all peaceful intercourse and trade. It is also one of special danger and responsibility in war. Any power which wishes to rule the world must first conquer Britain.

### 3. Our Expansion Abroad

Before the modern age Britain was not one State. England and Scotland were separate, and often at war. For five centuries after the Norman Conquest the chief aim of the Kings of England had been to gain dominion on the mainland. The Hundred Years' War, which arose from their last attempt to conquer France, ended only a generation before Columbus. It was followed by the Wars of the Roses in England, in which the feudal nobility was almost exterminated and during which Ireland was practically lost to the kingdom.

#### (i) Unity : End of Continental Entanglements

Then came the Tudor period, the first century of the modern age, in which that Welsh dynasty (a) united England and Wales (1526), (b) intermarried with the Scottish Royal Family to such effect that the wars with Scotland ceased and the Scottish king became heir to the English Crown, (c) lost the last of the mainland possessions (Calais 1558), (d) abandoned the attempts at continental conquest, and (e) turned their attention towards overseas expansion. During this period also came the Reformation, which spread to the whole of Great Britain and so helped the union of English, Welsh and Scots. But Ireland remained Catholic, so that the subsequent wars there were wars of religion as well as of consolidation, and have left bitterness to the present day.

The change of religion, and still more the overseas adventures, of the English brought them into conflict with the Catholic and Imperial power of Spain, and made England a chief obstacle to the attempt by Philip II to conquer Europe and all the New World. His attempt was foiled by the defeat of the Armada in 1588 : and England was started on her overseas expansion.

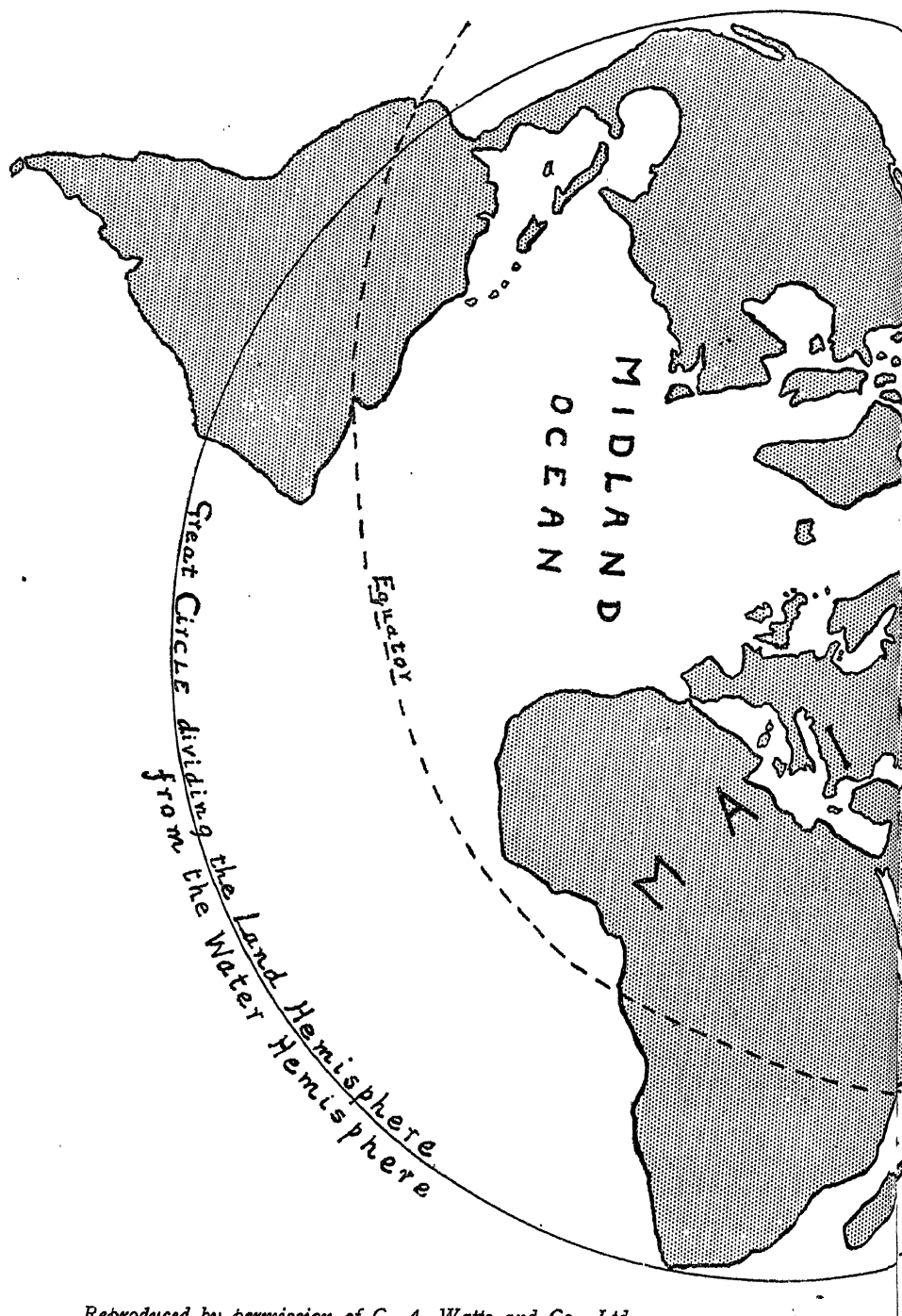
So the period which saw the geographical revolution in the world position of Britain also saw the political consolidation which enabled her to take advantage of the possibilities of her new position, the disappearance of the continental entanglements which had kept England tied to France for 500 years, and the diversion of her ambitions from the continent to lands beyond the ocean.

#### (ii) The Three Periods of Expansion

Britain is still close to Europe, too near to be indifferent to European affairs. But since the discovery of America her position as a group of islands between Europe



## BRITAIN: CENTRE OF



# THE LAND HEMISPHERE

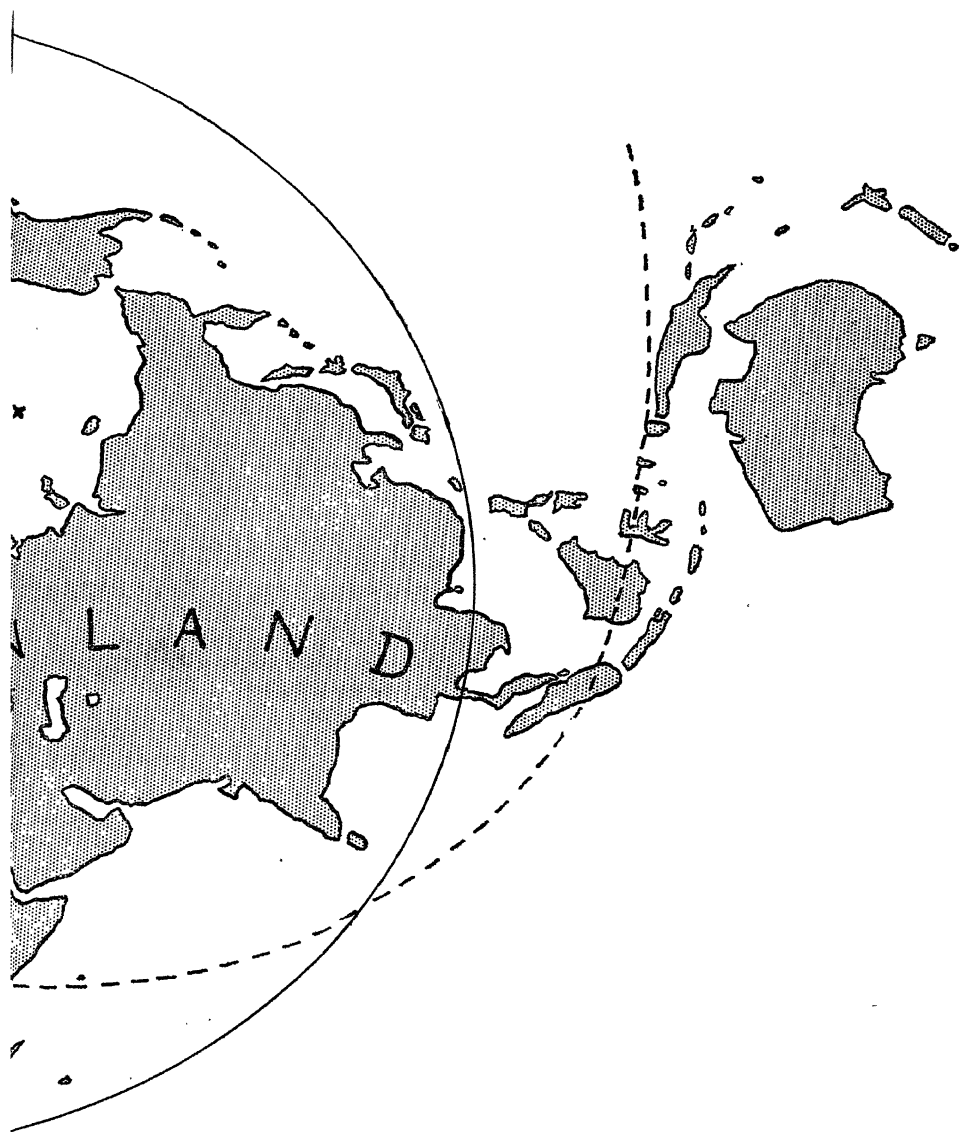


FIGURE 6

and the New World has been of growing importance ; and Britain is no longer wholly European. It has been well said by a continental statesman that " the New World begins at the Strait of Dover."

(a) In the New World Britain was one of the first to attempt colonisation, and some of the first colonies in the temperate lands of America were established by the English—Virginia in 1607 and New England in 1620. Among all the European States who contended for the New World, Britain was the island power, free from fear of attack by land and so able to concentrate on seapower. The early French Empire in India was cut off from its roots in France by the Royal Navy. So it was the English who gathered up the fragments of the disintegrating Mogul Empire into a greater Indian Empire.

(b) The loss of the first British Empire at the American War of Independence shifted attention to the southern hemisphere and led directly to the colonisation of Australia. Elsewhere the expansion continued and Britain became the centre of a world empire as well as the leading industrial Power, and so a chief world Power. This supremacy was most marked during the 19th century in which Britain was the richest and most powerful State. The British fleet was supreme, and unchallenged from 1805 to 1898. That was the century of the *Pax Britannica*, the century of comparative peace between the great wars of the Spanish and French attempts at world conquest in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, and the German attempts in this 20th century. That peace rested on the power of Britain. Now that there are at least four such great industrial Powers—the British Commonwealth, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Germany—there is no possibility of one Power alone maintaining peace.

(c) The second half of the 19th century saw the third period of expansion overseas by the European Powers. It was marked by the "Scramble for Africa." This was set going by the demand for the products of the Hot Belt (e.g. rubber) which came with the technical development of electricity and the internal combustion engine. Here again the early start of Britain, backed by her seapower, gave her the largest share of the new "colonies" and the British Empire came to include the richest parts of inter-tropical Africa.

Now all the habitable land of the earth is occupied. Any further territorial expansion means war. But there is still room to explore and use the resources of the world for the benefit of the peoples of the world.

## Chapter III.

## WHAT WE ARE

### 1. The Question of National Character

We, the peoples of Great Britain, are many things. We may say that we are a highly industrialised people, crowded densely on to parts of a small island. Again, we are of varied origins, and have been accustomed to travel and contact with other peoples from the beginning of our history. So we are generally tolerant of our own and other people's peculiarities, a tolerance which helps to make life more comfortable for all of us. Or we may note that we have made a great literature, a great history, a great empire and a great democratic system. Our people include many of the greatest of the men who have made modern science and many leaders of modern thought.



But in all that record can we see a *national* character, expressing itself in what we do and think and feel in some calculable way and distinguishing us collectively from other nations?

### (i) Can You Distinguish between Nations?

Statements about national character are always open to question, for human nature is much the same in all human beings. The outstanding character which distinguishes man from other animals is that he is far more educable. He is capable of learning from experience and from his fellow men to an extent which no other animal approaches. And this capacity does not depend on his nationality or his race.

Yet it has been very commonly assumed that there are such things as national characters. Can you distinguish readily between an Englishman and a Welshman? If you can, then how do you do it? Can a Londoner distinguish between a North Country Englishman and a Lowland Scot? What are their distinctive national qualities?

Ask yourself how you distinguish between men of different nations when there is no barrier of different languages and no distinction of colour or dress to force the difference on your notice. The presence in this country of soldiers of many of our allies gives you opportunities to test this.

### (ii) Are Other Distinctions More Important?

In mediæval Europe the most important questions concerning a civilised man were: (a) Is he Christian or Jew or Muslim? (b) Is he noble or priest or burgher or peasant? As a very minor question you might ask what land he came from. Nations, as we know them now, had hardly come into existence.

These last four, the classes of an agricultural civilisation, dominated the world, including Britain, as long as that civilisation was dominant. They are still important, but are they either necessary or useful divisions in a civilisation based on scientific knowledge and mechanical power?

Only with the decay of the mediæval unity of Christendom did nationalism arise—at first in England, who hammered it into her neighbours. It has spread widely in the past few centuries—a short time in human history. But is it a good thing?

## 2. An Industrialised People

Our island is the most highly industrialised country of the world. Witness our crowded urban areas and mining villages, and our neglected countryside.

### (i) Decline of Agriculture

We have a smaller proportion of our workers engaged in agriculture than has any other country; and before the war we produced a smaller proportion of our food than any other country. Thus we were dependent on imports for about half our food supply.\* Also, in peacetime we had no large reserve stocks of food. In 1939 a completely effective blockade of these islands would have starved us out.

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\* *Note.*—The exact figures are difficult to ascertain because: (a) Records were kept both in values as received at the port and in quantities landed, but these are not easily related to food value. How many pounds of potatoes equal a gallon of milk? (b) The records of home-grown food were never complete.

So you can find estimates varying from extremes of 30 to 70 per cent. as the proportion for which we depended on imports.

## (ii) Density of Population

This great industrial development has also made ours one of the most densely-peopled countries. In England alone there is more than one person per acre. For Great Britain it is reckoned that there are about 440 persons to each square mile,

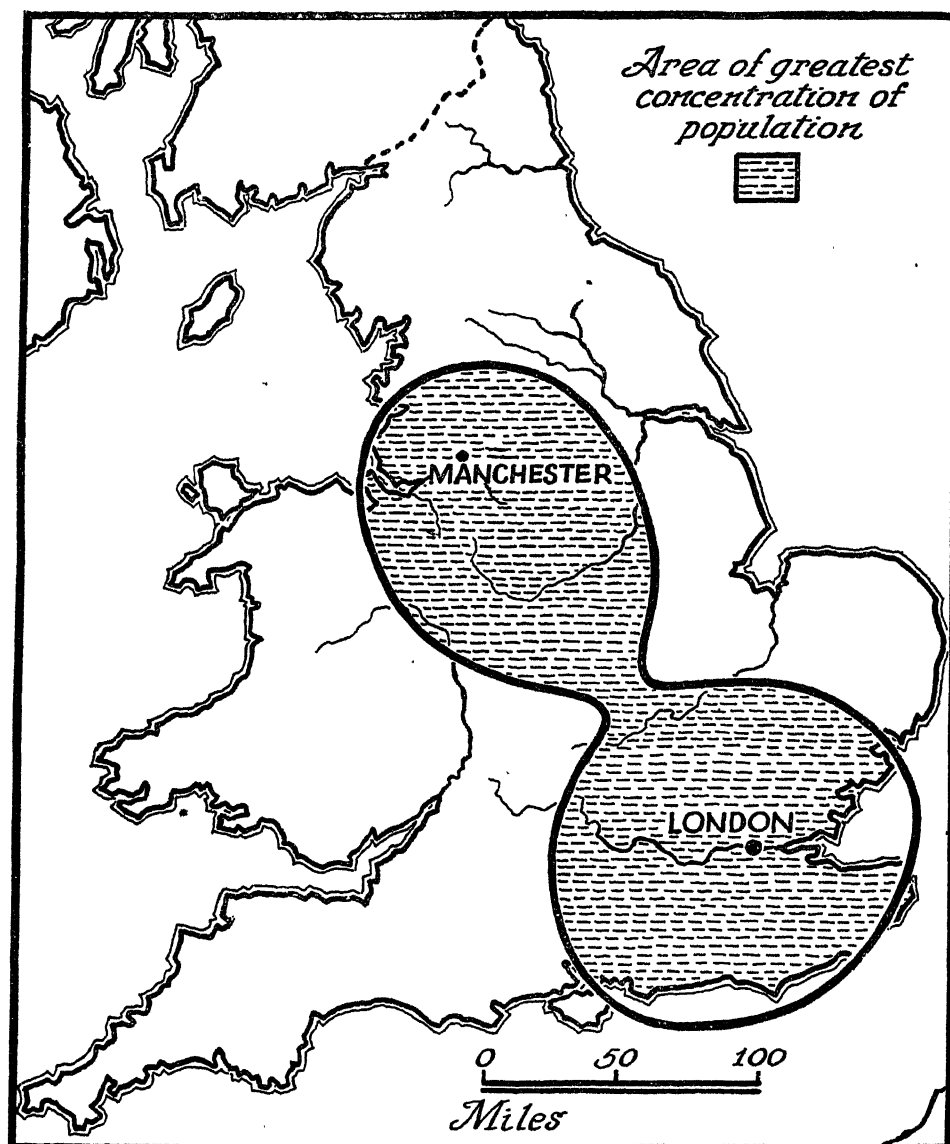


FIGURE 7

*Note.*—The area shaded on this map occupies about a sixth part of the total area of Great Britain and contains about 27 million of its inhabitants, i.e. nearly 58 per cent. of the total. Its density of population is over 1,500 persons per square mile.

It is the British half of the great European area of population concentration—the other half is in Belgium, North France and the Rhineland.

There are similar areas in (a) Eastern U.S.A., focused on New York, and (b) in China, by the lower Yangtze. These are the main population foci of the world.

a higher density than in Germany or Italy. The world average is about 40 per square mile, and there are very few countries which reach 400.

But in Britain, as in every country, the population is spread very unevenly. The great urban and industrial areas have more than 1,000, in some cases 3,000 persons, per square mile, while in the highlands there are empty areas. Our rural population is spread over the countryside at densities of from 50 to 200, with the larger area near the lower figure.

Such concentration of industrialised populations is quite general, for practically all industries need to group their workers in large numbers. Here we are in the land where it began and is most fully developed, and we may well note how it came about.

### **3. Industrial Revolution : First Period**

The first stage of the Industrial Revolution was set going by two revolutionary discoveries: first, the discovery and effective application of a new source of mechanical power—the steam engine; and secondly, the discovery of a practicable method of smelting iron with coal as the fuel, and so of making iron in larger quantities and masses.

#### **(i) Steam Engine**

It is probable that the steam engine had been discovered two or three times before, but then in places and at times when men had no immediate use for a primitive, and therefore not very efficient, engine which could only push a piston. But in our rain-soaked land mining had, by the beginning of the 18th century, reached a stage at which the accumulations of water interfered with working. The water had to be pumped out. Here was a job for the primitive steam engine. So its use was worth while and it got going. Our first steam engines were pumping engines, and their development in the next two hundred years was strongly affected by the conditions in which they were born and cradled.

#### **(ii) Smelting by Coal**

By the time of Queen Elizabeth the use of wood for charcoal to smelt iron was destroying the forests of England. The dangers of a shortage of wood led to legal restrictions on charcoal burning, and to the search for an alternative fuel. But it was 200 years before an effective method of smelting iron ore with coal fuel was worked out.

Thus the two fundamental discoveries of the Industrial Revolution were made in England.

### **4. Industrial Revolution : Present Period**

During the first two hundred years of the Industrial Age, the 18th and 19th centuries, the simple reciprocating steam engine was the source of power for the machines of industry and transport. Some writers speak of this as the "paleotechnic" period, meaning roughly the phase based on the older inventions and methods. This is now passing into the "neotechnic" period, based on new inventions and methods, and the names help us to recognise the change.

#### **(i) New Inventions**

About fifty years ago there began the series of "neotechnic" inventions which have made changes almost as great as those which began the Industrial Age.

The most prominent of these is probably the *internal combustion engine*. They also include: (a) *the effective application of electricity* as a means of transmitting mechanical power; (b) *the bicycle*, which revolutionised short-range transport; (c) *the automobile*, which has been even more of a revolutionist; (d) *the turbine*, which has altered the conditions of power development both from steam engines and from falling water; (e) *the light-weight engine*, which has made flying possible; (f) the systematic research into *alloys of metals*, which has by now given us several hundreds of new metals and made it impossible for any industrial country to be self-sufficient; (g) the similar development of entirely new substances, some of which we call *the plastics*; (h) *radio*.

## (ii) Results of these Inventions

Consider some of the direct results which follow from these inventions:—

### (a) *Distribution of Population*

The bicycle for individuals, and the motor-car and bus for large numbers have removed the need to live within easy walking distance of the workplace, and so started the move towards the loosening out of our towns. This has been aided by other means of transport. It has reduced congestion in the central areas of some large towns, and has led to the suburban sprawl which is devastating the countryside.

### (b) *Location of Industry*

Electrical transmission has removed the need for every power-driven machine to be close to its engine. So it has altered the layout of our factories, enabled us to keep them on the ground floor and make them light and airy (except in the blackout). Aided by improved transport, it also removes the need for factories to be near the coalfields and so makes it possible to alter the location of a considerable proportion of our manufacturing industry, and the population engaged in it.

### (c) *New Industries*

The new metals and other substances have already given rise to important new industries and new, but vital, relations to some other parts of the world. For nickel, needed for nickel steels, we are dependent on Canada, and so on.

These are merely examples of a few effects of the new discoveries, obtained by systematic research, which have made more, and more fundamental, changes in the bases of civilised human society during the last fifty years than were made in the preceding 200 years, or in the 2000 years before that. We live in a different world from that of our grandfathers of the 19th century, and one which is changing still.

## 5. Effects on our Social Structure

What are some of the marked changes undergone by the structure of British society since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution? Before that we were agricultural and rural people. The ruling class was a land-owning aristocracy and squirearchy, except for the merchants of the City of London. And the country was self-supporting in all the essentials of its economic life.

### (i) *Growth of Two New Classes*

Industrialisation developed two new classes less closely connected with the land—industrial employers and employees—and these rapidly grew in numbers and importance.

The class of prosperous industrialists and, at a later stage, of financiers became more wealthy and powerful than the older aristocracy, but, in spite of political conflicts, that aristocracy has survived. It has absorbed the leaders of industry and finance, and considerably altered its own character and composition in the process. By doing so it has itself become more flexible, and has maintained the continuity of our social and political system through many changes.

The other class is that of the industrial workers—manual, clerical and technical—in many occupations and at different levels of skill. This is what is often called the proletariat. It is now the most numerous class: only about a fifteenth of our workers are now engaged in agriculture. The industrial workers are mostly townsfolk, and to-day four-fifths of the population of Great Britain are town dwellers.

### (ii) But No Rigid Separation of Classes

The various classes of our population are not rigidly separated. They are distinguished by differences of wealth, of occupations, of habits and traditions and of manners of speech, but none of these forms rigid distinctions. There is a constant passage of individuals from one class to another. There are no such rigid class barriers as in pre-revolution France, or as those between the castes of India.

So we may say that the British social structure is that of a highly industrialised people, with many social classes which are neither very clearly defined nor rigidly separated. So far it has succeeded in adapting itself to the many changes of the modern age without any violent revolution. In doing so it has maintained a real continuity in our traditions and our national life, and avoided the creation of lasting rifts in the community.

## 6. Future Problems and Possibilities

The rate of change in the technical bases of our civilisation—in its powers of production, of distribution, and of destruction—has increased enormously within the present generation. How then can we control and direct these changes for our benefit?

### (i) War and Peace

In 1899–1902 the Boer republics held up the armies of Britain for nearly three years. In 1939 the German mechanised forces overwhelmed Poland in three weeks. That is a measure of the changes in military and political power made by the technical revolution of the past fifty years. It has put an end to any hope of the separate independence and security of any State, large or small, and it compels us to think in terms of world organisation. If a modern great war is necessarily a world war, as it is, then only a world peace can be a lasting peace.

### (ii) Distribution of Industry

The early stages of the Industrial Age came to Britain before the development of communications—canals, good roads, and railways—to which it gave rise. Thus our early factories had to be near the coal mines on which they depended for steam power or fuel. They were often built in groups, so that each one could share in the advantages of nearness to the coal and the transport facilities that were available, or were being built up. Thus their owners were better placed for obtaining their materials, and for disposing of their products in larger markets.

Now, as we have noted already, developments in the transmission of electrical power and improvements in transport give greater freedom for the distribution of industry and population.

### (iii) Conditions of Living

The early standards of housing of the workers were no higher than those of the factory buildings. Also the working day was long, often twelve hours, and the worker had to walk to and fro in his scanty leisure. So the houses were small and cheap and crowded close together within easy walking distance from the factories.

There arose, in consequence, the crowded industrial towns on the coalfields of Britain, and the equally crowded seaport towns which served the industrial trade. Liverpool and Hull grew with Manchester and Leeds. Thus we have had a legacy of badly planned towns and slum areas. We were engaged in tackling these problems before the war and to that task we shall have to return.

### (iv) Education

At the beginning of the Industrial Age practically none of the working classes could read or write, though the skilled workers had had the effective education of a long apprenticeship.

The increasing use of the new machines increased the demand for workers competent to manage the machines, and, in this and other ways, led to a need to educate the workers. But from its beginnings this work was based on a variety of different motives. Some workers were able to appreciate the value of education and strove to get it for themselves and their children. Many people were moved by philanthropic and religious motives and the first widespread schools for the poor were Sunday Schools.

In 1870 the State began to provide schools and that national system of education has continued to expand and improve. Now it faces further questions raised by the new technical developments. What is to be the relation of education to industry? What share is the national system of education to take in training workers in the special skills needed for the technical operation or management of industry? If the new technical developments make possible greater leisure for us, should education provide more training for the use of that leisure?

## Chapter IV.

## WHITHER?

### 1. Population Trends\*

Changes are going on rapidly. Where are they taking us?

Already we have considered some of the changes due to new discoveries and technics and noted some of the present trends of population. Now we look at these trends in more detail and their implications, which are of quite fundamental

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\* Since this booklet was written, the Government has shown the serious view it takes of the prospect of a declining and ageing population by starting a comprehensive Population Inquiry. This takes the form of a Royal Commission on Population (appointed March 1944) and three Scientific Committees. The Royal Commission is asked—

“To examine the facts relating to the present population trends in Great Britain; to investigate the causes of those trends and to consider their probable consequences; to consider what measures, if any, should be taken in the national interest to influence the future trend of population; and to make recommendations.”

The Scientific Committees—Statistics, Biology and Medicine, and Economics—will conduct the scientific investigations needed by the Royal Commission.

The Scientific Committees consist of experts in their several fields. The Royal Commission, apart from the Chairman (the Lord Chancellor) and the three Chairmen of the Scientific Committees, who are experts, consists of a cross-section of the intelligent citizens of the country—a sort of special jury.

importance to us. Each of them is complex, and can only be very briefly noted in the time we have. But we can begin to think about them, under two main headings :

- (i) Changes in the rate of growth of our population.
- (ii) Changes in the distribution of our population.

## 2. Composition of the Population

During the 200 years of the "paleotechnic" steam age the population of Great Britain increased from about 7 millions to 37 millions. At the last census in 1931, the total for the United Kingdom was over 46 millions—over 37 millions in England,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions in Wales, nearly 5 millions in Scotland, and about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions in Northern Ireland.

### (i) Decrease in Birth-Rate

This rapid increase was the result of the maintenance of a high birth-rate together with a great reduction of the death-rate. But after about 1890 the birth-rate began to diminish. It fell steadily till 1914, slumped in 1915, rose a little in 1919 and 1920, and then dropped till 1933. Since then it has oscillated at a low level of between 14 and 17 per thousand per year. This is not quite enough to maintain the present numbers.

The factors which influence the birth-rate are many and complicated and many of them are private. It is a subject which lends itself to sensationalism. But it should be stated that we have no knowledge sufficient to enable us to make any long-term forecasts. It seems certain, however, that there will be some decrease of the population of Britain within the next twenty years, unless there is an immigration large enough to balance the natural decline.

### (ii) Increase in Length of Life

Parallel with this decrease in the number of births there has been an increase in the length of life. This is best measured by the average age at death. In Britain, apart from deaths due to war, this is now a little over sixty years, more than double the figure when our registration of deaths began a little over a hundred years ago.

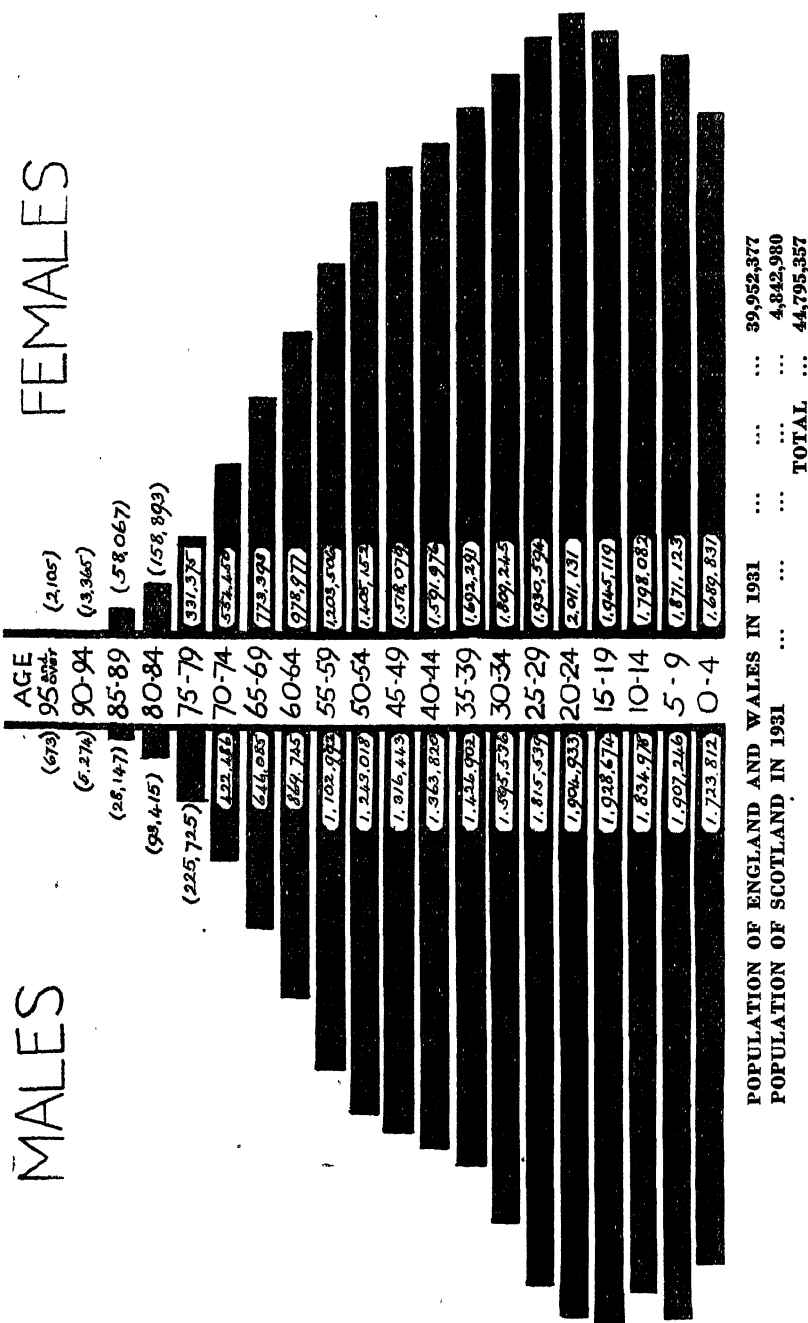
### (iii) Losses in the Last War

A fact which should be kept in mind in all studies of recent birth rates is that we lost in 1914–18 nearly a million men between the ages of 18 and 40, killed or disabled. Since then their age-groups in our population have been short by that number of potential husbands and fathers. Hence the women who might have been their wives and the mothers of their children, have remained childless spinsters. Discussions of the fertility rates of the last thirty years and forecasts based on them which fail to allow for this gap in our population are thereby vitiated. This applies to many of the sensational statements about a declining fertility and a decreasing population.

### (iv) Smaller Working Population

Among the facts which are known, from direct registrations, is that recent changes in births have caused changes in the relative numbers in different age groups. At present there are too few children to maintain our numbers in the coming generation. There are fewer people under twenty than from twenty-one to forty. So the numbers in the age groups from twenty-one to forty will decrease

TABLE OF POPULATION FOR ENGLAND, WALES AND SCOTLAND : BASED ON 1931 CENSUS



In the figure for Scotland are included 160 persons whose ages were not stated and who are therefore not included in the table.

FIGURE 8



in the next twenty years, and those are the most important working years of life. The numbers and proportion of the people over sixty are increasing. In recent years they have been about 5 per cent. of the total. Twenty years hence they may well be over 12 per cent.

Accordingly, the numbers of those needing old age pensions are increasing, while the numbers of those of working age on whose work the whole population is dependent are decreasing. Emigration on any considerable scale would increase the difficulties of those who remained, for it would still further reduce the numbers of those of working age.

#### (v) Can We Maintain our Standard of Living ?

In future, our industry may have to provide more bath-chairs, but fewer perambulators. Can we look forward to sufficient improvements in technics to enable us to maintain our standards of living under these conditions ?

The increase in the productivity of labour, fully equipped with and able to use the machines which can now be made, is probably sufficient to maintain and even to raise the standards of living in spite of these changes in the population. But this can only be done if our economic and social organisation for the production and distribution of the required goods is also adequate to the task. Our economic depressions of 1926-39 were more directly due to failures in distribution than to failures in production.

We need an economic system such that a smaller number of workers can produce and distribute a greater quantity of goods and services. The technical advances of the present age have made this possible. It is for us to make it actual—not by a revolution of destruction, which can only destroy, but by a constructive development which will use our work for the benefit of the whole community, present and future.

### 3. Distribution of Population

The second major change in our population is in its distribution about the country.

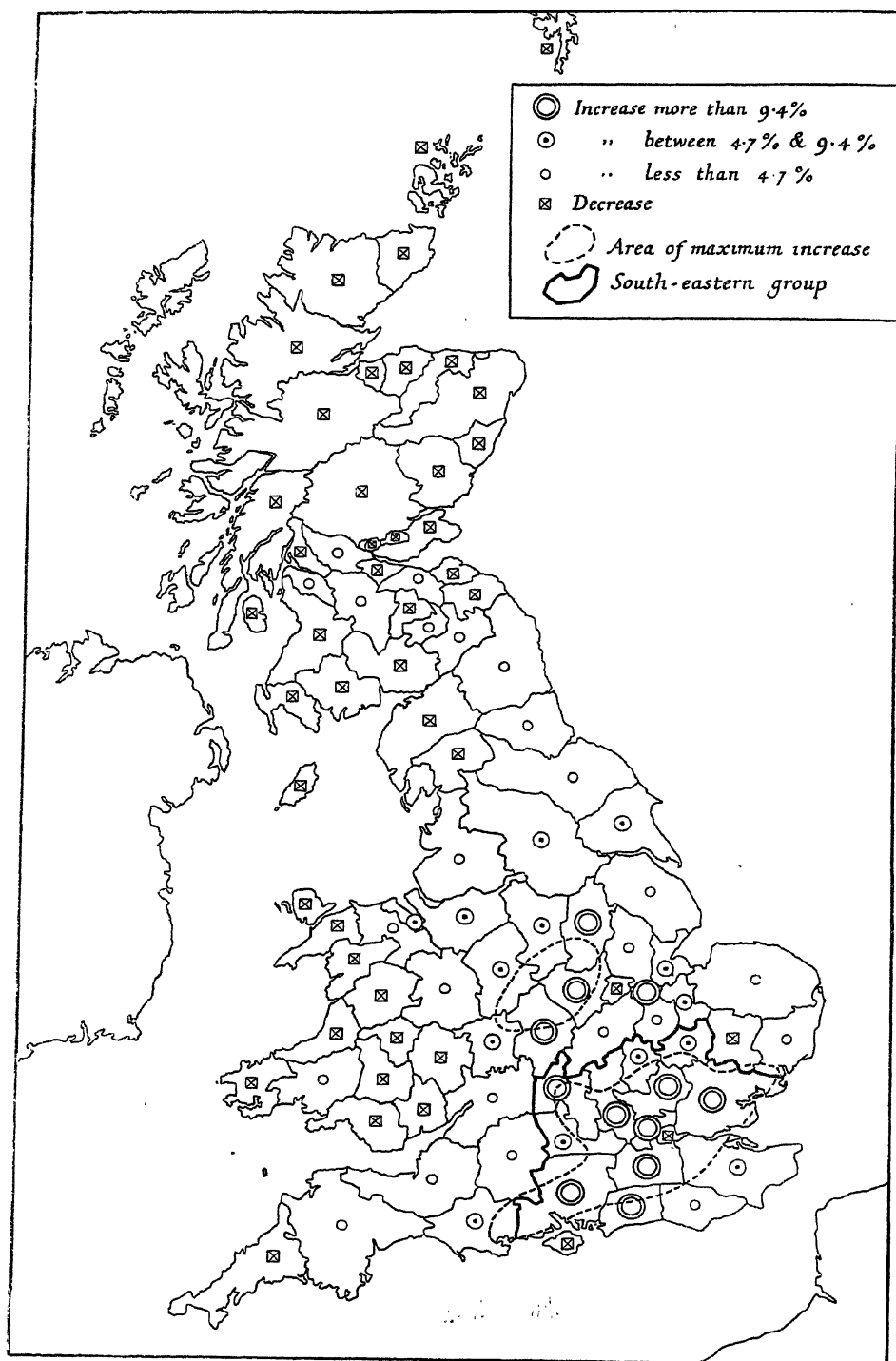
#### (i) Trend towards the Towns

From the beginning of the Industrial Revolution we have become more and more an urban people. In Great Britain between the last two censuses of 1921 and 1931, there was an actual decrease of the population in every county of the highlands, in Scotland, Wales and England alike. There were also decreases in Cornwall, Rutland, East Suffolk and the Isles of Wight and Man and Anglesey, none of which contains a large town. There were only two areas with a substantial increase: in and round Greater London, which absorbed more than half the total increase, and in the Midland industrial areas.

This shift has now reached a stage at which Greater London contains more than a fifth of the population of Great Britain. Another fifth is in the six other very large conurbations.\* Less than a fifth live in the rural districts. The rest are in small and medium towns.

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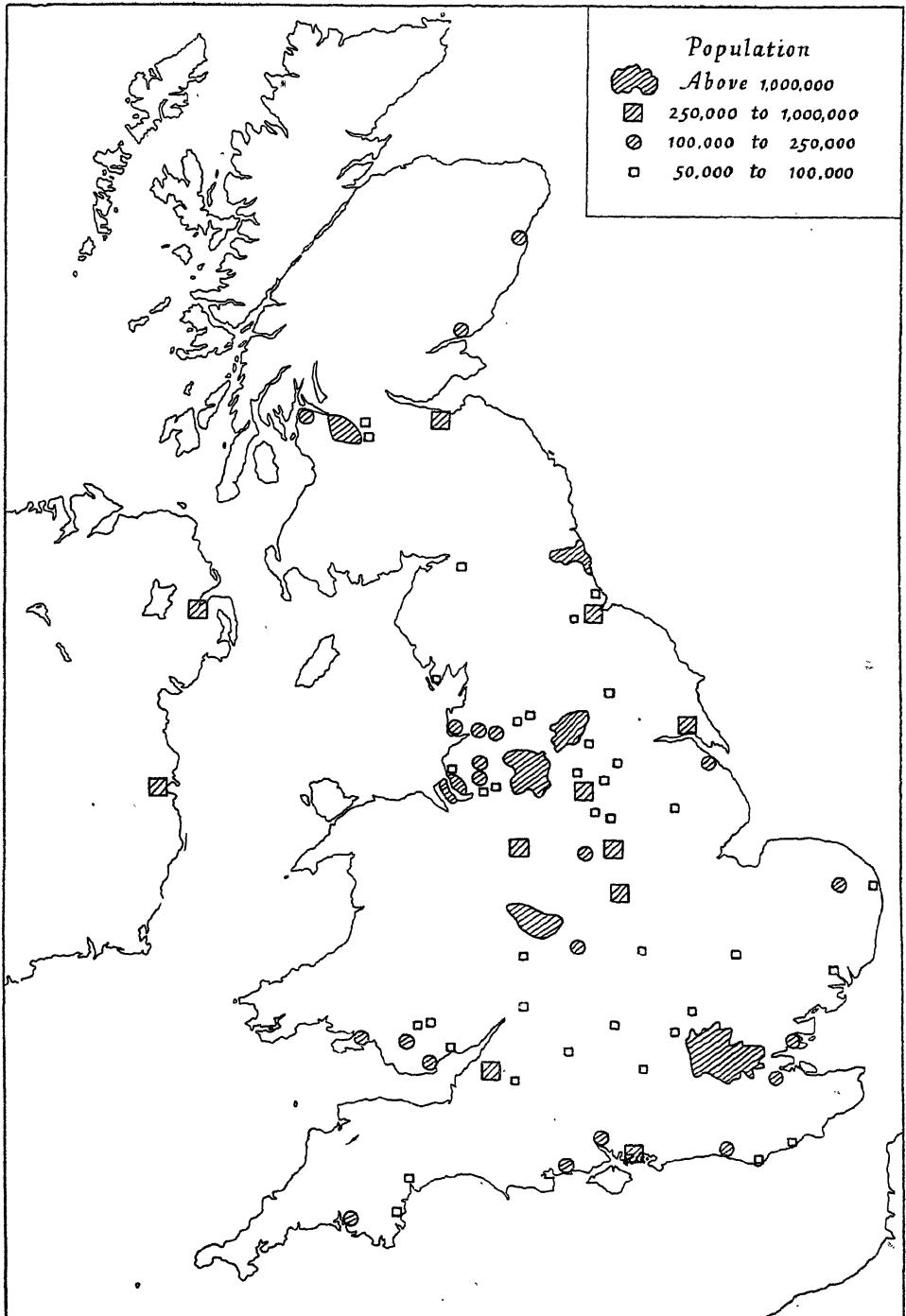
\* Conurbation is used here in the sense of a continuously urban area: i.e. an area occupied by a continuous series of dwellings, factories, and other buildings, harbour and docks, urban parks and playing fields, etc. The seven largest conurbations are Greater London, Manchester, Birmingham, West Yorkshire, Glasgow, Merseyside and Tyneside.



*Reprinted by permission of the Royal Geographical Society.*

## CHANGES IN COUNTY POPULATION, 1921-31

FIGURE 9



*Reprinted by permission of the Royal Geographical Society.*

## DISTRIBUTION OF CONURBATIONS, 1931

FIGURE 10

### (ii) A World-Wide Trend

If that sort of movement were a feature only of recent history, we should look for some explanation of it in modern conditions. Or if it were happening only in Britain we should seek some local explanation. But every civilisation from ancient Babylon has been marked by this increase in urban populations and at present it is quite world-wide. It is going on from Norway to Argentina, and it is as marked in Australia and the U.S.S.R. as it is here. Wherever modern civilisation has penetrated, its influence is drawing people from the thinly-populated lands into the great cities and the areas of dense population. The trend towards the towns is independent of race or religion or climate.

It seems established that where economic conditions permit and where human beings are free to choose they do prefer to live in large groups.

### (iii) Causes—

Some of the causes of the trend we can note immediately. Thus the developments of science in their application to agriculture have reduced the proportion of workers needed in the food-producing occupations from the three-quarters of the mediæval world to the one-fifth which is now sufficient in those lands where agricultural work is mechanised and dealt with scientifically. Most of the rest of the workers have moved into other, chiefly urban, occupations. In fact most of the occupations which are not forms of land work can be best carried on by fairly large groups of workers and are therefore urban occupations.

Moreover a very large proportion of the amenities of civilised life can only be had in towns where men live near to each other in fairly large communities. Examples of this are a good water supply and drainage, medical and hospital services, good schools, newspapers, theatres and good shops.

### (iv) —And Consequences

Opinions differ as to whether this migration to the towns is a good or bad thing. Some claim that towns above a certain population, for example above 50,000, lose any real community of interest and any satisfying relation to the soil and to nature. Above all they take exception to our present multi-million cities. Others argue that the fault lies not with the cities but with our organising capacity; that we must develop our social abilities for running towns and making them good places to live in, as well as develop our technical abilities for building them.

At any rate, at this stage in our development the questions of town and country planning are raised in all their manifold aspects. What is the best size for a town? What sort of towns do we want? Such questions require our discussion and decision, because when more and more of our people are going to live in towns, it is more and more essential that the towns are fit for people to live in.

SECOND SEQUENCE: REPORT ON THE NATION

B.W.P. 7

## THE RESPONSIBLE CITIZEN

By

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and

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May 1943

### Chapter I.

### SPHERES OF ACTION

#### 1. Positive Freedom

Now that we are coming to discuss the responsibility of the citizen, we are getting right down to the bed-rock of democracy. We all know that democracy means free government. But have we really done enough thinking about freedom itself?

The most usual way of thinking about freedom is to picture it as freedom from something—for example, the "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" which Mr. Roosevelt included in his list of four essential liberties. There are, broadly speaking, no restraints on our freedom to speak our minds, think our thoughts and order our days the way that suits us best. The thing that horrifies us most about the Nazi system is the constant interference with people's lives, the restraints put on them at every turn—compulsory youth organisations, compulsory militarisation of civilian life, compulsory radio listening or, worst of all, the penalties attached to free thought and free speech.

Now all these things are important, because one side of freedom is certainly freedom from restraint. But if we stop here, we have not really reached the most important point about free government. There is a positive side to freedom, and this is what we are going to discuss under the heading of "The Responsible Citizen."

#### 2. The State and the Community

If each one of us thinks for a little about our daily lives, we realise that there is a sharp distinction between the political organisation of our society, which we call the *State*, and all the hundred and one activities, associations and purposes that go together to make up the total *community*.

**(i) State and Community in Britain**

We can perhaps get a clearer picture of that distinction if we take a practical, personal example. Take the case of Jack Jones. If he is a soldier, most of his life at the moment is absorbed by his service to the State. All the same, when he goes home on leave, the State does not give orders about what he should plant out in his back garden, where to get his beer in the evening, or what to say to his neighbours when they drop in for a chat. This is his own world, the world which he arranges and looks after himself.

**(a) Jack Jones: Member of the State**

That example is an extreme one, because most of us do not spend our lives in the army, or indeed in any form of full-time government service. But the distinction is there in time of peace as well. On the one hand Jack Jones pays his rates and taxes, his dog licence and his wireless licence, because the State tells him to. Perhaps he joins a political party, and anyway he votes at General Elections, because he wants to put certain people in control of the State. Perhaps he interests himself in local politics as well, and is on the Town Council. In all these activities, part voluntary, part compulsory, Jack Jones is a political citizen.

**(b) Jack Jones: Member of the Community**

But think of all the other things Jack Jones does. On Sundays he may go to church in the morning and teach Sunday school in the afternoon. He may help to run a boys' club in connection with his parish. He may add the job of being a shop-steward to his daily work, or use up some of his spare time on trade union activities. If he is a doctor or a lawyer, he may take part in his professional association. Perhaps he is a member of the co-operative society and is the chairman of the local committee. Perhaps he is a keen gardener and helps the Parish Council with their allotment scheme. He may be treasurer of the local cricket club or run a literary and debating society. Some evenings he just stays at home and does some carpentering, or reads a book, or perhaps he drops over for a drink at the Crown and Anchor.

Any one of us can make a list of our activities and discover what a very wide range of interests we satisfy on our own initiative, sometimes in association with other people, sometimes by ourselves. In all these "unofficial" activities we are not really part of the State at all. We are part of a wider thing, the community, which is the sum of all the activities, associations and interests of all its citizens.

**(ii) The German State Swallows the Community**

Perhaps this distinction between the State and the community does not seem very important to us. In fact, it is one of the essential points of freedom and one of the pre-conditions of having responsible citizenship at all.

We can get the importance of the distinction clearer if we remember what Hitler has done. In one of his early speeches, Hitler proclaimed his total control of the German citizen. "The Nazi Party," he said, "will begin to organise you at the age of three and it will not let you go until you are in your grave." And that is exactly what has happened. All the things we do in this country by voluntary choice and voluntary organisation are done in Germany through the political control of the State.

Notice just a few examples. Instead of the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Church Lads' Brigade, etc., or the Youth Councils which have recently been formed under

the control of popularly elected Local Authorities, the Germans have their centralised, State-controlled Youth Movement. The trade unions have been abolished and in their place is the compulsory Labour Front, which is of course Government-controlled. All the business and professional organisations have gone the same way—many of them have been kept in form, but in fact they are just part of the machinery of the State. In the educational field, the parents' right to choose their children's schools and give them religious education was wiped out and compulsory Nazi State education substituted.

In Nazi Germany, whether you are voting in elections or simply getting together with your neighbours to plan a market garden, you do it under the immediate control and supervision of the State. In other words, the State has blown itself up to swallow all the things which in a free country are left to the responsible choice of the citizen. This is what we mean by the word "totalitarian," and this is why a totalitarian dictatorship is something completely new.

### (iii) How the Dictator Can Do It

There have been dictators before—free society is a very rare form of society—but the new thing is the power at the disposal of the dictator.

Industry and the growth of big cities have brought people together in crowds where they are easy to get at. Moreover, trains, motor-cars and the aeroplane have destroyed distance. You cannot get away from the government by moving to "distant parts." There aren't any.

Then the radio, the cinema, the Press, cheap books are all new means of propaganda which, if controlled by a single Göbbels, can be a sort of gigantic psychological battering ram. Psychology is teaching governments how to control people by stimulating their emotions and subconscious instincts—a process known to psychologists as "conditioning." Hitler's Nuremberg meetings with their mass ecstasy and mass reactions are designed to "condition" the individual German into forgetting his independence.

Finally the nature of weapons has changed. When the government was armed only with cannon and muskets, people could throw up barricades in the streets and resist with some hope of success. But what about the tank and the bomber plane? The new means of control are simply terrific. If they are once concentrated in the hands of the State, the individual citizen has no chance against them.

### (iv) The Safeguard—Responsible Citizens

Once the totalitarian State is established, no one knows how it can be destroyed. It is vital to prevent its establishment and there is only one way to do that—to make democracy an alive and vital thing. And that means you and me.

We are democracy, we are the people. If we shirk our responsibilities, if we hand over the management of our affairs to other people, if we think that six times a week to the cinema is better than doing a job for our neighbourhood and for our country, then we are *inviting* dictatorship. Dictatorship relies on creating passive citizens. *But passive citizens also create dictatorships.*

## 3. Freedom and Control

The Nazis have shown us what happens when the State swallows up the community. The result is a form of tyranny more terrible than the world has ever known.

But that does not end the matter. There is no hard and fast rule laying down the frontiers between the State and the community. Some points are obvious.

Private citizens cannot provide for the security of their country: the armed forces are the concern of the State. On the other side, religion, opinion, speech are obviously the sphere of the private citizen: the State must only intervene to prevent such things as breaches of the peace, libel or obscenity. In between obvious fixed points like these, people differ on the degree of State intervention—though all agree that there are limits to it.

### (i) How Much Control by the State ?

In a very complex, highly industrial society, where everybody depends on everybody else and decisions taken in a board-room or in a factory's planning division can affect millions of lives, there must obviously be more control than in the days of simple, self-contained villages such as the Middle Ages. Without control, there is dislocation and chaos. All admit this, too. Again, it is a matter of degree. It is safe to say that everybody, Right, Left or Centre in politics, wants some freedom and some control. The point at issue is where we ought to draw the line.

### (ii) Types of Control

We can see this more clearly by taking three different ways of fixing the frontiers between the State, i.e. the Government, with all its machinery for making and carrying out the laws, and the community, i.e. the mass of the people.

- (a) The State exercises control by taking over an institution or a service. The Post Office is an example, the Ordnance Factories or, at the level of local government, water supplies. Does that mean that the State has squeezed out the community? Not necessarily. If the elected representatives of the people keep a vigilant eye on the activities of the government agencies, the community has an efficient check on the doings of the State.

Parliament's Select Committee on National Expenditure, which supervises the spending of public money, is an example of one form of responsible control. A suggested reform of the Commons is that there should be more of these Parliamentary committees, each exercising constant oversight over different parts of the governmental machine—one for health, for example, or the social services, or housing. Other examples of this kind of democratic control are the various committees of the Local Authority—such as the water or gas committee or the watch committee which controls the local police.

- (b) The State can exercise control, not by taking over a concern or service, but by fixing its policy in general terms; for example, by deciding how much an industry shall produce, or by controlling its supplies of raw material or labour. The technique of "target fixing" is widely used in wartime and is one which would increase with any increase in planning. In the aircraft industry, the Government, in conjunction with the Services, determines what type of planes and how many shall be produced while the firms work out their own production plans and continue to control their own affairs.

There, again, the degree of State control depends on the efficiency and public spirit and sense of responsibility of the management and the workers. There is no need to take over efficient firms. But inefficient managements, during this war, have been replaced in the public interest.



- (c) The State can exercise a modified form of control by co-operating, by financial help or simply by expert advice, with voluntary associations. Much of the work done today in Britain for youth or for national fitness is the result of close co-operation between the State and voluntary societies. This type of co-operation is actually a remarkable unique feature of British democracy and, as we shall see, provides great scope for the responsible citizen.

Here, again, the effectiveness of the work depends upon the keenness and sense of responsibility of the voluntary organisations. Where they are doing a good job, there is everything to be said for leaving them in control. They provide great outlets for citizen service and give people a chance to learn self-government in a practical, active form.

### (iii) The Responsible Citizen—or the State

In this discussion it has become clear that the frontiers between the sphere of the State and the sphere of the community are fixed largely by the way in which we act as responsible citizens. *In fact, it is impossible to establish any frontiers at all if there are no responsible citizens.*

The job of keeping society going is so urgent these days, when any breakdown can have world-wide repercussions, that if citizens will not play a part themselves, then somebody must, and that somebody is bound to be an official of some sort. There can be no vacuums in modern society. If the citizen refuses to manage his own affairs, someone else must do it for him. The degree of freedom in the community and the degree to which the State is democratically controlled thus depend on the degree of responsibility among the citizens.

## 4. What Responsible Citizenship Means

There are three meanings behind responsible citizenship. The first is that the citizen, both in the political and the social sphere, acts, not because of terror or pressure, but because he responsibly chooses to do so; secondly, that he has got alternatives between which he can choose; thirdly, that he is called on to take an active part in fulfilling the decisions he has made. Now let us take these points separately.

### (i) The Free Choice

Here we begin to see the importance of the distinction made at the beginning between the State and the community. Let us ask ourselves this question—should we have a free society and responsible citizens if everybody was compelled, under pain of prison, to vote at elections and take an active part in political parties? Does not the fact that it is up to us to be active citizens really constitute part of our freedom?

In a sense, everybody in Germany is politically minded, because they have to vote, they have to wear Party uniforms, they have to join Party associations, they have to come out on political parades, they have to put out their flags for “spontaneous” celebrations. Does that make them responsible citizens? Of course not.

But just because in Britain responsible citizenship is a matter of choice, everybody has to consider very seriously the extent to which he ought to take part in politics—from the minimum of using his voting powers in national and local government with proper interest and study to the maximum of going into Parliament and making politics a full-time job.

### (ii) The Real Alternative

On the matter of real choice, there is a cartoon by Low drawn during one of Hitler's plebiscites. It shows an election platform on which is pinned up the list of candidates, and it reads like this: "Candidate 1—Hitler. Candidate 2—Hitler. Candidate 3—Hitler. Candidate 4—Hitler." In front two depressed Germans are talking to each other and one of them says, "Ach, it looks as though this man Hitler is going to get in." Obviously, there can be no responsible citizenship if there is nothing to be responsible about. You cannot responsibly elect Hitler if he is the only person up for election.

And we need not think that this is only a feature of totalitarian political life. If in a trade union or a co-operative society the members never bother to turn up, never interest themselves in the local leaders or never try to put in the work necessary for them to become leaders themselves, it is quite possible for a clique of people to exercise dictatorial control. Probably most of us can think of examples.

There are, of course, times of crisis, such as war, when it is necessary to close the ranks. But these periods are temporary and phenomenal; they are not the normal conditions of life. In ordinary life there is no real possibility of exercising freedom—that is to say exercising responsible choice—if there are no alternatives from which to choose.

### *The Alternative in Parliamentary Government*

British Parliamentary democracy, which is incidentally the best functioning type of genuinely free government in history, depends vitally on the existence of the Opposition. If a Government knew that however outrageous its actions might be or, alternatively, however inactive it might become, no other body of men could take their place, would they keep up to the mark in trying to find out and carry through the wishes of the people? And even if there were another body of men, how could they effectively oppose or criticise the Government if they had not before them the chance that, if they did well and the Government badly, the people would vote for them at the next election?

There is a tendency today to cry down the vote. It may seem a very little piece of power in itself, yet it is on this fraction that the whole of the rest of the structure of Parliament depends. Responsible choice between alternatives—men or parties or Governments—is the bedrock of free government.

### (iii) Active Participation

Now for the third meaning of responsibility—active participation in carrying out the decision reached. This is probably the most important point of all, and it is one which perhaps we have neglected the most. After all, in this country there is a choice between political and non-political life. We are offered alternative parties, policies and leaders, and we have therefore the conditions of responsible choice. We have, too, the opportunities we need for responsible action, but this is possibly where, in the past, we have fallen down on the job.

### *Is Democracy Weakening?*

Some argue that during the 20th century, in spite of all the achievements and progress, British democracy has not been gaining strength, because people's sense of political partnership has not grown with the growth of their political opportunities. Accordingly they find it easy to prophesy that little by little democracy will disappear. That is the challenge—to transform what is to some extent a passive democracy into an active one.

## 5. Conclusion

In our discussions we are going to try to discover what possibilities for active participation there are in our community. Many of them, of course, are of necessity closed to us now. While we are in uniform any active participation in party politics is ruled out. When we return to civilian life, however, the opportunities will again be fully opened to us—but, since we are a free community, we shall not be compelled to use them. That is a matter for our own moral choice and decision—to make the decision we must search our hearts even before we search our minds. But if we do not use our opportunities, we can be certain that democracy will disappear.

Freedom means hard work, hard thinking, self-discipline and, when necessary, self-sacrifice. Mr. Churchill offered us “blood, toil, tears and sweat” for the winning of the war. We shall need the toil and sweat—perhaps the tears as well—for the task of winning a democratic peace.

## Chapter II.

## FREEDOM FOR ACTION

### 1. The Pillars of Freedom

In the first chapter our conclusion emphasised that being a responsible citizen meant active participation both in running the affairs of the community and in exercising our democratic control of the State. How free are we, then, to undertake this active participation?

We can say immediately that in Britain today there are no obstacles to the citizen's freedom of action, provided he does not break the law or disturb the peace. From time to time, Governments have directly or indirectly tried to limit this freedom, but just at these times we see how vigilant and responsible citizens have fought to get it safeguarded or restored. British history is a chronicle of the resolute determination of such citizens and in it we can see two main sources and safeguards of the freedom they have preserved—the Law and Parliament.

#### (i) The Law

The law of the land guarantees the liberty of the individual citizen. It is based on a certain conception of the citizen not as the slave of the State but as “a free and lawful man.” So the two basic assumptions made by the law are :—

- (a) That unless specific restraints have been placed upon him, the citizen is free to live, move about, speak, meet and join together with his fellow citizens as he pleases ;
- (b) That the citizen is a good, honest and law-abiding man unless it has been specifically proved that he is not.

This is why in all trials in Britain the accused is considered to be innocent until he is proved guilty. And it may not seem very important. It is. In Germany, the merest suspicion, the lightest word of an informer, is enough for a man to be considered guilty. Many of the people in the concentration camps are there not because of any proper charge against them but because there is a suspicion—nothing more—that they are opposed to the Nazi regime.

*Habeas Corpus*

The most important legal safeguard of these two assumptions, that men have the right to be free and that they can be considered guilty only if they have been properly tried, is the writ of *Habeas Corpus*. If someone is detained by the State or by private persons, anyone—friend, sympathiser, solicitor—can get issued a writ of *Habeas Corpus* (meaning: “have the body”).

This directs whoever has the prisoner in custody either to “have the body” before the court for trial within a specified time or to release him. *Habeas Corpus* is one of the reasons why in times of peace there can be no concentration camps in Britain.

This qualification, “in times of peace,” is important. In times of national crisis, like war, it is necessary not only to punish treason but, in the interests of security, to prevent it happening. This is the justification of the Regulation 18B under which, on suspicion alone, people can be detained without trial in this country.

*Independence of the Courts*

It is also worth while pointing out that the fact that our judges and law courts are to a great extent independent of the Government is a great safeguard of our freedom. In Germany, Hitler can say “I am the supreme law-giver” and all the law courts are run by the Nazis. Justice is thus just a matter of the Government’s whim and there is no other body to which one can turn.

In Britain, the independence of the law courts is a constant reminder that we do not believe justice to be dependent on the Government. We believe that the rights of man, or, to quote the American Constitution, the right to “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,” are superior to changing Governments and are in fact the reason why Governments exist. Governments are set up to enable men to enjoy their rights in society. They are legal Governments only so long as they continue to do so.

The basis of democracy is the belief that the State exists for the citizen and not, as Hitler proclaims, the citizen for the State. Having independent law courts to safeguard the rights of the citizen is just one of the ways in which we make sure that the State does not swallow up the citizen as it has done in Germany.

**(ii) Parliament**

Supplementing the safeguard provided by the Law is the tradition of Parliament as the watchdog of liberty—a tradition which goes back far in its history and is still operating.

An obvious example is Parliament’s fight against Charles I. They fought him—this is very significant—in the name of the ancient laws of Britain. They appealed to the law against a king who was trying to set up an absolute government. It needed a Civil War, the Cromwellian dictatorship and the restoration of Charles II to straighten out the issue and to give sovereignty to Parliament, the elected representatives of the people, as well as to restore the supremacy of the Law. The restoration of Law and Parliament as the twin pillars of freedom is the real meaning of the Bill of Rights of 1689.

*Present Watchfulness*

All agree that in a national crisis like the present the Government must have exceptional powers and we have noted Regulation 18B. But because our tradition of personal freedom is so strong, there is always the fear that a Government will be tempted to make use of its powers illegally and use them as an excuse for attacking the liberties of the citizen.

How can this danger be met? Only by the action of responsible citizens. The way in which Parliament has kept a watch on the exercise of Regulation 18B, or the interest in Parliament about refugee internment camps, are two examples of how Parliament reflects the responsible citizenship of ordinary men and women who are on the look-out for any infringement of freedom.

## 2. The Rights Established

Within the general tradition of freedom, protected by the Law and by Parliament, what specific rights have we established that make possible our effective action as citizens?

### (i) Freedom of Worship

As late as 1828 there were limitations on the freedom of worship. Roman Catholics, Non-Conformists and Quakers were not persecuted for their beliefs as they had been in the 17th century. But the Test and Corporation Acts kept Non-Conformists from holding public office and the Penal Laws excluded Roman Catholics from all participation in public life.

Under the pressure of liberal opinion, the Test and Corporation Acts were abolished in 1828. A year later, again as a result of public pressure, this time chiefly in Ireland, the Catholic Emancipation Act, restoring many civil rights to Roman Catholics, was passed. Incidentally, the last disabilities on Roman Catholics, such as prohibition from becoming Lord Chancellor, were repealed as late as 1926.

### (ii) Freedom of Association

This freedom was early guaranteed by law, but at the end of the 18th century, frightened by the French Revolution and anxious to prevent its revolutionary spirit from spreading to the masses in Britain, the Government of the Younger Pitt passed the Combination Acts in 1799. These made trade unions illegal. They were modified 25 years later, thanks to the hard work and unselfish determination of two men, Joseph Hume, a private Member of Parliament, and Francis Place, who was not even in Parliament.

This was a victory for enlightened public opinion. It was strengthened when, in 1834, a group of agricultural labourers from Tolpuddle, near Dorchester, were sentenced and deported for trying to form a union. The popular outcry was great enough to get their sentence reduced and to prevent any new attempts to restore the Combination Acts.

The status of the trade unions was brought into doubt again in 1867, when, this time, the law courts decided against the rights of the unions. More agitation followed, and in 1875 Disraeli passed a new combination Act which made their status clear. Another judicial decision in 1905, the Taff Vale judgment, again weakened their position, and again Parliament supported them with the Trade Disputes Act of 1906.

Again, in 1927, after the General Strike, the Government passed the Trade Dispute Act, which limits some trade union activities. Trade unionists are seeking to repeal this Act by the usual methods—appeal to public opinion and Parliamentary pressure on the Government.

### *Safeguarded by Public Vigilance*

The history of this freedom is particularly worth noting. When Parliament withdrew the guarantee, fixed by law, of free association, popular indignation, organised by a few hard-working citizens, got the right restored by a new Act of

Parliament. Then, when judges gave an interpretation of the new Act which went against the unions, further agitation got the right specifically and clearly guaranteed by Parliament, first in 1875, then in 1906. This process by which abuses can be brought into the open and then removed is the essence of freedom.

What would you do if you were a German demanding the restoration of the right to form a trade union? To whom would you turn? Whose support would you enlist? The answer is: you could turn to nobody. This gives some measure of our effective freedom.

### (iii) The Rights of Public Meeting, of Information and of Speech

All these rights are guaranteed by law, limited only by the veto on meetings and speeches which lead to a breach of the peace, and, in the case of writing and speaking, by the laws against libel and slander. The laws of libel give protection against defamation of character by the written word, the laws of slander against defamation by the spoken word. In wartime, a censorship is imposed for security reasons, and publications can be banned for injuring the war effort.

There have been attacks on these rights. In 1819 the Government, fearful of unrest, passed the Six Acts. One of these, prohibiting drilling, is still in force. It is an obvious safeguard against the growth of semi-military movements like the Nazis. Another, prohibiting large public meetings, lapsed in five years and was not renewed. But another which put a 4d. stamp on all periodical publications was designed to ruin the Radical publications and had the effect of making newspapers too expensive for the poor. It was only after twenty years of steady pressure from the people that in the 50's and 60's these "taxes on knowledge" were repealed.

### (iv) The Right to Vote

For a long time, only a very limited number of citizens could vote for Members of Parliament. The right to vote depended on a wide variety of qualifications, accidentally established by history. In the main these made property the basis of the right to vote.

In 1832, after a long struggle, which had begun back in the 1760's, the franchise was extended to all householders owning a house rated at £10. But the struggle did not end here. Once the principle of the citizen's vote was accepted, it was impossible to limit citizens arbitrarily to £10 householders. The franchise was progressively extended until, after the 1928 Act (which made the voting age for women the same as for men), all men and women over 21 had the vote.

During the same period, voting in local government elections was extended to a wider body of citizens, but it is not yet universal.\* In general, we can vote if we own or occupy any premises or land and this excludes, for example, people in furnished lodgings or the sons and daughters of the house.

#### *Responsible Use of the Vote*

We should, perhaps, notice the reason why some people argued for a property basis for the vote. Some, of course, were simply trying to safeguard selfish vested interests; but there were others who argued that unless people had "a stake in the country" they could not be relied on to vote responsibly. Now we know that people's sense of responsibility by no means depends on the property they own. But can we all honestly say that we have used our political powers responsibly?

The critics of universal suffrage put their finger on the wrong cure for irresponsible citizenship. But they were absolutely right to insist on the need for responsibility.

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\* See the summary of the interim Report by the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform and Redistribution of Seats, pp. 557-8.

### 3. Conclusion

In Britain, we have a very high level of effective freedom. We can worship, speak, meet, co-operate, agitate as we will—provided we keep the wide limits of the law. We have these rights because, time and time again in our history, citizens have been ready to fight for them and prevent the suppression of the rights of man and of civil liberties by the State.

These rights may not be complete. In the 20th century freedom from want and freedom from fear have come to the fore in the fight to remove the disabilities and injustices which clog men's careers and prevent them from leading the life of a "free and lawful man." But our history teaches us that, as in the past, these freedoms will be achieved and the old ones preserved only through the activity of responsible citizens.

As we have said, the great problem facing us today is to get whatever State control we may think necessary to achieve freedom from want at home and whatever international control is necessary to secure the world from war, while we still succeed in retaining the civil liberties without which even economic security is meaningless. Ask a European whether a secret police system, spying, torture, concentration camps are not too high a price to pay for "full employment." The only hope of working out the balance between control and freedom, between planning and initiative, is for active, responsible citizens to be jealous of their rights, eager to extend and complete their freedom and ready to think hard and work hard to make their society a going concern.

## Chapter III.

## INFORMATION FOR ACTION

### 1. The Importance of Public Opinion

If the government is to be based on the will of the people or, in other words, on public opinion, the people must know what they want. They must also be able to pass an intelligent judgment when an issue is presented to them. A passive, ignorant and indifferent electorate cannot be the basis of a sound democracy. It is thus no exaggeration to say that democracy depends on education, and one of our first duties as citizens is to educate ourselves and to understand that education is a process which continues all our life.

#### (i) Our Contribution to Public Opinion ?

Public opinion is just another name for the sum of our own thoughts and wishes. We are all of us engaged day by day in creating public opinion.

#### *A Contribution for Evil*

If we are careless or apathetic or badly informed, the opinions we utter will be wrong opinions and they will go out to poison or distort the general flow of thought. Take the example of anti-Semitism. Hundreds of the tales which get circulated on this question, including the notorious Protocols of the Elders of Zion,\* are plain, mischievous nonsense. Added all together, they can create a wave of

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\* These were first published in 1919 and were alleged to be the minutes of a secret Jewish congress, planning a conspiracy for the overthrow of Christian civilisation.

anti-Semitic feeling which is now the stock-in-trade of the men who wish to destroy democracy. Each time we repeat this kind of gossip, we are really poisoning the source of free society.

### *A Contribution for Good*

If, on the contrary, our opinions are sound and balanced, we are helping to build up our democracy. Take another issue—anti-slavery. It was public opinion in Britain, organised and inspired by the little group of Evangelicals and Quakers gathered round Wilberforce, that managed in 1833 to get slavery abolished in the teeth of the opposition of the slave owners.

All the great reformers of the 19th century—Elizabeth Fry, John Howard, Lord Shaftesbury, Florence Nightingale—relied on public opinion to rally to them, once the evils they were attacking were put before people's minds and consciences. And they were justified in that reliance.

### (ii) How Effective Is Public Opinion ?

We sometimes meet people who are contemptuous of the power of public opinion. They say government is managed by powerful, selfish cliques and nothing gets past them which is opposed to their interests. But is this true? If it is true, and cannot be remedied, then, of course, the whole theory of democracy breaks down. If it is partly true, it has to be remedied. But we do not have to go back to anti-slavery days to know that it is not true. Our own recent history gives us several examples of the successful operation of public opinion.

#### *Some Examples*

The way for *equal votes for women* was paved by the activities of the Suffragettes who forced the issue to people's attention.

*Old age pensions* is another example. Canon Blackley's article in "The Nineteenth Century" advocating old age pensions, appeared in 1878. About 30 years later, old age pensions were introduced.

We can note other, more recent examples, where public opinion has had a more immediate influence. If there is strong feeling in the country, as there was about the "*Means Test*" in 1935, about *Abyssinia* in 1936, about *tube shelters* in 1940, M.P.'s soon hear about it. And Parliament is kept sensitive to the prevailing interests and desires.

Today the *reform of education* is only one of the great number of topics which are up before the bar of public opinion, and it would be very hard indeed to prove that the attitude of the electorate was having no effect on the Government.

### (iii) Requirements for Forming an Opinion

Public opinion is thus an instrument which as democratic citizens we have got to use. But it is an instrument which we have to make for ourselves. We do this first by learning, then by discussing, then by forming our opinion and then, all the time, by revising our opinions if new facts or new convictions compel us to do so. All these steps in the process are vital.

- (a) To form an opinion we need the facts ; so the first step is learning—reading, listening and so on.
- (b) To develop our opinions and get them clear we need contact with other minds ; so, along with learning, we need discussion.



- (c) Then, after a proper time for thought, we have to make up our minds. Otherwise no opinions emerge. But, to avoid being bigoted, we have to admit we may be wrong and be ready honestly to revise our ideas. Democracy depends on giving the other fellow a chance to speak his mind and admitting there may be something in what he says.

#### (iv) Suppression in Germany

This process is vital to democracy, so vital that Hitler has suppressed it completely. There is no freedom for self-education in Germany. You take what the Nazi Party gives you. There is no free discussion of ideas. You accept what the Party leader tells you. There is no making up of your mind. Hitler does that for you. Finally, you are never wrong because you think the same as the Fuhrer, and he is, by definition, always right. In Italy, by the way, the slogan "the Duce is always right" was painted up all over the country on walls and public buildings.

#### (v) Apathy in Britain

In Britain, we know nothing of this suffocating mental black-out. But we have our own black-out, one which we have chosen of our own free wills. As a nation, we have not got a passion to know, to learn more. We shirk serious discussions. We tend to take our opinions on trust. In Germany, public opinion has been stamped out under the dictator's jackboot. Here it is in danger of getting smothered in a great eiderdown of apathy. The first need, therefore, for building up an intelligent public opinion is the desire of the citizen to know and to learn.

## 2. Getting the Information

There is no shortage in Britain of the means of informing ourselves.

#### (i) The Press

There are about 20 morning papers and three evening papers in London alone. All the big towns have one or more papers. For the week-end, as well as the Sunday papers there are dozens of weeklies, either of general interest or technical publications. There are also numbers of monthly magazines and quarterlies.

#### *Fact and Comment*

The daily newspapers provide fact and comment. The fact is mainly provided by the great independent news agencies, Associated Press, United Press or Reuters, and is usually reliable. Reputable papers usually preface doubtful news with the phrase: "It is reported that . . ."

The editorials and special articles usually contain comment. This reflects the policy of those who own the papers or, more exceptionally, the personal views of the editor.

The facts can be used as the basis for forming our own opinion. So can the comment, provided we remember that it has no more validity than anybody else's opinion.

#### *The Political Tendencies of the Press*

The newspapers, weeklies and periodicals may represent different political tendencies, which the discriminating reader can easily recognise, so that he gets to know what to expect from any particular one.

To get a balanced view, why not take a paper with a different political outlook at the week-end and try to do some intelligent comparison between its reactions to the news and those of your daily?

*Reform of the Press—and the Reader*

Lazy newspaper reading is anything but a help to self-education. It can be mere sensationalism. One suggested reform of the Press—the abolition of big headlines and heavy black type—might help here. Some American “tabloid” newspapers are nothing but headlines.

**(ii) The Wireless**

The Nazis have a complete State monopoly over the wireless. The Germans hear what Göbbels wants them to hear. The American wireless is run by big and small commercial companies and pays its way by advertising.

In Britain we have a compromise system. The B.B.C. is a public corporation financed by the State out of the revenue from wireless licences. But it is not a Government Department, and its Governors are neither politicians nor, strictly speaking, civil servants. It does not dictate a policy but brings people of different opinions to the microphone so that the listener can hear all sides of the question.

*Use or Misuse of the Wireless*

The wireless like the Press can be used or misused as a means of self-education. We can keep the jazz blaring and switch off the serious talks. It is up to us to pick our programme well and listen with concentration.

Moreover, it may help us in this job of assimilating knowledge and turning it into opinion if we join one of the B.B.C.'s listening groups. The B.B.C. gives full instructions on the forming of such a group.

**(iii) Books**

Except for the ban on obscene literature and the possibility of being sued for libel, there is no restriction on book writing, buying, borrowing or reading in this country. Books are our chief source of solid information, and it is no coincidence that all dictatorships have a strict censorship of books and often begin their regime with a ceremonial burning of books. In recent years a very large number of worthwhile books have appeared in good, well-printed and very cheap editions. This brings most literature well within the range of the average pocket, but books—almost any books—can be secured free.

*The Public Library*

The public library in your town will usually get you any book you want. Incidentally, you can also read the daily Press there. The librarians are usually delighted when a student comes along in search of non-fictional literature, and every help is given. If the book is obscure or rare the librarian will have all the public libraries in the country searched for it. This is a service the public does not use half enough.

**3. Self-Education**

Reading, listening, discussing are all vital to the creation of enlightened public opinion. But are they enough? It is easy to skim through newspapers and books and half-listen to the news bulletins. We can get away with a lot of misinformation in our talks with others. But anyone who wants seriously to influence public opinion has got to know and digest the facts, and *this means hard, solid self-education.*

Sir Richard Livingstone summed the matter up when he said: “To cease education at 14 is as unnatural as to die at 14.”

Changes by Parliament would, of course, be necessary to extend compulsory education. Here we are concerned with the steps the citizen himself can take to carry on his education.

**(i) Facilities by Local Education Authorities**

All Local Education Authorities provide facilities for continued education through Evening Institutes and so on. Application at the local Education Office is sufficient to get a full report of the openings available, the courses which can be taken, the fees to be paid and the possibilities in the way of self-advancement which the different lines of study provide.

The London County Council can be taken as an example. Students can register at any of the L.C.C. Evening Institutes. The fees are nominal, varying from 7/6 to 30/- for a full session, i.e. the whole educational year, and entitle the student to three classes a week. Almost any subject under the sun can be studied from the classics to rabbit breeding—"everything except lion taming," as *Punch* once said.

**(ii) Voluntary Organisations**

A wide range of voluntary organisations supplement the opportunities offered by the Local Authorities—illustrating the point we have already made of how the State and the community can go hand-in-hand.

*The Universities : Extra-Mural Studies*

Most universities have what are called Boards of Extra-Mural Studies. They provide two main types of courses, extension lectures of a popular type for large audiences and intensive educational work organised in conjunction with the Boards by the W.E.A. for Three-Year Tutorial Classes, and One-Year University Sessional Courses. In 1939, 1,007 Tutorial and Sessional Courses were organised, attended by 17,068 students. The Board of Education makes grants to cover three-quarters of the cost of these courses, provided written work is done by the students.

The initiative in getting a course for a town or village depends upon the interest and activity of the local people. One way of organising the course is to found a University Extension Association or Society, a voluntary body to which people belong as members and whose committee does all the work in connection with the local courses. Only those who have done adult education work can know how much the success of these societies depends upon a keen and energetic secretary and committee.

The fact that such a body can qualify for a State grant is another instance of co-operation between the State and voluntary bodies.

*The Workers' Educational Association and Affiliated Bodies*

The W.E.A., with which the trade union, co-operative and working-men's club movements all work closely, was founded in 1903 to give the keen worker a chance to carry on his education after school.

About 1,000 students were helped the first year. Here are the figures for 1939 : 62,839 registered students attended 3,219 W.E.A. classes ; over 22,000 students attended 94 week-end and 319 one-day Schools ; 1,687 students attended 14 Summer Schools lasting from two to eight weeks ; 80 students attended W.E.A. Summer Schools on the continent.

The subjects vary, but are all non-vocational. About 70 per cent. of the courses are in sociological subjects, 22 per cent. in literature and drama, and the rest scientific and miscellaneous subjects. The trade union movement, working through the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee, which is a joint committee of

the W.E.A. and the trade unions, provides about £9,000 a year for scholarships to Summer Schools, Week-end Schools and for Ruskin College Correspondence Courses, for those who cannot attend classes.

### *Residential Colleges*

There are many disadvantages to night classes—exhaustion at the end of a long day, the likelihood of interruption through illness or overtime and so on. It may tend to become “education by teaspoonfuls” when people really want a full dose.

To meet this need, a number of residential colleges—for example, Ruskin College at Oxford, the Co-operative College and the like—have been set up by public-spirited citizens. There were seven before the war, most of them in receipt of public grants. Here students can concentrate on their studies, form new friendships, learn to live in a community—all vital factors in creating intelligent and co-operative citizenship.

So far we have not fully developed this kind of education in Britain. At the beginning of the war, only about 300 students were in residence; and the following table shows our comparative lack of emphasis on the residential college:—

				<i>Population</i>	<i>Residential Colleges</i>
Great Britain	...	...	...	47,000,000	7
Norway	...	...	...	3,000,000	32
Finland	...	...	...	3,500,000	53
Denmark	...	...	...	3,500,000	60
Sweden	...	...	...	6,000,000	59

There is some difference of opinion over the extent to which the Scandinavian “residential education” could be adapted to meet British conditions. The Scandinavian Folk High Schools have never thrived among the industrial population, though they have made a great contribution to the education of the Scandinavian peasantry and to agriculture. Obviously, however, Britain needs more residential colleges. The question is whether they should be open to any adult who wishes to undertake a course or whether they should be reserved for students who have already distinguished themselves in non-residential adult education.

But whatever decision is taken, it remains true that we shall not get more residential colleges, unless we create a real demand for them. Our shortage of colleges traces directly back to the apathy of the people—*our apathy*.

## 4. Conclusion

This record proves that, generally speaking, the facilities are there. The water has been brought to the horse. But the animal does not seem very thirsty.

In 1938, only about one million people, who had left school, were taking advantage of the facilities of all kinds for their education, offered by the L.E.A.s or in receipt of grants. Is this responsible democracy?

In the war, interest in adult education through discussion groups, Army courses and so forth has greatly increased and the authorities are prepared to spend much more on it after the war. But they will not do so if the demand is not sustained.

In a free society, people cannot be forced to prefer learning to Dorothy Lamour. But if they always choose the easy way out, the canned music, canned drama, tabloid newspapers and penny dreadfuls, are they likely to resist when some dictator imposes complete control of all forms of thinking and speaking—in some ways the easiest way out of all?

**Chapter IV.****ACTION FOR FREEDOM****1. What Can We Do ?**

Here we come down to the fundamental factor in a free society—the willingness of the citizen to govern himself, whether by exercising control of the State or by sharing activity in the free and voluntary activities and organisations which make up the community. What openings are there in British democracy for responsible action and self-government ?

**Action Deferred**

At present, while we are in the Army, we give up, of course, many of the opportunities for action. Thus soldiers are forbidden to take an active part in furthering the political purposes of any political organisation or party. The reasons for such limitations are obvious—the need for maintaining the traditional neutrality of the Army in politics and its single-minded devotion to the task of defeating the national enemy.

But the opportunities will await us in all their fulness on our return to civilian life. They cannot be exhausted in one short section, but here are the main categories.

**2. Activity in the Political Field**

The vote is one of the decisive instruments of democracy. Protected by such safeguards as the secret ballot and the penalties attached to bribery and corruption, it is the means whereby every citizen, however busy or however uneducated or however poor, can play his part in deciding his own future. To shirk voting is to shirk citizenship. If a dictator were to deprive us of the vote, how could we complain if we had persistently failed beforehand to make any use of it ?

**(i) Political Parties**

In voting each one of us is only one 30-millionth part of the national electorate. Nobody by himself can be effective, with such a tiny proportion of power. Hence the need for political parties. On the basis of an agreed policy, tradition and outlook, and often in support of some notable statesman, the parties bring together the individual members in nation-wide organisations strong enough to exercise decisive power.

There are three main parties in Britain—the Conservative, the Liberal and the Labour Parties. The voter can take one first step up the ladder of political responsibility by joining one of these—or other parties.

What kind of opportunity for action do they offer ? Let us take a typical example of party organisation—the three parties resemble each other closely in basic structure—and discover from it the amount of work party members can do if they really put their backs into it.

**(ii) Opportunities within a Party**

We will take a case of a typical constituency, where the central working body or Executive Committee of the party will represent all the members and all the affiliated groups. The responsibilities of this Executive Committee include :—

**(a) *The Groundwork for Elections***

Is the average of membership fees good enough ? Are *finances* adequate ? Is revenue expanding ? If not, why not ?

Every party subdivides downwards through the constituency. Individual members join or form *local committees*, and one way of working up to a national position in the party is to begin by hard and thorough work in your immediate vicinity. This is one of the ways in which fresh blood flows into the party and new talent is spotted. Besides local committees, there are usually youth committees and women's committees or sections which also recruit new talent and give a wide number of citizens the chance of acquiring executive experience.

The Executive Committee has constantly to review the state of membership, analyse the reasons for its increase or fall, think out *new methods of recruitment*, arrange for house-to-house canvasses and so forth.

Meetings and the sale and distribution of literature require a lot of hard work. Someone has to have the particulars about halls, hoardings and open-air sites. Someone has to know about layout, design and printing costs. Someone has to have a sense of timing for the issue of new literature. Individual canvassing can also be fitted into the *general pattern of publicity*.

Another important part of the work of the constituency parties is to provide all sorts of *social activities* in which the members get to know each other and form a real community of interests and friendship. All this is the work of voluntary helpers.

### (b) *The Election*

The party activities mentioned so far carry on all the time. They are the groundwork for the next election, the means whereby the parties work to increase their voting strength by propagating their ideas. They depend for their success upon the sustained work and interest of their members. Any party can die anywhere if the local secretary is not on his or her toes or if the executive committee cannot count on enough local support.

The election itself requires dozens more part-time helpers. Electoral lists, normally published in July of each year, have to be checked—some voters neglect even to see that their names appear. Special canvasses have to be made, a vast correspondence dealt with and increased publicity arranged. And all these depend largely on voluntary help.

### (c) *Local Influence on National Politics*

It is important to remember that the constituency parties are only rungs in the ladder which goes right up to the national committee of the party. Delegates from local parties attend the annual conferences and their resolutions and the reports they bring on, say, the state of opinion in their own areas, help to determine the policy of the party as a whole. Thus energetic local committees can have a direct influence on national politics and those who prove themselves to be able workers in their own localities have a chance of making their mark in the highest councils of the party.

### (iii) *Local Government*

Many governmental activities which concern the citizen most closely are controlled by the Local Authorities: the County, County Borough and Municipal Borough Councils, Urban and Rural District Councils and Parish Councils in England; the Town, County and Burgh Councils in Scotland. Health, Education, Housing, Power and Water—these are a few of the essential things provided by local government.

We might expect to find the citizen anxious to get control of a machine that affects so many of his interests. But no. Although we can vote in local government elections, provided in general that we own or occupy any premises or land, although

we can be elected and can sit on all manner of useful committees, local government arouses little interest. Indeed there is often not even enough interest for the electorate to come out and vote. Only about 50 per cent. turn out on an average—Birmingham has never got more than 36·5 per cent. It is the same old story. All the opportunities are there. People just do not bother to use them.

### *Local Government Elections*

Roughly speaking, only householders and their wives or husbands have the vote. Some people suggest that there would be more interest if everybody could vote.\* Possibly, but the householders have not so far made a very good showing.

The political parties usually organise the campaign for local government elections and much of the same kind of hard work is needed for these elections as for Parliamentary elections—bill distributors, speakers, canvassers, envelope lickers, all have to play their part. Incidentally, for people who want to move on to national political work, some campaigns in the local field are excellent training.

### *The Councillor*

Councillors are elected for three years, elections usually occurring every year and Councillors retiring in rotation.

Unlike Members of Parliament, Councillors receive no money for their services, although their expenses are covered. This tends to exclude people whose working hours do not allow them to attend Council meetings and gives a definite advantage to professional and leisured people, shopkeepers, trade union officials and others, who are, relatively speaking, masters of their own time. Some reformers suggest that Councillors should be paid and perhaps seconded from their work.

### *Parish Councils*

Co-operation between the Local Authorities and voluntary societies is widespread, but is especially evident with the Parish Council. Although it is the smallest unit in local government, it has wide powers in matters closely affecting the villager's everyday life. It can acquire and lay out playing fields and holiday camps, build gymnasiums and swimming baths, provide village halls and reading rooms, baths and washhouses, make arrangements for allotments and keep pathways in repair.

Nation-wide voluntary organisations exist to supplement nearly all the work of the Parish Councils—the various Rural Community Councils and Women's Institutes, the National Playing Fields Association, the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society. This mixing up of statutory and voluntary bodies has even gone so far that the local Parish Councils, which are agencies of the State, are affiliated to the Central Parish Councils Committee, which is a voluntary organisation—a very good example of the flexibility and variety of Britain's public institutions.

## **3. Activity in the Economic Field**

Here we come, first, to the work done by people on their own initiative and under their own control to protect their interests as employers, workers or professional men. In Britain we have hundreds of employers' federations, traders' associations, workers' unions, professional bodies. All these groups are self-governing. They make their own rules and elect their own officers. They co-operate with the State—especially in time of war—but they are independent of it. And each of them offers scope for our voluntary effort.

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\* See the summary of the interim Report by the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform and Redistribution of Seats on pp. 557-8.

### (i) The Trade Unions

In this country in 1941 there were 983 trade unions. Many of them were small, local bodies. More than half of the total trade union membership was concentrated into 14 unions, which each had more than 100,000 members. Four-fifths of the membership was in 46 unions with a membership of 25,000 or over. Year by year, the number of Unions becomes fewer through amalgamations. Increasingly, also, unions which operate within the same industry come together to form federations. In 1941, there were 56 federations, including those of the builders, the miners, the iron and steel workers and the printers.

#### *Types of Union*

Unions or federations covering a whole industry are a development away from the old idea of organisation by craft. The "industrial" form of union is a "vertical" association, taking in all the workers in an industry whatever their trade or grade of skill. The craft union is a "horizontal" association, covering only the skilled workmen of a single trade, so that it may have branches in many industries and may not cover all the workers of any single industry. The tradition of the craft union is still strong, but new techniques of factory production, where the semi-skilled machinist is replacing the highly skilled hand-craftsman, favour the "industrial" form.

Another type of union which has made great strides is the "general" union. One of these, the Transport and General Workers' Union, is among the biggest of all, with a million and a quarter members.

#### *Trade Unions and the War*

In the fourth year of the war, trade union membership in Britain is nearing the nine million mark. A big proportion of this membership is now in the Forces. Meanwhile the trade unions are making a very real contribution to the war effort, and when the war is over their tasks will certainly not become fewer. They will have the immediate task of helping the men who come back from the Forces to resume their places in industry. Already they are advising the Government on how this can be planned fairly and efficiently.

### (ii) The Joint Production Committee

The war has brought into being something entirely new in trade union history—the joint production committee. It is worth dwelling on the J.P.C.s, because they point the way to an idea of industrial citizenship which may have a great future.

These committees are now working in a great many factories, in collieries and on large building sites. In the munitions industry, early in 1943, there were 2,000 committees covering 2,000,000 workers. Their purpose is to enable the ordinary worker to put forward suggestions to the management on how to improve production. At the same time they provide a channel through which management can explain to the workers a new method of working or the reason for a hold-up which may be due to causes beyond their control.

Each joint production committee consists of equal numbers representing workers and management. It is usually small and compact, and the maximum number is ten on each side.

If the two sides of the committee can't agree, the matter can be referred to the Regional Boards, on which are represented all the Government Departments concerned with production, as well as the trade unions and employers' organisations. Ultimately the matter can go right up to the Cabinet Minister concerned.



The novel feature of the joint production committees is that they meet to discuss production. Traditionally this has been entirely an affair for the management. Too often the worker on his side has felt no interest in raising production. It is a great step forward when both sides are interested in the volume and quality of work achieved, and are prepared to co-operate so as to get the highest efficiency.

### (iii) Shop Stewards and Union Officers

A trade unionist may be elected shop steward by the other union members in his shop. They will come to him with all sorts of queries and grievances. If he is a good shop steward, he will probably in nine cases out of ten settle the matter with a few tactful words. In the tenth case he may refer a worker to the foreman for satisfaction. If the foreman cannot deal with the query, it may go to the higher management. If the difficult case is one of many, the shop stewards may take it up as a works issue. Thus there is a democratic channel between workers and management at the job level.

Again, a trade unionist may be elected as one of the officers of his union branch. Here he will gain experience in conducting the business of his union on democratic lines. If he is keen, and becomes absorbed in his T.U. activities, he may have the chance to get appointed a whole-time organiser or district secretary. He may rise further to a national position. He may enter Parliament as many trade unionists have done. There are great openings here for ability in politics and administration.

### *The Volunteer Spirit*

Here, in the trade unions, is a great field for citizenship. We sometimes forget how much voluntary and self-sacrificing effort goes into the trade union movement. The typical shop steward or branch secretary, on top of his day's work at the bench or down the pit, uses his spare time and energy on what, at its best, is constructive social work. There are tens of thousands of such people who do this sort of work and who do it unpaid or for a small honorary fee. The salaries of the whole-time officials are often less than the earnings of the craftsmen they represent.

Money is not the inducement which makes them active trade unionists. The drive and enthusiasm come from the volunteer spirit.

### (iv) Professional Associations

A number of professions are organised in self-governing associations, whose principal task is to set standards of professional etiquette and behaviour, protect the interests of members in relation to the State and other bodies, keep a watch on all legislation affecting the professions and organise such publicity as the professions may need. Here again a great deal of unpaid, self-sacrificing work is done by private citizens.

The importance of some of these self-governing bodies can be illustrated by two examples, the General Medical Council and the Law Society. Doctors and lawyers must, in the interests of society, be of good repute. The confidence of the public depends upon it. These two bodies use their powers to ensure that the standards are maintained. They control—by examination—the entrance to their respective professions. Doctors and lawyers remain on their lists only on good behaviour. Breaches of professional etiquette make them liable to the professions' ultimate sanction—to strike the guilty members off the register.

The maintenance, by voluntary action, of high standards of professional behaviour is obviously an essential part of democratic self-government. It is a principle which

could be extended throughout the sphere of professional and trade associations and trade unions.

#### (v) The Consumer Co-operative Movement

A word must be said here about the work of the co-operative movement. The basic idea, as most of us know, is the selling of retail goods at market prices with the dividends distributed to the members in proportion to their purchases. But this provision for the consumer interest is only part of the story. The essential feature of the co-operative movement is that it is under the direct control of the consumers. The movement has grown tremendously, sales increasing twenty times between 1860 and 1900 and twenty times again between 1900 and 1939. Today the movement in Britain has 7,500,000 members, that is to say, one member in every second household in the country. Its funds amount to £300 million.

##### *Control by the Consumers*

The local Co-operative Society is a retail agency and any member can go to its meeting and elect or be elected to the Board, which controls the retail selling.

But how to obtain the goods to be retailed? By a quite natural development the principle of co-operation has been extended to cover this. The local retail Boards send delegates to a central meeting which in turn elects members to the Board of the Co-operative Wholesale Society. And this wholesale department buys goods off the manufacturers and in some cases actually manufactures the goods.

Thus the Board of the local Co-op. can have a real control on both retail and wholesale policy—for example, in deciding the price and quality of goods and advising on the lines of goods desired by the members.

But, as usual with all our voluntary democratic institutions, the people's performance does not match the opportunities offered to them. Only 2 per cent. of the total members ever bother to attend the Co-operative meetings.

In spite of this failure, the Co-op. has managed to build up a great movement, which is concerned not only with the buying and selling of goods, but also with educational work (through the W.E.A.).

## 4. Activity in the Social Field

Pick up any handbook of voluntary social services and you will be simply amazed at the scope and the variety of the work done.

#### (i) Significance of these Services

This range of activity is, of course, very healthy. The natural reaction of intelligent, responsible people when they see something in their community that needs doing is to go out, find other people who feel as strongly as they do and form an association to do the job for themselves. The multiplicity of our voluntary services is a sign that our society is still full of the pioneering spirit, "mute, inglorious Miltons" and "village Hampdens." It takes drive and energy to go out and start something new, and the number of services started in Britain is a sign of how strongly people feel about things and how willing they are to work for them.

There are examples of this every year. To give only a recent example, the work of relieving refugee Jews who came to Britain was taken up by voluntary bodies representing religious and humanitarian interests: conscience, pity and a sense of duty compelled people to make the cause of these outcasts their own.

**(ii) Some Examples**

It is impossible to survey the whole field. We have mentioned some of them already in connection with Parish Councils. Here are the names of a few more—they will give some idea of the range covered by voluntary associations :—

- The National Trust—(which now holds over 100,000 acres of property for the recreation and enjoyment of the public).
- The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association.
- The National League for Health, Maternity and Child Welfare.
- The Alexandra Day Fund for the Voluntary Hospitals.
- The Queen's Institute of District Nursing.
- St. John's Ambulance Association.
- The British Red Cross Society
- The Central Council for the Care of Cripples.
- The People's League of Health.
- The National Institute of Industrial Psychology.
- Dr. Barnardo's Homes.
- The Save the Children Fund.
- The British Legion.
- The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene.
- The Women's Voluntary Services.
- The Howard League for Penal Reform.

This list can be multiplied indefinitely.

**(iii) Voluntary Services and the State**

There are certain points to notice about the working of these voluntary societies. In most cases they work in close co-operation with the public authorities, are extensively used by them and form an admirable citizens' auxiliary to the work of the State. In return, the State assists them by the giving of grants, the provision of salaries for paid secretaries, etc.

Sometimes a voluntary service grows into a public service, as the need which a few private citizens first came together to remedy is recognised to be the responsibility of the whole community ; for example, some firms already pay their workers family allowances, but this will not be necessary if the community as a whole, through the State, provides family allowances.

*Compromise between State and Voluntary Service*

The line between what it is desirable for the State to take over and what should be left to voluntary initiative cannot be rigidly established. It depends, as with everything else, on the efficiency and sense of responsibility of the voluntary workers. In this country, it is very usual to end up with a compromise, the State assisting with financial help, and the volunteers carrying on with their own work. Here are two examples :—

(a) The *Citizens' Advice Bureaux* are one of the most useful of the recently set up voluntary services. The work is indicated by the name—to give advice on any question any citizen may care to come and ask. The number of Bureaux has grown rapidly ; it stands now at about 1,074. In 1942 they dealt with 2 million questions.

They are supplied largely out of voluntary funds and voluntary workers staff the offices. But the Ministry of Health has assisted the work by many grants in aid of the various Bureaux—over £22,000 was distributed in 1942.

The Ministry also helps the National Council of Social Service to maintain a headquarters and a regional advisory service for the Bureaux. Here we have an excellent example of the State encouraging, but not swallowing, useful voluntary effort.

(b) *Community centres* are essentially services which must be run by the people themselves. The aim of a centre is to provide a headquarters for community activities where all the citizens in the locality can come together and carry on their various interests—recreation, education and social welfare work of all kinds. A community centre which was not run by the citizens themselves would be a soulless thing. In a good many places, community associations are being formed to control the running of the community centres, and in these associations individual citizens have an excellent chance to work responsibly for their fellow citizens.

Here again, the Government has stepped in to encourage the voluntary work. Under the Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937, the Local Authorities were empowered to make grants for the building of community centres and also to pay part of the salary where paid secretaries are needed. In this way, the self-government which is vital for the functioning of a successful centre is maintained, while the State plays its part in making the venture financially possible.

These are only two examples, but they are typical of the general shape of our voluntary services.

#### (iv) **The National Council of Social Service**

All the voluntary associations in the country have their central body in the National Council of Social Service, which helps to co-ordinate their work and provides many organisations with the machinery for consultation: for example, it maintains a standing Conference of National Juvenile Organisations, a Women's Group on Public Welfare and a number of other agencies. In all these, voluntary help is badly needed now and after the war.

## **5. Activity in the Religious Field**

One of the purposes of organised religion is to encourage men to find practical ways of loving their neighbours, and it is therefore hardly surprising to find that an immense variety of voluntary service has been undertaken by people for religious reasons and that the Churches provide many openings for the active service of the community.

### (i) **Power of the Religious Motive**

Many of the reforms or public services we take for granted now were started by people on the basis of a strong religious conviction. We owe the abolition of slavery largely to the zeal of Wilberforce and a group of Evangelicals. The Quakers took a lead in pressing for prison reform and today are one of the most active communities in giving service to society all over the world. We need only think of their Ambulance Units of this war or the work of food relief undertaken after the last. The beginning of factory reform is associated with a great Christian, Lord Shaftesbury; the development of the nursing services with another intensely religious character, Florence Nightingale. Religious convictions always should be, and generally are, a great stimulus to self-sacrifice and to devoted voluntary service undertaken with a real sense of responsibility.

Incidentally, by keeping men aware of the needs of their neighbours, religious bodies can often discover new possibilities of service, new abuses to be remedied, new needs to be met. It is not an exaggeration to say that democracy can only flourish when men keep their consciences open to the needs and sufferings of their fellow citizens. Without this attitude, the best organised community could become an oppressive, inhuman tyranny.

We tend to forget that no amount of insurance or allowances or State grants can make up for the lack of neighbourliness. Charity is not only a matter of giving money. In its proper form, it should be a giving of self—of one's energy, one's time, one's personal convenience. Even if every sick person in the country were cared for at public expense, would that free us of the responsibility of visiting and comforting sick people? The more the *personal* side of service can be stressed, the less likely we are to build up an efficient but inhuman society.

## (ii) Opportunities for Service

It is impossible to give a complete picture of the many opportunities for service which present themselves and here we can mention only a few typical examples. But if you consulted your padre about it, he could add almost indefinitely to the list—and could indicate what you might do to help.

### *The Local Church and Congregation*

No church, chapel or parish can be run unless people are willing to take their share in the responsibility of keeping the buildings and equipment in order and using them for the service of the congregation itself and the community around. This is not just the parson's job, and a live Christian congregation can render service in a great number of ways.

Only some of the activities which may be run by the local churches can be listed. For children there are the Sunday Schools, play hours, Cubs and Brownies, summer camps, etc.; for youth there are the Scouts, Guides, Boys' Brigade and youth clubs of many kinds. The work of all Christian youth clubs is co-ordinated in the Youth Department of the British Council of Churches and forms an important part of the national Youth Service scheme. For women, fellowships may be organised, classes on child care and guidance, sewing meetings for charitable purposes, thrift and sick clubs. And many congregations have run clubs for the unemployed, shelter clubs, canteens for the Services, etc. Almost all this work is staffed and financed by the voluntary effort and giving of the congregations.

### *Religious Societies for Social Work*

There is a great profusion of religious societies which, though they are not controlled directly by any Church, were founded by the inspiration of Christian service, are staffed by Christian men and women, and are very largely supported by Christian giving. They are, so to speak, the forward posts of the Churches in the world and through them the Christian impetus to serve is expressed.

A few examples from a long list will give an indication of the range and variety:—The British and Foreign Bible Society, which publishes and distributes the Bible in 745 languages; the Catholic Social Guild; the Christian Council for Refugees; the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.; Missions to Seamen; the Shaftesbury Society for Help to Cripples; the Waifs and Strays Society; Catholic Crusade of Rescue; the Salvation Army, providing hostels, homes and canteens especially for the

destitute; Toc H groups and branches for personal social service of all kinds; the Society of Friends (Quakers) Service Council; Settlements of all kinds in our great cities. And many Christian bodies are already preparing for relief work in Europe after the war by training suitable and willing people.

### (iii) **The Work of the Churches Overseas**

This is too frequently out of sight and out of mind yet the Churches began to send missionaries to the Far East and the Pacific Islands more than 150 years ago. In Africa, India and China the missionary societies, acting for the Churches at home, were the pioneers in education and in medicine and social work. Now modern missions include the support and staffing, sometimes with Government grants, of colleges, schools, hospitals, health centres, agricultural and industrial training centres and many other varieties of work. At the home end, their upkeep and staffing are done by missionary societies with branches in nearly every local church.

These missionary activities have built up congregations of Christians overseas which carry forward the spirit of Christian service, but the low standard of living which prevails, the need for far greater numbers of trained native personnel and the immensity of the task still leave a great field for Christian service from this land. The coming into being during this war of the World Council of Churches, of which the Churches of Africa and the East are members, together with the older Churches of Europe and America, gives impetus to the already growing development of the sense of a world Church.

## **SECOND SEQUENCE: REPORT ON THE NATION**

**B.W.P. 8**

# **THE CITIZEN AT WORK**

**June 1943**

## **Chapter I.**

## **WORKING FOR A LIVING**

### **1. The Problem of Bread and Butter**

In order to keep alive man needs certain essential things, of which food, clothing and shelter are the chief. The study of how he supplies himself with these necessities, and with the amenities and luxuries which he wants for a higher standard of life, is called economics. Shorn of its mysteries and of the jargon which so frequently surrounds it, economics is quite simply our bread and butter problem: the word "bread" being used to signify the necessities, and "butter" the luxuries of life. It is obviously a problem that vitally affects every one of us, from the point of view of both the individual and the community.

### **2. How Do We Produce?**

The first stage in settling the problem is the production of the bread and butter. It is, of course, only the first stage, for even if the production is satisfactory there remains the question of distribution—of making sure that the bread and butter are made available at the right place at the right time. An abundance of goods anywhere is little use to a man too poor or too remote to get them. But first things first—we begin with the ways in which we produce the things we need and want.

#### **(i) Early Times**

Except in certain favoured localities, such as the Pacific Islands, man has in the past had to strive hard in order to supply himself. In the dawn of history the struggle with Nature was no doubt a grim one. With nothing but his bare hands, supplemented with rough tools of stone, wood or bone, and working individually or in small groups such as the family, man got his living by hazard and the sweat of his brow.

Gradually, however, the balance tipped in man's favour. Using his best weapon, his brain, he improved his tools and processes; he made new discoveries and inventions; and he learnt to co-operate with his fellow men in larger communities for economic purposes. So we come to the comparatively advanced stage of the nations of the ancient world, with their division of labour, their buying and selling, their great buildings, and their developed means of communication by land and sea.

From then onward for several thousand years economic progress was comparatively slow. To take one instance only, the rate of travel in Western Europe at the time of Cæsar was about the same as that in the time of Napoleon at the end of the 18th century. Perhaps the main reason for this slow progress was that labour remained mainly hand labour, with the addition of primitive machines and the energy that could be derived from the horse, the ox and other beasts of burden.

## (ii) Industrial Revolution

Then, quite suddenly as history goes, a great change took place whose beginnings can be traced as early as the middle of the 18th century. It is called the Industrial Revolution, and it is still going on.

### *New Motive-Powers*

First of all new and better machines were invented, but they were still driven by the power of hand or beast or water. What was wanted next was a new motive-power, and in 1765 James Watt's steam engine gave a practical solution by showing how steam could be imprisoned and used to drive an engine. From that beginning other and greater motive-powers have been discovered and applied—gas, oil and electricity.

### *Specialisation of Labour*

Along with these improvements in machines, means of transport and so on, went a great increase in the specialisation of labour which has itself added further to our productive capacity.

We can easily imagine the waste and limitations of a system wherein each individual tried to produce everything he needed, and consumed just his own product—the waste of time in changing over from one job to another, the inability to concentrate on any one job long enough to acquire skill in it, and so on. So from the earliest times man has sought by division of labour to avoid this waste.

Even in the practically self-contained village, in which most people lived until 200 years ago, there was specialisation—the cobbler stuck to his last, keeping what boots he needed for his own use and exchanging the rest for food from the farmer, or woodwork from the carpenter, or cloth from the weaver.

### *Present Advance in Specialisation*

In the present machine age that specialisation of labour has advanced much further. Now the ordinary worker is not responsible for any finished product at all, but for some small subdivision of the whole productive process, and so the efficiency of labour is greatly increased. It is clear, for example, that the flow of rifles to the front is much greater when there is a highly organised division of labour in the rear, than it would be if each worker tried to produce one rifle by himself. In the latter case 10,000 workers might be able to produce 10,000 rifles in a month. With division of labour, no worker of the 10,000 would produce a



single rifle by himself but, by having each concentrate on one small part or process in the making and assembling, they could, among them, turn out perhaps 500,000 in a month.

### (iii) Output of Goods and Services

From the production system we have just outlined comes the output which is usually divided into "goods and services."

Goods are the physical objects produced, ranging from a pin to a battleship, and these are again divided into two categories: first, "consumer goods," such as food, clothes, houses, which the individual has for his own use or satisfaction; secondly, "capital goods," such as the machines for baking the loaves, weaving the cloth or mixing the cement, which do not satisfy the consumers' wants directly, but serve to produce the consumer goods. Services, as their name implies, are not concrete objects but benefits rendered to us by individuals or by associations of people, such as treatment by a doctor, a performance at the theatre, transport by train, etc.

### *Present Increased Power of Production*

The main effect of the Industrial Revolution on production is clear. By means of the new machines, the discovery of motive-powers that could be harnessed to them and the specialisation of labour, production has increased enormously, not only in industry and manufacture but in agriculture as well. The rate of travel has immensely speeded up. Communication between distant parts of the world, which formerly had taken weeks or months, can be effected in a few seconds.

It appeared before the present war that, in the industrialised countries of the West at least, man had gone far towards solving the age-old problem of production. He was becoming able to produce more and more goods, with the expenditure of a decreasing amount of muscular energy.

## 3. How Do We Distribute?

Production, then, makes available the goods to satisfy our needs and wants. But since we can hardly conceive of any individual self-contained enough to produce and consume by himself all he needs, there follows the question of distribution. How is any individual, who makes just one product or more probably assists in making it, to get hold of the variety of goods he needs? The general answer is that it is done by a system of exchanges, whereby each one of us by his own contribution to production gets a claim on the products of others.

### (i) Money instead of Barter

Already we have seen a simple system of exchange at work in a village community, where people bartered or swapped their goods for other people's goods. This system could be extended by introducing the merchant who might act as a middleman, collecting the goods of some producers and exchanging them for the goods of others. But it was essentially a clumsy business. For instance, the merchant who wished to exchange his bales of cloth, or his oil, or his wine for cattle had to carry his goods about with him, and when he had exchanged them for cattle, had to take the latter away with him.

Moreover the development in the specialisation of labour made the simple barter quite impossible. For instance, a man engaged all the week in making steel nuts does not want to exchange his nuts for the bolts made in an adjoining factory.

It is perhaps truer to imagine all workers (and this includes brain-workers as well as hand-workers) putting their products into a pool and obtaining in exchange claims on other goods and services in the pool ; and the means of getting goods and services out of the pool, or, in other words, the means of distribution between the producing system and the individual consumer, is quite simply money.

We want then to look more closely at this means of distribution. What is money ? Where does it come from ? What does it do ?

### (ii) Early Forms of Money

One of the earliest forms of money probably was a leather disc with the head of an ox stamped on it. It was really a form of receipt which the merchant, in our example above, received in exchange for, say, his oil. Later on he returned or sent an agent who presented his discs as a claim for the cattle : one disc, one cow. It was found, however, that unscrupulous persons could easily reproduce these leather discs, and could claim more cattle than they were entitled to. Experiments were therefore made with a large number of other materials for use as " money."

### (iii) Adoption of Gold and Silver

Finally, gold and silver were almost universally adopted. The advantages of gold and silver were many. They were comparatively rare, and therefore it was both difficult and expensive to reproduce them ; they did not wear out ; coins made from these metals could be easily carried about ; and they were accepted everywhere as the raw material of the craftsman in precious metals.

The main disadvantage of gold and silver money was that, owing to the limited amount of these metals in existence, the supply of money could not readily be increased. Since, however, the supply of goods was at that time limited by the primitive handwork production of those days, this did not greatly matter.

### (iv) Paper Money

The next great step forward was the invention in Europe during the later Middle Ages of paper money. The earliest form of paper money was a receipt issued by a goldsmith for the money or valuables which an individual deposited with him. Gradually the custom arose of passing on your receipt when you wanted to buy something, instead of having to go, perhaps, to a distant town and get your money from the goldsmith before you could make your purchase. The seller of the goods was prepared to accept the paper receipt because he knew that goldsmiths were men of integrity, and he believed that the figures written on the receipt represented gold or silver in the goldsmith's possession, which he could claim if he wanted them.

This custom was found to be convenient, and it spread. In other words these goldsmiths' receipts were being used as money.

#### *Increasing Supply of Paper Money*

Some time early in the 17th century the goldsmiths hit upon an ingenious device for increasing the supply of this paper money. They discovered that over a long period comparatively few people, in fact only about one in ten of their depositors at any one time, ever asked for their money in gold and silver. They therefore considered it safe to issue receipts in excess of the coins they actually held in their vaults, trusting to their former experience that all their depositors would not arrive at the same time and present their claims for gold.

This practice worked, till finally it became the custom for the goldsmiths, and for the early bankers, who took over their business about the end of the 17th century, to issue ten times more paper money than the gold and silver in their possession. Thus a convenient way of increasing the amount of money in existence was discovered, just when the expansion of industry and trade made this expansion of money essential.

At the same time this custom of issuing promises to pay gold, which you did not in fact possess, was criticised in later years on the grounds that it was, in effect, allowing private individuals to usurp the function of creating money, a function which should properly have belonged to the community.

#### (v) Introduction of Credit

The introduction of cheque money, or credit as it is usually called, was a still later development. It was one of the results of the great increase of economic activity following the Industrial Revolution. A cheque is an order on a banker telling him to transfer some of the money you have deposited with him to the banking account of your creditor, or alternatively to pay the latter in cash.

Amongst the cheque-using public the former is what usually happens, so that in effect most of the larger debts in this country are today settled by the alteration of two sets of figures in bank books, and no actual cash passes. It is a most convenient and speedy method of making payments, and modern industry probably could not carry on without it.

#### *What Is Legal Tender?*

Many people think of money as consisting only of the coins or banknotes they carry about in their pockets. These are only the small change of industry. Silver and copper coins to a limited amount, and banknotes to an unlimited amount are what is called "legal tender"; that is, people are legally obliged to accept them in payment for their goods and services\*. Cheque money is not legal tender, but nevertheless it works quite satisfactorily for the settlement of debts, particularly when the debtor and creditor are known to each other.

#### (vi) Where Does the Money Come From?

In a short chapter like this it is not possible to go fully into the question of where all the money we use comes from, notably the cheque money.†

It is sufficient to say here that credit comes into existence through the action of the banks, who are accustomed to create £10 of credit money for each £1 of their cash reserves, i.e. the coins and notes which they hold in their tills, plus their own deposits at the Bank of England. The latter, it should be noted, is not a Government institution. It is a Chartered Trading Company, which acts as banker to the Government and to the commercial banks.

It must not be assumed, however, that the banks can of their own volition create unlimited quantities of credit. The amount of their cash reserves is, in fact, determined by the Bank of England according to general policy adopted from time to time in agreement with the Treasury. The methods by which this is done are too technical to be discussed in detail here.

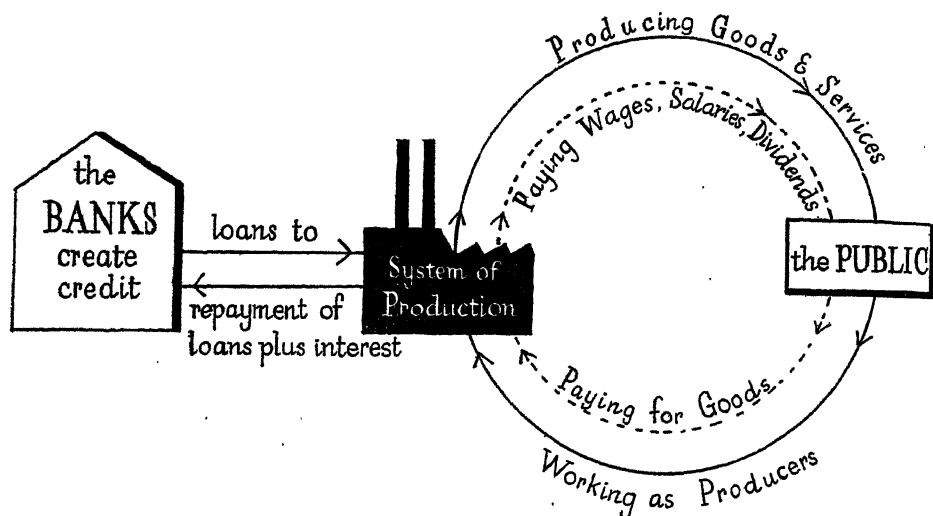
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\* We no longer use gold coins as money. They were withdrawn from circulation in August 1914, and their place taken by £1 and 10/- banknotes.

† Anyone interested in the technique of credit creation can read some such authority as the Report of the Committee on Finance and Industry (Macmillan Report); 1931; H.M.S.O.

**(vii) Use and Circulation of Money**

The credit created by the banks in this way is largely used to finance industry. Business concerns borrow from the banks to buy plant and raw materials, and to pay their employees. Their products are either sold to other business concerns, in the case of capital goods, or to the general public as consumer goods.



*Note.—This diagram is, of course, very much simplified, and takes no account of many complications. It is intended as a rough illustration of the process.*

FIGURE 11

The public at large receive money directly or indirectly from industry as wages, salaries and dividends.\* They use this money to buy what they want, and it returns via the industrial system to the banks, who then cancel their loans, less their interest charges.

**4. The Modern Position**

Let us now try to pull together the strings of this outline account of production and distribution.

**(i) Increased Capacity for Production**

As a result of the discoveries of the past we now have an industrial system capable of turning out an almost unlimited supply of goods. This country has changed in 150 years from being a comparatively poor one to being extremely rich in terms of goods.

During a war the supply of consumer goods is, of course, more limited than in peace, because our industries are mostly switched over to the production of armaments. The wastage of these is much greater than in normal times, and access to food and raw materials from other countries is restricted. But it is worth noting, as an indication of the productive capacity of modern industry, that in spite of these handicaps we are still able to maintain ourselves in a state of comparative comfort.

\* In general, wages are paid weekly and salaries monthly. The term "dividends" is used to include interest paid on investments, profits from business activities, rent from lease of houses, land, etc.

**(ii) Production into a Pool of Wealth**

It is convenient to think of all these goods and services going into a national pool of wealth.

It will be noticed that no attempt has been made so far to discuss the question of foreign trade. This omission has been intentional in order to make the outline of our economic activities more simple, and because foreign trade is discussed in Chapter III. The fact that we have to get so many goods from abroad, however, need not invalidate our picture of the pool of wealth which receives our products and which is the source of all that we consume. We can imagine that the goods and services we export to other countries do not go into the pool, but that the imports, which we receive in exchange for them, do.

**(iii) Money : Means of Claiming from the Pool**

Money is the means by which the goods and services are drawn out of this pool for the use of individuals. Money in this respect is a sort of ticket or claim on the available goods. A £1 note is not unlike a railway ticket, except that it has a wider application. Whereas the railway ticket only entitles you to a ride in a train, a banknote entitles you to any goods priced at its face value.

**Chapter II.****WHAT WE PRODUCE**

By GERTRUDE WILLIAMS

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**1. Town-Dwellers and Town-Workers**

The general framework of production and distribution has been described in Chapter I; the present chapter deals with the way we in this country fit into the scheme. We all need food, clothing and shelter but we don't any longer provide these things directly for our own use. We specialise in doing one job—digging coal, sewing buttons on shirts, nursing the sick, driving a railway engine, etc., and with the money we earn in this way we buy the things we want which have been made by others. Some of these things are produced by people in this country but very many come from overseas.

Before we were jerked out of our accustomed routine, few of us realised how many of the ordinary day-to-day things we consumed came from the ends of the earth. We have only to compare the drab appearance of a greengrocer's shop today with the bright splash of colour that it used to be to see the truth of this—oranges from California, lemons from Italy, onions from Spain, apples from Canada, and so on. Or think of breakfast-time with bread made of American or Russian wheat, butter from New Zealand or Denmark, bacon and eggs from Ireland or Denmark, the cloth made of cotton grown in America or Egypt and manufactured in Lancashire, or made of linen from Ireland.

Most of us in this country produced none of the things we ate or drank but were engaged in manufacture or in trade and shipping so as to be able to pay the rest of the world for doing these things for us. How has it come about that Britain is mainly urban and industrial? What are the principal occupations of this country?

## 2. Conditions before the Industrial Revolution

Our modern economic world with its high degree of specialisation and its bewildering variety of goods for our consumption is based on transport. It is not until communications are both reliable and quick that we can dare to spend time and materials on producing other things than those for our basic needs—food, clothing and shelter.

### (i) Lack of Communications

Until the end of the 18th century, communications were so difficult that each little group of households was forced to depend on its own products for all the necessities of life. We were cut off from other countries by the seas and an ocean voyage was a lengthy and very hazardous adventure. Inland, roads were few and far between and not properly surfaced. Even in 1750 it took 16 days to get from London to Edinburgh and it is recorded that a Yorkshireman who had to go to London made his will and bade a solemn farewell to his friends.

### (ii) Need for Local Self-Sufficiency

In such circumstances each village had to be self-sufficing as far as essentials went. The largest part of the population was engaged in agriculture. Each family grew its own food, spun and wove the material for its own clothing and produced most of its own equipment, with the help of the village wheelwright and blacksmith who fashioned the iron and wooden implements and vessels. The standard of living was necessarily very low. Food was extremely simple and monotonous, houses were primitive and a new suit of clothes an event of first-rate importance.

What industry there was, was on a small scale, usually carried on in the worker's own home with the aid of very simple tools. The most widespread industry was the making of woollen cloth for which England had been famous for centuries—largely owing to her good sheep pastures.

### (iii) Development of Overseas Trade

Britain is a small island and the sea has, therefore, always played an important part in her economic life. Water transport is generally easier to develop than land communications, since Nature provides the highways ready made, and a great deal of trade had always been done by ships sailing round the coast and up the navigable rivers. Ocean-going trade was, moreover, a long-established tradition in this country and, when the eastern seaboard of America began to be opened up, Britain's geographical position, in the middle of the New World and the Old, gave her unique opportunities as a trading centre.

Woollen goods were far and away our chief export, with leather and iron as a close second. In our imports, foodstuffs and raw materials already bulked large—sugar, rice, ginger and tobacco from America, tea from India, silks from the Far East, wine, fruits and oil from the Mediterranean, wine and brandy from France. But valuable as these imports were, it will be noticed that they had little relation to the day-to-day needs of the ordinary man and woman in Britain. Tea, perhaps, is an exception since already by the end of the 18th century this was becoming a popular drink—and causing much consternation among many who thought that the practice of sipping tea instead of drinking good English beer was robbing the English of their health and beauty. But most of our trade was in luxury goods and not the things on which the mass of the population depended for their daily lives.

### 3. The Industrial Revolution

During the late 18th and early 19th centuries there took place a rapid development in technical and scientific knowledge which profoundly changed our economic life. All these changes were interdependent. Each one acted as a stimulus to the others.

#### (i) The Changes

The application first of water power and later of steam to work the machinery led to the replacement of wooden tools by iron which was better able to stand the vibration. This necessitated the development of iron foundries and engineering. The use of machinery in the textile trades gave rise to new processes in bleaching, dyeing and printing, i.e. to industrial chemistry. But none of these new industries could have been established without the rapid increase in reliable and quick communications. It was the canals and railways which enabled heavy goods such as coal and iron to be moved about, and without this quick transport it would have been impossible to bring adequate food supplies to the populations of the growing towns.

#### (ii) Advantages of Britain

All these changes, in their turn, depended on coal, for without coal the new machinery could not work nor the railways run. And here is where Britain, with but poor resources in raw materials and agricultural produce, had an immense advantage over countries which might otherwise have been her early rivals. She had an abundance of good coal and iron and, better still, most of her richest deposits of iron were near to the coal and both were near to the sea. Accordingly, once she had learned how to make use of her minerals and had good transport to provide her workers with food, she could concentrate on coal production and on the host of machine industries which cheap power made possible.

### 4. Effects of the Industrial Revolution

It is impossible in this short chapter to give a full account of the effects of these technical changes, but here are some points which will indicate how important they were :—

- (i) Agriculture remained for a long time our chief occupation. As late as 1851, one out of every five of the male population of ten years and over was engaged in it in some capacity or other. But from being primarily an agricultural country Britain began to be predominantly industrial and commercial. The chief industries were coal mining, cotton manufacture, wrought iron and engineering products. Every year a growing stream of these goods went overseas and in return came back food and raw materials.
- (ii) International trade was no longer concerned with luxuries for the rich or rare amenities, such as tea or tobacco, but with the daily needs of the population—literally, their bread and butter.
- (iii) Work moved from the home to the factory and great urban centres developed. When only simple hand tools were needed, people could do

industrial work in their own cottages but power machinery cannot be efficiently used unless a large number of workers are gathered together, so that each process can be provided with its own specialised equipment.

The factory system divided people more sharply into employers and wage-earners. The worker became more dependent on the employer because he could no longer fall back on agriculture as he had done before, nor could he hope to get together the capital to start in business on his own. But it also made it possible for workers to meet one another and organise in trade unions for their own protection.

- (iv) The standard of living rose rapidly. Food was more plentiful and more varied.
- (v) There was unprecedented growth in population. In 1780 there were only nine millions in this country. In 1851 there were twenty-one millions. This was not because parents had more children but because those that were born remained alive to become parents in their turn. Before this, many died from lack of the right food and because of the diseases bred from dirt.

## 5. The Industrial Revolution Goes On

The Industrial Revolution has never stopped. More and more we have applied scientific knowledge to production and, as new methods and new demands have made their influence felt, so there have been shifts in the occupations as profound as those of the early 19th century.

### (i) Rising Standard of Living

As wealth has increased, the rising standard of living has shown itself in two ways:—

- (a) Food and the basic necessities take a smaller proportion of our income. The human stomach is inelastic and when we grow richer we don't simply eat larger and larger meals. Instead we have greater variety of food and spend more on the amenities—furniture and travel, books and tobacco and the cinema, hairdressing and cosmetics—all the things in which personal tastes and idiosyncrasies have a chance to express themselves.
- (b) We develop the network of institutions which are essential to a well-organised community life. Law and medicine, banking and commerce, educational facilities, the fine arts and public administration begin to play a larger part and employ more of the population. Also large-scale mechanical production requires fewer workers in manufacturing the goods but more to transport the goods where they are needed and to organise their distribution.

### (ii) Consequent Changes of Occupation

A great change-over of occupations has, of course, resulted from the development of the Industrial Revolution and the rising standard of living.

The last census we have, that of 1931, gave a total of about 21 million occupied persons in Britain, i.e. occupied in the sense that they normally worked for pay and including those who were unemployed at the time.



The following table shows how every 100 occupied persons were distributed at that date, i.e. 5 out of every 100 belonged to agriculture and so on.

### DISTRIBUTION OF EVERY 100 OCCUPIED PERSONS IN 1931

5%	AGRICULTURE
6%	MINING
40%	MANUFACTURE OF ALL KINDS
24%	BUYING & SELLING & TRANSPORT
13%	PERSONAL SERVICES e.g. HOTELS, HAIRDRESSERS, etc.
3%	WELFARE—DOCTORS, TEACHERS, etc.
6%	PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
1%	SPORT & ENTERTAINMENT
1%	ESSENTIAL SERVICES e.g. GAS, WATER, ELECTRICITY
1%	DEFENCE OF THE STATE

FIGURE 12

We may note two features: *first*, the drop in the proportion in agriculture compared with 1851; *secondly*, the concentration in manufacture and in buying, selling and moving all the things produced from where they were made to where they were wanted.

#### (iii) Changes in the Organisation of Production

Moreover, as the advantages of large-scale production have become more evident, the size of the individual business has grown.

There are still many forms of production in which the small business predominates because it is not possible to standardise methods sufficiently to enable highly specialised power machinery to be employed—agriculture, fashion dressmaking, horticulture, house decorating and so on. But the chief industries are those in

which the unit of production is large and this has a big influence on the occupational grouping of the population. The number of men working "on their own" has declined, while the number of people who depend on earning wages has grown enormously, as have those who are engaged in managerial and clerical occupations.

The following table gives a rough classification for 1931 :—

Managerial Workers ...	5.5 per cent.	Manual Workers ...	59.3 per cent.
Working on Own Account	6.0 per cent.	Unemployed ...	11.9 per cent.
Clerical, Commercial and Professional Workers	17.3 per cent.		

#### (iv) More Recent Changes

In the years before the war there had been further changes, particularly in the relative importance of the groups in industry, though we have not exact figures comparable to those of 1931.

### SHRINKING AND EXPANDING INDUSTRIES, 1923-1938

*Note.—This diagram is, of course, an oversimplification and should be used in close conjunction with the text. It must not be supposed that the workers in the shrinking industries went over in groups to the expanding ones. It was rather that the new young recruits to industry went into the new industries rather than into the old. The diagram is a graphic representation of the general trend.*

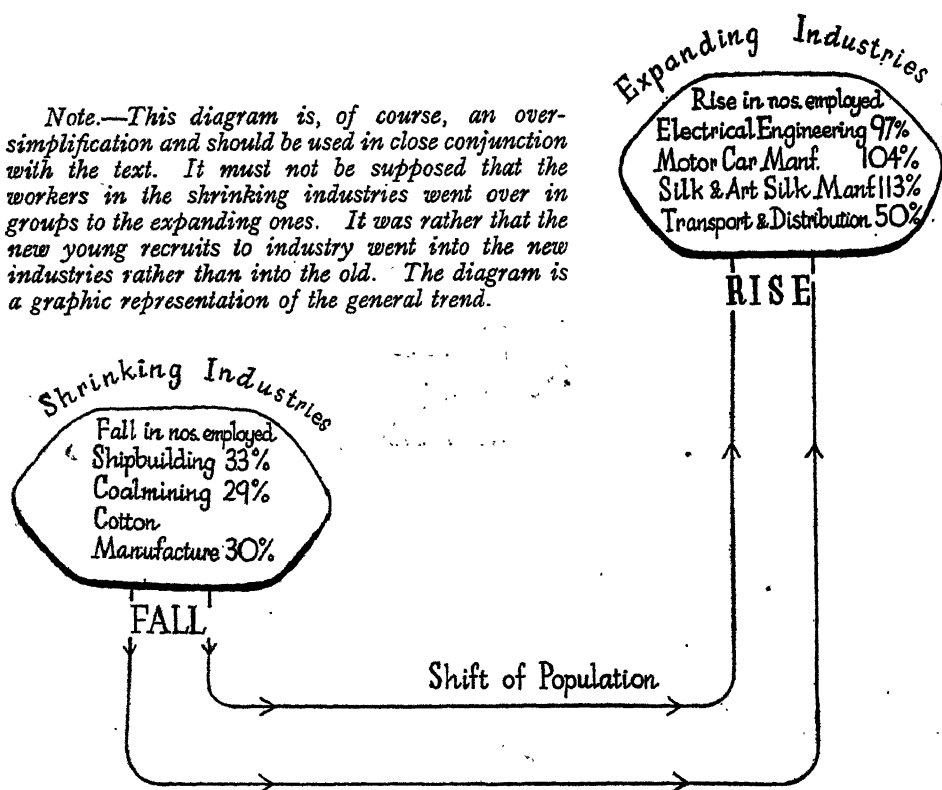


FIGURE 13

Between 1923 and 1938 the number in shipbuilding fell by 33 per cent., in coal-mining by 29 per cent., in cotton manufacture by 30 per cent.; while the number in electrical engineering rose by 97 per cent., in motor car manufacture by 104 per cent., in silk and artificial silk manufacture by 113 per cent., and in transport and distribution by 50 per cent. This shows very clearly the decline in importance of the heavy export industries and the rise of new industries to satisfy new needs.

## 6. The Location of Industry

If you were to look at a map showing the chief industrial areas as they were before the last war, without knowing exactly what it was meant to be, you would be quite justified in mistaking it for a map of the coalfields. You would be very unlikely, however, to make this mistake if the map showed the industrial concentrations just prior to this war. There has been, in fact, a very considerable shift in the siting of industry in the last quarter of a century.

### (i) Reasons for Location of Industry

Firms try to establish their factories wherever they think they will be able to produce and deliver their goods at the lowest cost. Many factors are involved in this estimate—supplies of raw materials, costs of transport and power, nearness to supplies of suitable labour, contacts with the market, and so on.

Sometimes one of these is more important, sometimes another. If, for example, the raw materials are not more expensive to move than the finished products, it will probably be preferable to be close to the market so as to keep well abreast of changes in demand; but if materials are difficult to transport, then the advantage of being near to the market may be too dearly bought.

When steam is used for working machinery the cost of power is often the determining factor. Coal is bulky and heavy and so is expensive to move over long distances. It has mostly proved cheaper to bring raw materials and labour to the coalfields than to carry the coal to where these are already available.

During the last twenty-five years electricity has largely replaced steam power, and electricity can be generated on the coalfields and then carried cheaply over a very wide area. This has released industry from the necessity of being close to coal, and, consequently, greater importance has been given to other considerations in determining industrial location.

### (ii) Changes in Location of Industry

The change in the relative growth of industries, discussed above, has shown its influence here. The expanding industries are those which produce the things in which a higher standard of living expresses itself—motor cars, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, furniture, clothing, etc.—and for these the Home Counties with a population, in peacetime, of 8 millions form a most powerful magnet. Hence the decline of the old industrial areas in the North and in South Wales, and the rise in industrial importance of the South and South-Eastern areas.

Between 1921 and 1934 the total population increased by just over 2½ millions. Of this total London and the South-East absorbed nearly 1,700,000, leaving less than a million for all other regions put together.

### (iii) Effects of Changes

This change in industrial location has had very serious social and economic effects of which it is possible here to suggest only a few :—

- (a) It makes it more difficult for those who become unemployed in the shrinking industries to be absorbed into the expanding ones, for it means moving one's home as well as changing one's job.
- (b) Generally it is the younger members of the population who can leave their homes to find work in the new localities, and this leads to a twisting in the distribution of ages in the different areas. The people in the old area are preponderantly middle-aged and elderly, while there is an unusual proportion of young married couples in the new area.

- (c) It leads to a waste of the assets of the country. Roads, schools, libraries, houses, cinemas, shops and all the other things needed in the life of a community became derelict in the old area and new ones must be provided in the district which becomes densely populated.
- (d) A large part of the countryside becomes urban and congested.

#### (iv) Question of Control

Some changes in location are necessary to efficient and economical production. There is no need to assume that the old industrial areas must inevitably remain permanently as the chief sites for industry. But much of the shifting has taken place without any thought for its consequences. Each firm takes account of the effect of its location on its new costs, but it may not realise the wider social results of its actions, and it is for this reason that some control of location is now under discussion.

### 7. Effects of the War

Since the war, of course, there have been big changes in our occupations.

#### (i) Some War-time Changes

Millions of workers have been taken out of the industries that manufacture civilian goods to make essential war products—tanks and aeroplanes instead of motor cars or furniture, uniforms instead of fashion clothes, and so on. No longer is there only one out of every hundred enrolled for the defence of the State, and, to provide for this increase, millions have had to be drawn from distribution and transport, personal services, the professions and the production of all those things which are valuable and necessary in peacetime but which we can do without in order to win the war.

A very large part of our food has had to be grown at home and agriculture has once again increased greatly in importance. Hundreds of thousands of people—mainly women—who do not usually work for wages have been drawn into paid work, and have had to try to do the double job of running their homes and taking the place of men in industry. For security reasons new production centres have had to be established in remote areas, where the chances of being interrupted by the blitz were not so great, and millions of workers have had to leave their homes to work in these factories.

#### (ii) Some Future Problems\*

When the war is over we shall be faced with a great many new problems. Here are a few of the matters we shall need to consider :—

- (a) What is to happen to the new production centres? Do we abandon them and return to the old uncontrolled industrial location with the dangers noted above?
- (b) Shall we all be willing to change our homes if need be and move to where we are required by industry?
- (c) All our inventive genius has been concentrated on improving the efficiency of production and this has meant a very big change in materials and technique. Will people coming back from the Forces and other war work

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\* See the summaries of the White Paper on Employment Policy on pp. 554-7, of the Town and Country Planning Bill on pp. 560-1, and of the White Paper on the Control of Land Use on pp. 562-3.

expect to be able to resume their old work in the old way or will they be prepared to learn new methods and do the jobs that are wanted in the post-war world?

- (d) Do we want agriculture to play as important a part in post-war Britain as it does now? Do we want to be more self-supporting? If so, are we ready to give up many of the advantages of international trade and specialised labour?
- (e) Will women want to continue to combine home-keeping with industrial employment and, if so, what other changes is this likely to entail?

## Chapter III. WHAT WE DO WITH THE PRODUCTS

### 1. Where Do the Products Go?

In the first chapter we outlined in general terms the system of production and distribution.

In the second chapter we got down in more detail to the process of production in Britain—the resources of labour and material we have to work with, how we have used these resources and what we do produce.

Now we want to look a bit more closely at how we dispose of the products.

### 2. Distribution of Products at Home

First of all, how are they distributed at home?

#### (i) Distribution of Incomes

Of course, the exact distribution of all the different products among different groups of consumers cannot be exactly traced. But we could get some idea of how the money tickets for the purchase of the products are distributed by studying the distribution of incomes among the population.

Such a study which is so complicated and which needs so much care is outside the scope of this chapter. But we may note, in passing, one effect of government taxation, which is a transfer of part of our power to buy goods and services to the government. The expenditure of the money thus withdrawn from private incomes on education, unemployment benefit, old age pensions and other social services does involve, in fact, a redistribution of incomes. This point is dealt with more fully in the next chapter.

#### (ii) Inflation and Deflation

The necessity that there should be enough money tickets to claim all the goods and services available raises other important considerations. In trying to ensure that our production and our money do keep in step, there are two obvious dangers to guard against.

What happens, first of all, if money outpaces the goods, i.e. if more money is issued than goods are produced? Then people tend to bid against each other for the limited supply of goods and, as prices rise, the power of money to purchase goods falls. This process is known as *inflation*—not only an increase of money, but an

increase of money accompanied by a rise of prices. It particularly hits people whose incomes do not rise proportionately.

What happens, on the other hand, when there are more goods on the market than there is money available to buy them at the minimum prices at which they can be sold, i.e. their cost of production? Then manufacturers and shopkeepers cannot sell their goods and they seek to keep down expenses, e.g. by discharging their employees. The latter thereby lose their incomes, and there is then a still further shortage of money to buy the available goods. This process is called *deflation* and, continued for any length of time, causes widespread economic depression.

### (iii) Why the Present Taxation and Savings Campaign?

We may now glance at some modifications brought about by the present war.

In order to defeat the enemy we have had to divert a large part of our available raw materials, machinery and man-power to the production of munitions of war, and the supply of consumer goods for our personal use and satisfaction has been correspondingly decreased. Meanwhile just as much, if not more, money is being distributed as incomes to the inhabitants of these islands for making tanks, aeroplanes and battleships or for rendering war services of one kind or another. If the amount of money in the possession of all of us is not greatly to exceed the supply of consumer goods, something has to be done about it.

Thus we have the present heavy taxation by the Government, combined with the savings campaign, which attempts to persuade us to lend as much money as possible for the prosecution of the war. In effect, both these measures mean that instead of spending our money on consumer goods, which are at present in short supply, we are buying aeroplanes, tanks and battleships, not because we want them personally, but because they are essential to winning the war. In other words we are at present buying "guns" instead of "butter" with part of our income.

### (iv) What Happens after the War?

It is most important to consider in this connection the situation which is likely to develop when the war ends.

During the war whatever has been physically possible has been made financially possible. That is, so long as the men, the machines and the materials are available, there has been no question of a programme of production being held up for lack of money. That has been so for the reason given above—that we have surrendered or lent to the Government for war purposes a large part of the income which we would otherwise have spent on personal consumption, the maintenance and replacement of plant and machinery and other objects.

After the war the situation will present two important features. First, for a considerable time there is bound to be a continued shortage of consumer goods until industry can switch over from war production to peace production. If we wish to avoid inflation, it will still be necessary for us to limit our expenditure on these goods, until the supply of them increases. Secondly, post-war reconstruction and development will call for an appreciable continuous outlay of capital expenditure. That expenditure will only be possible without inflation if we are prepared to save for the purpose out of our income, and to forego spending that income to the extent necessary. All these factors, as well as our ability to import the foods and raw materials we need from abroad—which is dealt with below—will enter into the questions how soon after the war, and then to what extent, we can expect the country's standard of living to increase.

### 3. Exchange of Products with Other Countries

Let us now turn to the question of foreign trade. Until this is taken into account, all that has been said so far is unrealistic.

We may have noticed that not all our products appeared in the pool which in Chapter I we thought of as the source of the things we used. Many went overseas. Conversely, we may have noted that in this pool for our own consumption were goods that obviously have come from other countries. What then is the purpose of the exchange of goods and services with other countries and how does it work?

#### (i) What Do We Import?

The general object of foreign trade is to make available a greater range of products for our use. Thus, we obtain from other countries goods which cannot be produced at home—witness the fruit or the tea on the breakfast table we looked at in Chapter II; or we obtain goods which might conceivably be produced at home but which we believe can more conveniently be got from abroad—witness the bread or the butter on the same breakfast table. Possibly that butter and the wheat to make the bread could have been produced here, but we preferred to import it for a variety of reasons, including the fact that it could be got more cheaply from abroad.

And one of the most distinctive features of the way that Britain works is its reliance on these imports from abroad. Before the war we imported about a half of the food we consumed—and also a good deal of fertilisers and animal feeding stuffs to enable us to produce what we did for our own consumption. As regards industry, coal is the only raw material of which more than sufficient can be obtained here at home. All our cotton and rubber, practically all our oil, petrol and non-ferrous ores, five-sixths of our wool and two-thirds of our iron had to be brought in from overseas.

#### (ii) How Do We Pay for these Imports?

In order to obtain the things we require from overseas, we have to send other things abroad in exchange. One often hears rather loose talk about Great Britain "buying" goods from abroad. This phrase is apt to conjure up a picture of a John Bullish person scurrying across the Atlantic with a trunk full of £1 notes in order to purchase, let us say, a consignment of raw cotton from the United States. Unfortunately, the Americans do not use £1 notes; they use dollars, and our pounds are no use to them in their country. Accordingly what really happens, if we want cotton from America, is that we must first export to them, for example, manufactured goods, sell these goods for dollars and use the dollars for buying the cotton.

In other words, foreign trade consists of paying for your imports by means of exports, and money, if we exclude gold, only enters into the transaction indirectly.\* As we no longer use gold for domestic trade, it is perhaps better to look on it as a particular kind of commodity for the purpose of foreign trade.

#### *What Are Invisible Exports?*

It should be noted that services as well as goods may be exported and that, in fact, a considerable part of our exports is made up of services: e.g. the services given by our shipping companies when they carry foreign goods in British ships or the services given by our insurance companies and banks to clients overseas. All of these are usually called "invisible" exports, and since they are paid for in the money of the country which has received the services, they help us to pay for our imports from that country.

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\* For the sake of simplicity and lack of space, the machinery of bills of exchange has not been elaborated in this article. There are numerous books which explain in detail how it works.

### (iii) When Imports and Exports Do Not Balance?

So far we have been considering only the form of foreign trade in which imports are balanced by exports. But there is another kind of foreign trade which consists of exporting goods, not in exchange for an equivalent amount of imports, but as a loan, in exchange for promises to pay interest on the loan, in the form of goods, over a period of years, and ultimately to repay the loan itself. This is usually called "*foreign investment*", and the effect is that the country making the investment has for the moment exported more than it imports.

An imaginary example may make matters clearer. Let us say that Brazil wants a new railway and decides to order the necessary rolling stock, etc., from Britain, and to employ British engineers. Brazil goes to one of the finance houses in the City of London and negotiates a loan. Having got the money from the finance house, Brazil places an order for a railway with a British contractor. The latter in due course constructs the railway, is paid out of the money obtained from the finance house and delivers the rolling stock in Brazil. Meanwhile a Brazilian Loan, which covers the cost of the railway and which promises to pay a certain rate of interest, has been floated in the City, and part of it is taken up by the general public, part by the banks.

The situation then is that the British contractor who made the railway material has paid out wages and salaries to his employees, and this purchasing power stays in Britain; the railway with its costs of production has gone to Brazil; and the latter country has agreed to pay interest on her loan. If the loan was a million pounds and the rate of interest 5 per cent., then Brazil has to make an annual payment of £50,000. This she can do only if Britain will in future take that amount of Brazilian products annually as imports.

This system was greatly used for the development of undeveloped or semi-developed countries. Moreover we can see the possible need for it in some of the immediate post-war problems.

### (iv) The Favourable Balance of Trade: Use and Abuse.

In the rather artificial financial jargon which we have become accustomed to use, a country which exports more than it imports is said to have a "favourable balance of trade," and is considered to be correspondingly prosperous. In terms of real things as opposed to figures, it is difficult to understand why a country which gives away more than it receives should be richer rather than poorer.

One explanation of this anomaly is that foreign investment enables us to lay up claims in foreign money in the countries to which our goods have been exported. Thus in an emergency, e.g. during a war, we can buy foreign goods to the full extent of our overseas investment. This is, in fact, what has been happening during the war. We have sold our foreign investments abroad and used the money to pay for munitions and other supplies we require.

On the other hand, it is obvious that any country which holds another in debt through this kind of foreign investment has a chance of bending the debtor country to its will. The creditor can bring pressure to bear on the debtor country, e.g. by realising some of its investments and using the money to buy up control of the industries and the Press of the debtor. This kind of economic aggression was the object of much of Germany's pre-war policy.

## 4. Lessons of the Past

If we are to avoid in future the economic disasters which beset mankind between 1919 and 1939 and which may have contributed to the outbreak of the present war, it is essential to grasp the principles underlying our system of trade.



As we have seen, the Industrial Revolution started in this country over 150 years ago. The advent of machine production enabled the industrialised countries to produce in vastly increased quantities. But where have we gone from there?

**(i) Disposal of Goods at Home?**

If it is true that an industrialised country before the war was finding it increasingly difficult to buy all its own products with the incomes distributed to its citizens, then it could find no solution by a straight exchange of exports for imports. If it could not buy all its own products, it would be equally unable to buy the imports it would get in exchange for exporting some of these products.

But if it could export a large quantity of goods and receive no immediate imports in return, what was the result? It meant that the exported goods left the country, while the incomes distributed for making the exports remained in the country and were available to buy the products left at home. Where then could it export these surpluses?

**(ii) Disposal to Other Industrialised Countries?]**

At first we in Britain were able to export our industrial products very freely, because we were first in the field. But we also exported the Industrial Revolution. An increasingly large number of other countries have become wholly or partly industrialised, and as these countries supplied themselves or were fitted by us with modern plant and communications, they became more able to produce their own goods and less ready to accept ours.

If an industrial country did not export its surpluses, its own industries had to shrink, thus causing large-scale unemployment. If it did export to other industrialised countries, then their industries had to contract—and thus its unemployment problem was transferred to them. So each country sought to exclude the products of its competitors and at the same time to export its own products. And there developed the system of tariffs, which imposed “taxes” on incoming goods, and other artificial barriers to trade, with which we were familiar during the years between the wars.

**(iii) Disposal to Undeveloped Countries?**

Another alleviation for an industrialised country with an exportable surplus of products, which other industrialised countries would not accept, was tried—exporting them to one of the undeveloped countries of the world and calling the process a “foreign investment.” If the recipient could continue in future to return goods as interest on the investment, so much the better. If not, then at least the surplus had been got rid of, though for all the real benefit the exporting country derived from the transaction, the goods might just as well have been dumped in the sea.

Unfortunately, with the increasing number of industrialised countries and their enormous productive capacity, even these undeveloped markets were showing signs of shrinking before the war and the competition to secure a share of them was growing more acute.

In short, the world which had learnt how to produce seemed to be staggering towards the abyss because it had not solved the problem of distribution.

## 5. Problems of the Future

Let us sum up briefly :—

(a) Domestic trade is what it has always been since men ceased to barter the products of their own industry for those of their neighbours—a process of drawing products out of the producing system by means of money tickets.

The essential is that the money tickets and the price tickets on the products should balance each other.

(b) Foreign trade is a necessity if we are to vary and increase our standard of living. By means of it we exchange with other countries our own products for other things which we cannot produce or produce with difficulty.

(c) Foreign investment is the export of a surplus, not for an equivalent amount of imports but in exchange for promises to pay interest on the loan and to repay the loan itself in the future.

How then are we to adapt these principles to avoid the mistakes of the past and develop our welfare and prosperity? That question awaits us inescapably. Already possibly we can see some significant and hopeful signs.

### (i) Post-War Settlement?

Can we, for instance, avoid the troubles that came at the end of the last war through the lack of balance between exports and imports?

From 1914–18 the U.S.A. exported munitions of war to, and through, this country to the value of roughly £1,000 million. At the end of the war she requested repayment of this loan. There were only two ways by which Great Britain could repay. One was in gold and the other by means of goods and services. Britain had not got the gold—the total world stock was only about £2,000 million, and America already had most of it; nor could the United States take repayment in goods and services, as this would have caused unemployment in her own industries which produced the kind of goods and services provided by Britain. The problem seemed insoluble.

### *Significance of Lend-Lease*

The present Lend-Lease arrangements aim at preventing a similar unfortunate situation arising at the end of this war. These have been instituted between the U.S.A. and a number of other countries, including Britain, and each receives aid from and gives aid to the others without consideration for maintaining a balance between what is received and what is given. In effect, each nation contributes to a common pool according to its resources and receives according to its needs.

### (ii) Questions that Await Us

In the Lend-Lease arrangements is there any guidance for the future development of trade between countries? What of distribution within each country and the question of the amount and spread of the purchasing power available? Can we devise for the development of undeveloped countries some scheme of long-term investment by the industrial countries which will avoid the errors of the past?

These are some of the problems involved in our efforts to improve production and especially to find methods of distribution that will match our productive capacity. They will exact all the intelligence and will for co-operative action that we can bring to them.

## Chapter IV. THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT

By GERTRUDE WILLIAMS

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### 1. Reliance on Private Enterprise

Every year we produce quantities of goods and services. Some of these, such as food and clothing and gramophone records and holidays, satisfy our current wants. Some are machines and equipment that will later help us to produce more easily the things we need. Who decides exactly what shall be made and in what quantities? Why are there fewer coalminers now than there used to be and more electrical engineers? Whose judgment is it that resources should be used to make textile machinery instead of motor cars or lawn mowers?

The answer to these questions is "no one" or "everyone." In this country the foundation of our economic organisation is "private enterprise" or "freedom of choice." Everybody is free to decide for himself what he will do to earn his living.

#### (i) What Does Private Enterprise Mean?

This does not mean that we can all, in fact, do what we like with our lives. We are limited by circumstances and by our individual capacities. I may think I'd like to be the most handsome and talented singer in the world, but if in real life I am neither handsome nor talented that wish must remain part of my dream world. I may honestly believe I'd be a very good surgeon if I got the chance to train, but unless my parents are able and willing to allow me to get the necessary education, I shall have to reconcile myself to being a shop-assistant or clerk or cook or whatever it may be.

The point is, however, that within the limits of personal quality and circumstance I make my own choice. No authority or committee compels me to be either a clerk or shop-assistant or anything else. I choose in accordance with what I believe to be my own self-interest. I may choose wrongly and regret it later. I may not consciously choose at all and just drift into the first job that offers itself. But even this is a form of choice—of choosing not to bother to take the trouble to find out possible alternatives.

It is by the combination of millions of individual choices that the productive system comes to be what it is. Loaves are baked, houses are built, motor cars are designed, cloth is woven and dyed and printed into different patterns because there are people who believe that it will pay them to do these things, i.e. that somebody wants these goods and will be prepared to recompense them for the trouble they have gone to in producing them.

#### (ii) What Does Private Enterprise Assume?

An economic organisation based on freedom of choice embodies certain assumptions:—

- (a) That each of us will use his freedom of choice to serve his own interest.
- (b) That, as regards production, self-interest will mean producing things which people are ready to pay for. But people on the whole are ready to pay for the things they want most, so that production will therefore meet the most urgent wants of the community and will make the best use of our resources.

- (c) That in a society where each individual is following his own interest, there will, of course, be clashes between them, but the interest of the majority will prevail. The interest of the majority is likely to be also the interest of society as a whole, and therefore there is no need for any central authority to impose conditions, designed to serve the general welfare.

It was because of their faith in these assumptions that our grandfathers so strenuously opposed the intervention in economic affairs of the Government and all its machinery, i.e. of the State. It was recognised that State authority was necessary to maintain law and order and to settle disputes between members of society; but, apart from this job of "holding the ring," it was thought that the State could do nothing but harm by limiting people's freedom of choice to act in whatever way seemed good to them in the business of earning a living.

## 2. Limitations of Private Enterprise

Experience, however, has taught us that while there is a good deal of truth in the assumptions of free choice or private enterprise they also have serious limitations.

- (i) Our experience may be so narrow that we do not always recognise what is in our own interest. For example, few people realise fully the value of a liberal education unless they have already had the benefit of it.
- (ii) Each man's actions have effects on others as well as himself, but he may be ignorant of these and so cannot take them into account in determining what he should do. For example, if a man throws the household rubbish over the garden wall he keeps his own place clean, but the dirt he allows to accumulate in the street may breed disease which kills the child over the other side of the road.
- (iii) We are not all equally free in making our decisions. I may know that it is against my interest to work for twelve hours a day in an ill-ventilated workshop, but if those are the only terms on which I can get a job I have to agree to do so.
- (iv) We may all be anxious to do something and yet be afraid to be the first to start unless we are sure that our competitors will do so too. Thus, all the shopkeepers in one locality may wish to close their shops at 6 in the evenings, but each one is afraid he will lose his customers to the others if he is the first to do so; therefore each waits for the others to begin and none of them closes early.
- (v) There are some things we want but which can only be produced efficiently if they are produced on a scale wider than any individual can be responsible for. For example, we could not each build our own roads and trust to luck that they formed a connecting network of highways, nor could we each provide an army for our individual security.

## 3. Where the State Comes In\*

The State has, therefore, come to undertake a great variety of jobs, many of which are the responsibility of the Local Authorities, though here we are mainly concerned with the activities of the central government. These jobs can be divided into four big classes.

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\* See the summary of the White Paper on Employment Policy on pp. 554-7.

(i) **“Rules of the Game”**

It lays down the “rules of the game,” i.e. it establishes recognised weights and measures, determines the nature of enforceable contracts, arranges for the legal settlement of disputes, etc.

(ii) **Protective Laws**

It makes laws to protect groups of people who are not strong enough to look after their own interests. For example, laws are passed for the protection of children, both at work and in their own homes, and Factory and Shop Acts prescribe the conditions of work of employees.

It is significant that most of our factory legislation covers only women and young persons, as it is assumed that adult men can look after themselves by making suitable agreements through their trade unions. On the whole, this assumption has been justified.

(iii) **Aids to Economic Efficiency**

It undertakes certain jobs which make the economic system work more smoothly and efficiently while still leaving to the individual his freedom of choice. It is in this respect that the work of the State has been expanded most importantly during the present century. Here are a few of the things it does :—

- (a) It provides Employment Exchanges where employers may find suitable workers and workers may find jobs.
- (b) Training is offered free of charge to fit workers for different kinds of work.
- (c) A large organisation exists to try to prevent disputes between employers and workers and to help to settle the dispute if it breaks out.
- (d) For those trades which, for one reason or another, have not been able to establish efficient machinery for making collective agreements between employers and workers, bodies have been set up by the State, e.g. Trade Boards in many industries and Wages Boards for agriculture, which may lay down the minimum wages to be paid by employers.
- (e) An extensive system of social insurance and other forms of social security have been instituted to help to maintain the standard of living when the citizen is unable to provide his own income.
- (f) Certain trades are protected and encouraged. Thus, wheat and sugar beet production may be fostered by subsidies and many other products by tariffs which reduce foreign competition.
- (g) Guidance is given to producers on the application of scientific knowledge to technical processes.

It will be noticed that all three functions of the State so far enumerated leave the basic freedom of choice unimpaired. If you run a factory you must keep to the prescribed standards ; but you need not run a factory at all if you don't want to. Training and help in finding a job are offered you, but if you prefer to do this for yourself you are at liberty in peacetime to do so. Arbitration Boards and the Industrial Court are available to give an impartial judgment in a dispute, but neither side is compelled to accept the verdict.

(iv) **State Services**

Finally, the State exercises a collective choice by providing certain services for the community, paid for by compulsory contributions from all citizens in the form of rates and taxes, irrespective of whether the individual would have spent his income in this way or not, if left to his own devices. In this group of jobs the State goes the whole hog and overrides private enterprise altogether.

It maintains the armed forces, it builds roads, it sets up an educational system, it provides for a healthy environment through its public health measures, it plants

forests and so on. In such matters the citizen is forced, whether he wishes to or not, to buy so much education for his children or to buy the necessary environmental conditions for the maintenance of health or what not.

In wartime this type of State function is enormously expanded. The Government decides the uses to be made of the economic and human resources of the community, and the freedom of choice of the individual is cut to the minimum. Generally speaking, the Government can now tell any adult where, when, and for what hours he must work.

#### 4. The Cost to the State

All these functions that are undertaken by the modern State have to be paid for. The amount they cost depends upon policy. Our ideas as to the line of demarcation between what should be left to unchecked and unaided private enterprise and what should be done by the State are continually changing. On the whole the trend during the present century has been in the direction of increasing the work of the State and this is illustrated by the growing costs of government.

At the end of the last century, for example, the total amount spent by the Government in a year was £134,000,000; in the last year before the war it was £1,019,000,000; and by May 1943 it had risen to about £15,000,000 a day.

##### Where the Money Has Gone

If we compare the Budgets of 1899-1900, 1938-39, and 1942-43, we can get an idea of the items on which the increase of government expenditure has been most marked. Here are some of the items:—

##### Some Items of Government Expenditure

	1899-1900	1938-9	1942-3
National Debt Services	£23 million	£232 million	£311 million
Supply Services (Army, Navy, & Air Force)	£70 million	£254 million	£5000 million
Education	£11 million	£65 million	£70 million
Health, Labour & Insurance (Unemployment, Health, Old Age and Widows' Insurance)	Nil	£165 million	£190 million

*this line should be about 20 times longer than in 1938-9*

FIGURE 14

Note between 1899-1900 and 1938-39 the big increase in the social services, and on the service of the National Debt. The increase in this second item was due mainly to the big debt that was piled up during the war of 1914-18. When that war ended, the annual cost for the service of the debt was £350,000,000, but this was gradually reduced during the following years. It should also be noted that the increase in expenditure on the social services has been continued during this war.

#### 5. Where Does the Money Come From?

The Government raises its funds in two ways:—

First of all it imposes *taxes*, i.e. compulsory contributions levied on the members of the community.

Secondly, it raises *loans*, i.e. it asks people to lend it money and promises to pay them an agreed rate of interest and to repay the loan itself at a later date.

**(i) Loans**

In peacetime the proportion of Government funds raised by loans is not very considerable. In wartime, however, the amount of borrowing is much larger and the proportions of war funds that should be got by taxes and by borrowing respectively are always a matter for careful consideration.

**(ii) Direct and Indirect Taxes**

There are two main methods of taxation :—

- (a) Direct taxes, i.e. taxes which are paid directly by the citizen to the tax collector. Income tax and death duties are the principal examples.
- (b) Indirect taxes, i.e. taxes which are paid by the citizen as a consumer of certain goods and services—when he buys tobacco and cigarettes, or drinks a glass of beer or spirits, or goes to the theatre or cinema. The tax is paid to the tax collector by the producer or seller of these goods and services who recovers it in the price he charges to the consumer.

**6. How Is Taxation Distributed ?**

Most people nowadays agree that the burden of taxes should be “progressive”, i.e. that people with larger incomes should pay not only a larger sum in taxation but also a larger proportion of their incomes. That means that if, for example, the man with £300 a year pays 5 per cent. of his income in taxes the man with £500 a year should pay, say, 10 per cent. and the man with £1,000, say, 15 per cent. The argument is that the smaller the income the bigger the proportion of it that is spent on important necessities and, consequently, the less the margin out of which to contribute to State revenue.

**(i) Direct or Indirect Taxation?**

The figures given in the above illustration have been chosen at random for there is no one ideal scale by which the proportion of income paid in taxes should increase as the income increases. But even if there were, it would be difficult to achieve it in practice because we cannot measure exactly how much each individual pays in taxation. This may seem an odd statement, at first sight, because we are all very much aware of what we pay out of our wages and salaries in income tax, but we must remember that not all the national revenue is raised by such direct taxes. A great deal is collected from us as consumers of certain things; every time we buy a glass of beer or a packet of cigarettes or go to the cinema, we pay a tax which is included in the price and which the shopkeeper hands over to the Government. How much taxation we pay in this way depends on how much we spend on taxed articles, and this is a matter which varies from one individual to another on account of differences in our tastes, quite apart from differences in the size of our incomes.

A direct tax like the income tax can be closely adjusted to size of income, family circumstances, such as the number of children or other dependants, the amount of life insurances, and so on. Indirect taxation, on the other hand, cannot be related to these factors and some of these taxes, therefore, bear more heavily on the family man with a small income. In peacetime, a tax is imposed in order to raise revenue for the Government, and not to stop people from buying goods. If it does, in fact, stop people from buying, the Government will not get the revenue it expects since the tax is paid only when the purchase is made. Taxes, therefore, must be put on those things which play a large part in habitual expenditure.

*Different Circumstances—Different Policies*

Even here, however, individual choice and taste can be exercised and people of the same size of income and family don't all consume the same quantities. With such things as tea and sugar it may not be difficult to make rough estimates of the amounts bought by families of different sizes and incomes, and, on the whole, it is true that the family man is hit more heavily by these taxes. But by far the largest proportion of indirect taxation—about three-quarters in 1942-3—comes from liquor, tobacco and entertainments where there is obviously more room for wide differences in expenditure, even between men with similar incomes and family circumstances. In fact, any man can greatly reduce the burden of taxes for himself by deciding not to spend his income on these three items.

In wartime, taxes are sometimes imposed to deter spending, and when income tax is high and the Government has to raise more revenue, it may be sound policy to levy the taxation on those who choose to continue spending on things like beer and tobacco.

It may be seen, therefore, that whenever it has to be decided whether changes in taxation, upward or downward, should be made by altering the direct or the indirect taxes, or both, quite a number of different considerations arise. No hard-and-fast rule can be laid down beforehand, and the decision must be made in the light of whatever circumstances are most relevant at the time.

**(ii) Total Taxation on Different Incomes**

There are no official figures showing the total taxation, direct and indirect, borne by different incomes because of the difficulty already mentioned of estimating the consumption of all the goods and services which are subject to indirect taxation. Some private estimates have been made, based on various assumptions about such consumption, and these are reproduced, with all reserve, in the following diagram.

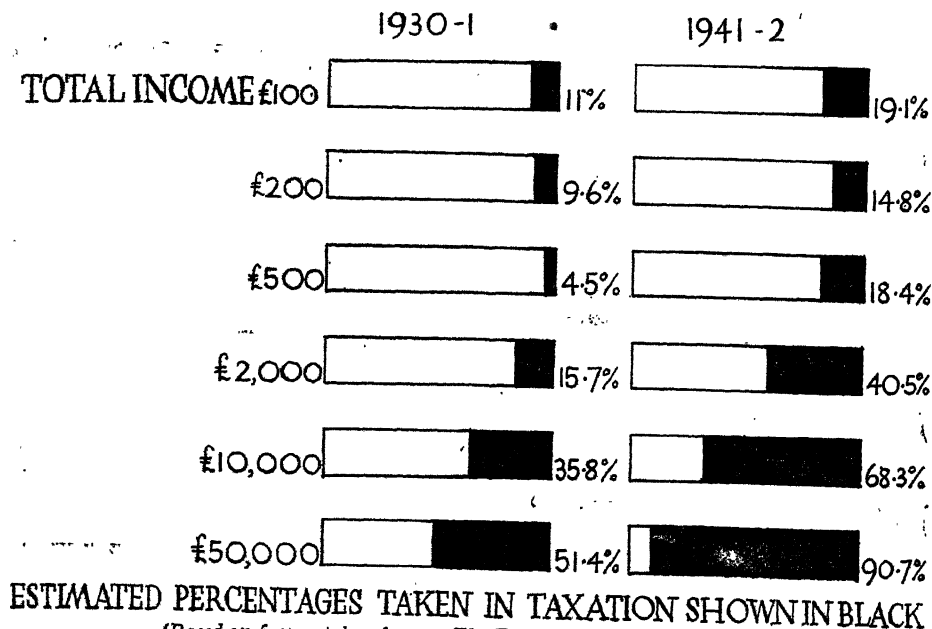


FIGURE 15

It should be noted that the taxation includes employees' social insurance contributions, which represent the whole of the direct taxation on incomes up to £250.



SECOND SEQUENCE : REPORT ON THE NATION

B.W.P. 9

THE HOME OF THE CITIZEN

By

ELIZABETH E. HALTON

*Author of "Our Towns" and "Houses, Towns and Countryside"*

July 1943

Chapter I.

THE HOME

1. The Need

Peace, when it comes, will bring to many people the thought "Now we can go home again," for it is a characteristic of this war that it has broken up so many homes. Sometimes one or more of the family have had to go into the Services. Sometimes the children have had to be evacuated. Sometimes the home itself has been bombed. And the result has been that instead of taking our homes for granted we have begun to think about them.

(i) What Kind of Home Did We Leave ?

It is not the same home that each of us sees in his thoughts. Some of us see it set in green fields ; others in the tumult of a great city. Some of us toil up five flights of concrete steps before we can enter its balconied front-door ; others hang on a strap fifteen miles of railroad before we can swing open its garden gate. Some of us need but to press a switch to get light, turn a tap to get water, light the gas to cook a meal or fill the bath to get a wash ; others must light oil lamps, seek water in the yard, and wrestle with an old-fashioned range.

Some see the light and air flooding through their windows, showing up dusty corners and dirty cretonnes, and sweeping away the smell of the last meal ; others see only the darkness of a basement, depending half the day on artificial light, with the smells of last week's joint still lingering. Some of us see our home with its walls pocked with shrapnel and its windows with only half their glass ; and some of us know that the home we are seeing in our minds is no longer there.

(ii) What Kind of Homes Shall We Rebuild ?

A collection of such pictures would convince us that one of the most urgent needs after the war will be to supply as many new homes as possible. Many homes

we know of are unsatisfactory, inconvenient and unhealthy. Many would have been rebuilt now, had there not been a war. Many have been damaged or destroyed. If, then, we are to have a vast scheme of rebuilding, here is a unique opportunity for getting the kind of homes we want.

What kind of homes do we want? If we don't know it is unlikely anyone else will, and, unless we make up our minds before we start building them, we shall run the risk of getting a type of home we don't like at all. Then we shall have only ourselves to blame because we wouldn't do our own thinking.

### (iii) The Importance of Public Opinion

Moreover there are few subjects of national importance that are more susceptible to the influence of public opinion. If you trace the ebb and flow of housing reform in this country, you will notice that whenever the public took an interest and raised a protest something was done—a law was passed, a remedy made. But as soon as public interest died down nothing more was done. Sometimes the very law that was meant to improve matters was never even implemented. So if we really want good homes after the war, it is largely our responsibility as the makers of public opinion to see that we get them.

## 2. What Is a Home?

Before we can begin, however, to think of what we want, we must make up our minds as to what we mean by a home. Probably we all mean different things, but here are four suggestions:—

- (i) First, we mean a place where we can relax and be ourselves; a place to which we come back after the day's work. This means we shall want it arranged conveniently so as to simplify our domestic work and provide comfort for us as a family.
- (ii) Secondly, we mean a place essentially ours; with our own belongings round us in which we can take an interest and a pride; a cheerful place and nice to look at; a place to which we can invite our friends.
- (iii) Thirdly, we mean a place in which we can bring up a healthy and happy family.
- (iv) Fourthly, we mean a place from which we can easily reach our outside interests, our work, our education, our recreation, our shopping.

When we have agreed, whether on these or on other facilities which we feel a home should provide, let us imagine a trip home, and use them as a standard against which to measure what we have or what we should want.

We will start at the inside, in the personal and private part of our home. Then we will step out and see how it fits into the neighbourhood. It may be an urban neighbourhood or it may be a rural one, so we will consider each in turn. Finally we will take a rapid journey through time to see how our present conditions have come about, to learn from the past both as a warning and as a model, and to see from our examination what are our hopes for the future.

### 3. A Home Is a Place of Comfort

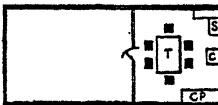
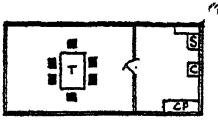
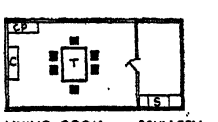
After our journey home we shall want a cup of tea and perhaps something to eat, so let us go straight to the kitchen. We want to be sure the cooking arrangements are carefully planned to make the work as simple as possible.

#### (i) Provision of Meals

Roughly there are three ways in which we could arrange for our meals :—

- (a) We can use the kitchen for cooking, washing-up and feeding, and leave our sitting-room for sitting in only. The advantage of this is that we don't get the smell of stale food left in the sitting-room. We shall, however, need a bigger kitchen, depending on how many people there are in the family.
- (b) We can use the kitchen for cooking and washing-up and eat our meals in the sitting-room. This means we may get left with a smell of food, and we shall have the trouble of carrying the meals to and from the kitchen.

#### THE PROVISION OF MEALS

WE CAN	THE PLAN	ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
use the kitchen for cooking, feeding and washing up.	 LIVING ROOM    KITCHEN	no smell of stale food in living room.  food ready to hand	requires bigger kitchen according to size of family
use the kitchen for cooking and washing up and the living room for feeding	 LIVING ROOM    KITCHEN	kitchen may be smaller	smell of food in living room.  carrying of food from kitchen
use living room for cooking and feeding: and washing up in a scullery	 LIVING ROOM    SCULLERY	saving of fuel as cooking range heats room  food ready to hand	fire necessary in summer.  family in way when preparing food

T DINING TABLE

CP CUPBOARD

C COOKER

S SINK

FIGURE 16

- (c) We can cook and feed in the living-room and do our washing-up in a scullery. Many cottages are designed on this plan, and it has been suggested for the 3,000 wartime ones that are to be put up in rural areas under a government scheme. This method saves fuel, as the cooking range serves both for cooking and for heating the living-room. On the other hand, we have to put up with the family during the preparation of meals, and with a fire in the middle of summer.

**(ii) Designing the Kitchen**

Let us suppose that we have chosen a type of kitchen in which the cooking and washing-up are done, while the meals are eaten in the sitting-room. What points should we now consider if we are to have a convenient, easily-run kitchen? Here are five suggestions:—

- |                 |                       |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (a) Storage     | (d) Washing-up        |
| (b) Preparation | (e) Disposal of Waste |
| (c) Service     |                       |

*(a) Storage of Food and Utensils*

Dry goods and groceries we shall want in a cupboard or open shelves near our work-table, while the perishable foods and milk need to be kept in a cool place. In this country, where we only expect hot weather for short, rare periods, we have not got the refrigerator habit. In New York, where it is very hot for long periods in the summer and iced water is popular, refrigerators are put into even the cheapest dwellings as a matter of course. After the war it might be possible in this country to produce refrigerators on a large scale if there is really a demand for them. Do we really feel we need them?

A larder, with outside ventilation and facing north, not south as so many larders seem to do, is a requisite for storage, and we may also need vegetable cupboards fitted with racks.

As regards utensils, we shall want our tools easily accessible to our work-table, perhaps in special racks fitted on the inside of our cupboard doors; and table-ware in a cupboard near to the sink and to the entrance to the sitting-room.

*(b) Preparation*

Our work-table will obviously be in a part of the room where we can get the best light, and we may like to be able to look out of the window, as we work, at something pleasant or interesting, say, the garden or the street with the passers-by. It is important, too, that it should be near the sink and the right height.

Our cooker needs to be out of a draught, not against a window and not in a corner.

*(c) Service*

Although we are going to eat our meals in the sitting-room, it is clear we can reduce much labour if we have it adjoining the kitchen, with a hatch between, and two-way cupboards below the hatch. We may even like to make the kitchen an extension of the living-room, by putting it in an alcove separated from the living-room only by a curtain or by folding-doors.

*(d) Washing-up*

What height do we want our sink? Should we like two compartments, one for washing and one for rinsing? We shall want a flat surface on either side to put things on, one of them grooved for draining, and we shall want the sink to be placed reasonably near the cooker and the hatch. We may like to have a shelf below it for cooking utensils which are waiting to be washed.

*(e) Disposal of Waste*

What alternatives are there for the disposal of waste?

First comes the ordinary dustbin, emptied regularly by the Council into its dust-cart, and carried away to the dump.

Then there is the refuse shoot, often provided in blocks of flats, where you post your rubbish through a "letter-box" on each balcony, and it travels down the

shoot into the large container belonging to the Council. This is changed by the dustman at frequent intervals. It is not always a satisfactory method, as vegetable matter tends to stick and to choke up the shoot.

There is also a method first used in France and adopted in this country in one or two places. You put your rubbish down a large waste-pipe in the sink. It is carried away with the water, which is then separated from it, and the residue is transferred to a furnace and used as part of the fuel to provide a central heating system for the building or the neighbourhood. This is an expensive method unless it can be done on a large enough scale.

### (iii) Heating

It does, however, suggest to us our next problem. How are we going to provide the heating for our home, the hot water for washing-up and for the bath, and the warmth for the sitting-room and the rest of the house?

#### *Hot-Water System*

Our water for washing-up we can, of course, heat in a kettle on our stove or in a copper. We could also heat all the water by means of a range with a boiler attached, and in some homes the pipes from the range to the boiler run through a linen cupboard and so provide for airing. Or, again, we can have a central hot-water system by an ideal boiler, or by a coke furnace supplied for each building or even for the whole district. Neighbourhood heating can also be provided by using the waste heat from the generation of electricity.

#### *Open Fire in Sitting-Room?*

In the sitting-room most of us will probably choose an open fire. If we use this room for cooking, this may be supplied by the range, which is economical. If not, we shall need a separate fire. What shall our fuel be? We shall want to keep our house as clean as possible so as to save labour, but the ordinary coal fire makes a lot of dust and dirt.

#### *The "Smoke Tax"*

It is said that in Britain every man, woman and child pays on an average the sum of £2 a year in "smoke tax." These figures are based only on the cost of the excessive amount of washing and cleaning that is needed, of wear and tear resulting in damage to buildings and of inconvenience caused by fog. They do not take into account the vast losses due to ill-health in respiratory diseases. But the bulk of the smoke in this country does not come from factories and industries. Over three-quarters of it comes from the domestic grate.

Gas or electric fires or the use of a smokeless fuel will save us dust and dirt inside our houses, and a grimy sooty air outside them.

## **4. A Place for our Belongings**

As we stretch luxuriously in a comfortable armchair during this imaginary visit home and look about us, a thought strikes us. New homes will have to be decorated and furnished.

### (i) The Walls

Will their walls be distempered, papered or painted? Will they be light and reveal unerringly the daily marks of sticky fingers, or will they be dark and make the room look gloomy? Or shall we compromise, and paint the height to which the fingers reach in a colour dark but gay, and put cream or white above?

## (ii) Furniture

Much furniture has been destroyed by bombing and by fire, our own, perhaps, among it. We shall need new furniture to replace it, and this suggests two considerations: first, the style of the furniture, and secondly the cost.

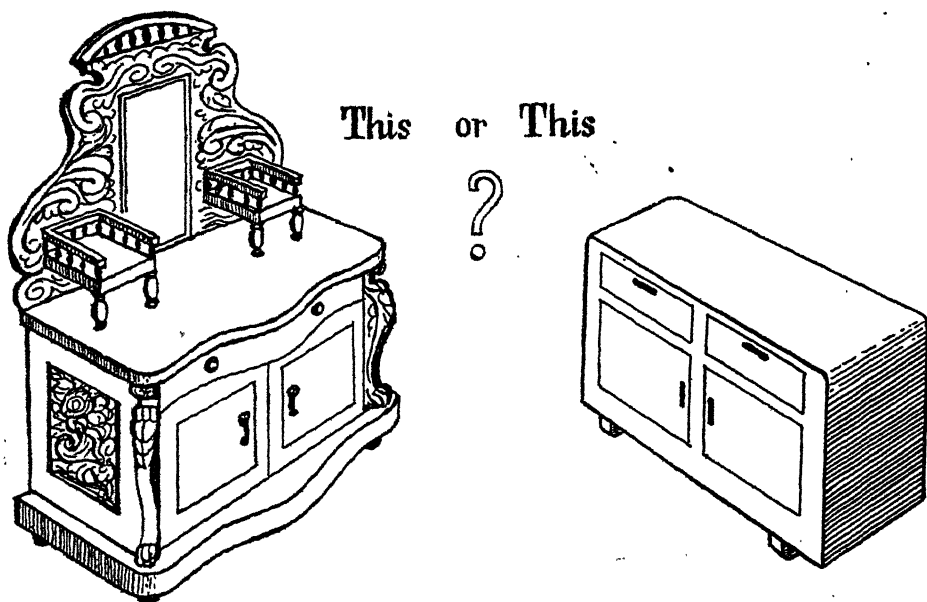


FIGURE 17

(a) *The Style*

There are roughly two types of furniture—the heavy and ornate, with carving that collects the dust, and the plain and simple, with all the work put into smooth-running drawers and well-fitting doors. Which do we prefer? It is obvious that we shall be supplied with the kind for which there is most demand, for no manufacturer is going to make a type that does not sell. Can we train our eyes to recognise the beauty of straight lines and simple curves that are easy to keep clean?

At the present time, in order to save timber, labour and expense, the Government have arranged that furniture shall be standardised in design—what we call “utility furniture,” and since they too appreciate the importance of having a good design, they have appointed a committee, composed of leading experts on the subject, to consider in what style each item of furniture will be made.

(b) *Hire-Purchase Systems*

Before the war many people bought their furniture by the method of hire-purchase. Although this helped people with small incomes, in the end it was a more expensive method than buying it outright, because the firm had to safeguard itself against possible defaults by charging at a high rate. Sometimes, just as the tenants were near their last instalments, they would be ill or out of work for a week or two, and couldn't pay. Then they lost not only their furniture but their money too.

In order to protect with fairness both purchasers and firms, an Act was passed in 1938, which laid down that the cash price of any article sold in this way must be stated, so that you knew how much extra you were paying by buying it in instalments. It also arranged that you could, if you wished, return the goods when you

had paid half the required sum, receiving the money back minus a charge for any damage you had done to them. And if you had paid one-third or more of the price, the furniture could not be taken away from you if you were not able to pay for a week or two. The firm had to take the matter to the court, and you would have a chance to explain why you could not pay, and to ask for a few weeks in which to pay off what you owed.

In some places the local Council or Housing Society started a hire-purchase store. The furniture was sold at little more than cost price, and if tenants could not pay for a week or two the reason was known to the authorities, and a chance was given for paying off when times were better again. Should this last method be adopted on a larger scale?

## 5. A Healthy Place for a Family

We can think immediately of many of the requirements for making the home a healthy place in which to bring up a family. Let us imagine that at home the sunshine floods into the room where we sit—we realise how important it is to have large windows that give plenty of light and air and the value of not being too near the building opposite, especially if it is a tall one which blocks out the light. As we pass from the sitting-room to the bedroom, from the bedroom to the bathroom, we think with pleasure upon the privacy of our home, after perhaps having spent several years herded together with other people.

Yet there are some families whose homes do not meet these requirements and who are always herded together, with, at most, two rooms for father, mother and several children? What can be done for them?

### (i) Rehousing

By an Act of Parliament, passed in 1930, local Councils were asked to find out the bad slums in their areas, and either pull them down or improve them. Moreover, before the war a standard of room-space had been laid down by an Act of Parliament of 1935. This meant roughly that it was illegal to have more than two persons to each room, counting a child as half a person. This was the first time there had been a national standard of room-space and we are the only country which has one.

Many areas were cleared under this Act of 1930 and plans had been made for the clearance of many more when the war put a stop to this work. In some places, however, such as the east end of London, Hitler has continued the work for us, and whole areas are ready to be rebuilt. In what form shall we rebuild them?

### (ii) House or Flat?

Let us suppose that our house has been scheduled for clearance under the 1930 Act, and we are going to be rehoused. We are informed that we can choose between two kinds of new home. We can either take one of the flats on the fourth floor of the block that is going to be built on this site, or we can move to the outskirts of the town and have a small house with a garden. Before we decide, let us talk over the advantages and drawbacks of each type of home.

#### (a) *Home in a Flat*

Our family consists of father, mother, and four children, and we are, let us say, earning a peacetime wage of £3 0s. 0d. a week. The children are all under earning

age. The older are 12, 7 and 4 years, and there is a baby of 6 months. We can have a three-bedroom flat, with a kitchen, living-room and bathroom, say for 15s. 6d. a week, including rates.

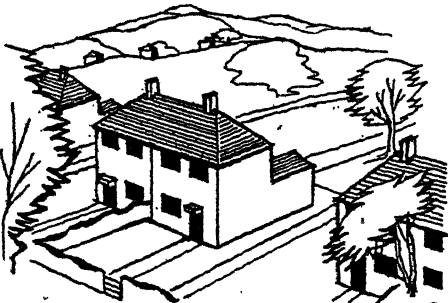

 <p>A Cottage on the outskirts<sup>o</sup></p>	 <p>A Flat in the town</p>		
<p><b>ADVANTAGES</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Garden</li><li>2. Healthier Air</li><li>3. Near the Country</li></ol>	<p><b>DISADVANTAGES</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Rent may be Higher</li><li>2. Further from Work</li></ol>	<p><b>ADVANTAGES</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Near—Work Shops School Friends</li></ol>	<p><b>DISADVANTAGES</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Less Privacy</li><li>2. Less Convenient for Family</li></ol>

FIGURE 18

It would be nice to stay in this neighbourhood, because it's near father's work, mother's shops, the children's school, and all our friends. Against this, however, we shall have to drag baby up and down four flights of stairs every time we want to go out. If the children jump about, the people below will complain. There is a balcony outside our front-door across which two other families have to pass to get to their front-doors. The courtyard is four flights below, too far to put baby out to sleep or Tommy, the four-year-old, to play, while we do the washing.

### (b) *Home in the Suburbs*

What, then, about the cottage on the outskirts of the town? It has a nice garden where the children can play, father can dig, and baby can sleep. The air is healthier, and there is more room to move about. It is not far from the real country, and we could spend a day there now and again.

Against that the rent is possibly about 21s. a week, since it is a complete house. And father will have to travel to and from his work in the centre of the city, which will take about two hours each day off his spare time at home. The fares for these journeys will be expensive, too, and will add a lot to the weekly budget.

We shall be considering this problem of a flat near our work or a house some distance away from it in the next chapter, when we fit our home into its town. There is a solution, about which a lot of thought is being given today, but meanwhile we must return to another problem which arises inside our home.

### (iii) **Problems of Management**

Whether we choose cottage or flat, many problems of house management await us. There are still people, we reflect as we step luxuriously into the hot bath water



in our own homes, who, it is said, keep their coals in the bath. What is the use of providing baths if they are so used in this way, or of providing rooms large and numerous for people who do not keep them clean?

Not everyone, it is true, moved suddenly from conditions of squalor, congestion and decay to those of cleanliness, space and modern amenities, can adjust themselves at once to their new surroundings. They can neither appreciate their appearance nor make use of their facilities, and it may happen that the brand-new home becomes dirty and a slum once more.

### *Housing Managers*

In 1851, from the age of 13, a girl called Octavia Hill started to puzzle over this problem and at last came to the conclusion that it was all a question of education. She was sure that tenants would respond eventually if they were treated with reason by someone with authority to do so, say, the owner or the rent-collector. Experimenting with four houses in a squalid court in Marylebone, she proved that, as a rent-collector, she could gain access not only to the homes, but also to the hearts of her tenants, and that even the most inveterate slum-dweller responded to the influence of clean staircases, bright windows and new paint.

To help her in this work she gathered round her a group of friends, and trained them in her theories of management, and from four houses the property under their control grew to over 2,000 tenancies at her death. Today her system is still carried on by the Society of Women Housing Managers, who train students for this work, and supply them to Local Authorities and voluntary Housing Societies. There are now more than 50,000 tenancies managed in this way.

Sometimes this problem has been dealt with by putting slum tenants, not into brand-new property at once, but into half-way houses, which have been re-conditioned. With the help of a Woman Housing Manager they can there learn gradually the new advantages, and can be moved on to new homes when they are ready for them.

## 6. Conclusion

What, then, have we discussed and decided in this chapter?

- (i) Rebuilding of homes will need to be carried out on a large scale after the war, so as to replace those that have been destroyed or damaged, that are decayed beyond repair, and that are overcrowded.\*

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\* The Government's plans for housing during the immediate post-war period—to bridge the gap until the building industry has regained at least pre-war dimensions—are embodied in two Acts passed during the autumn of 1944.

### (i) *Permanent Houses*

The Housing (Temporary Provisions) Act relates to a short-term programme for building permanent houses. The Government is proceeding on an estimate that the labour position should make it possible to have 100,000 permanent houses built or building 12 months after the end of the European War, and a further 200,000 houses by the end of the second year. These houses will be built by the Local Authorities; it is hoped that private enterprise will contribute its quota. Local Authorities already hold sites for 180,000 houses and are now acquiring sites sufficient for the remainder of the programme. Preparatory work in clearing, levelling and getting sites ready for actual building operations has started in some areas.

### (ii) *Temporary Houses*

The Housing (Temporary Accommodation) Act gives the Government authority to spend £150,000,000 in providing temporary houses for erection by 1st October, 1947. By October 1944, three types of temporary dwellings—one being the Portal steel bungalow—have been officially approved. The aim is to achieve a weekly production of 2,500 temporary houses. These houses will be owned by the Government, licensed for occupation for ten years, and managed and let by the Local Authorities.

- (ii) It is therefore important to start thinking now about how we want those homes rebuilt, so as to have made up our minds before the building is actually started and it is too late to say anything.
- (iii) We mean certain definite things when we speak of a home, and we can use these as a touchstone when we are planning our homes.
- (iv) Bearing in mind the points that we defined as essential in a home, we have considered the provision of meals, the layout and design of the kitchen, the various alternatives for heating, the type and cost of our decorations and furniture, the choice between a house and a flat and the problem of how best to deal with people who are so accustomed to living in a slum that they cannot adapt themselves at once to good surroundings.

But we have not yet considered the fourth essential for a home : that it should be a place from where we could go and see our friends, a place with possibilities near at hand for education, entertainment and so on.

This means that we must step outside and take a look at the neighbourhood.

## Chapter II.

## THE TOWN

### 1. The Appearance

At the end of the first chapter we were about to step outside our home to take a look at its appearance, at its place in the neighbourhood, and at the type of neighbourhood in which we found ourselves.

We suggested in Chapter I that a home should be a place that was nice to look at. Are all the houses built recently on the outskirts of our towns " nice to look at " ? What do we mean by that term ? Do we prefer the look of a single little box, standing four square on its own, or of a long line of houses ? Do we prefer houses built of a lot of different materials, that keep the eye jumping from stuccoed cornices to strips of white-painted wood, from three feet of brick to a contrasting cemented upper storey, from a brown gable over the front-door to a brilliant red-tiled roof ? Or do we prefer a consistency of materials ? Do we want our home to match its surroundings, like the stone villages of Dorset and of some parts of Scotland, or do we prefer them to look imposed upon the scenery, as if they were strangers instead of members of the family ?

We must make up our minds about the style of building we want, because it will be the style that is most in demand that will be supplied to us by the builders.

### 2. The Neighbourhood and our Needs

We have considered how our house should fit in with its setting. Now let us consider how the neighbourhood should fit our needs as a family.

What are these needs ? They could probably be summed up under the following heads :—

#### (i) Our Work

What is to be the relation of our home to our work ?

We found in Chapter I that when we were offered a new home it was often necessary to choose between a flat inside the town, near our work but not very convenient for a family of small children, and a house on the outskirts of the town, which involved a long journey to and fro each day to get to our work in the centre.

Each choice had its disadvantages. Is there no way by which we can arrange our towns so that we can have the advantages of both? Why can we not build cottages with gardens, for example, in the centres of our cities?

### THE NEEDS OF THE FAMILY

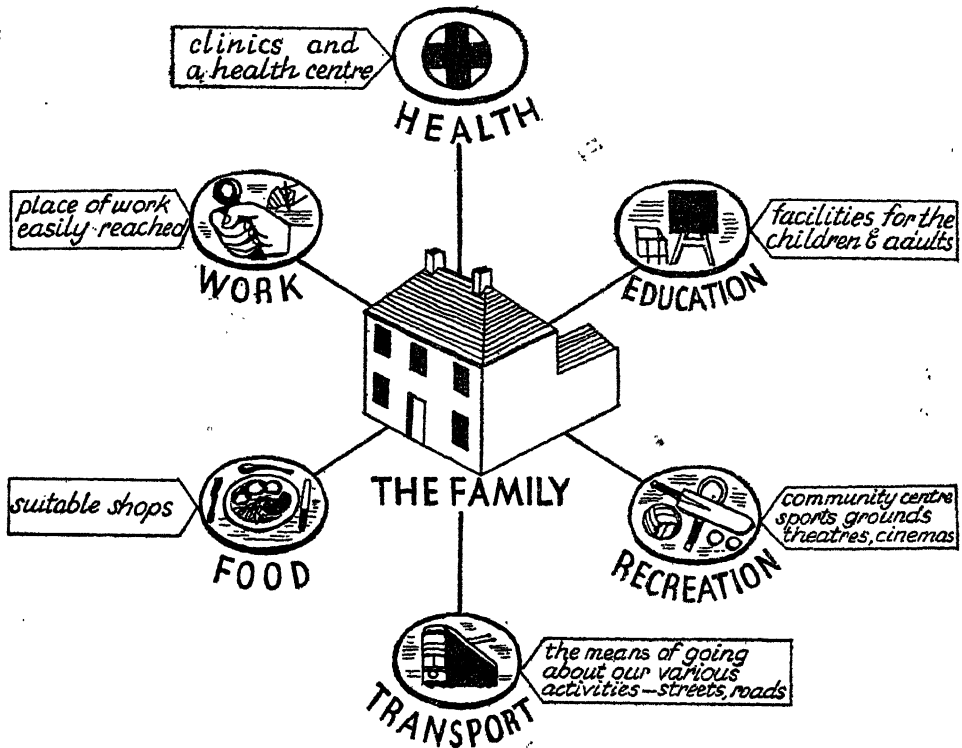


FIGURE 19

#### The Problems

At present industries, businesses and factories all want to be in the centres of the cities so as to be handy for customers, other businesses, railway centres, harbours, etc. This makes it impossible to house within the central area all the people who want to be housed there, if we build our homes in the form of separate cottages. In order, however, to house as many as possible, we have to pile the families one on top of the other. If you want to spread out, you must go to the outskirts of the town, where land is not so much wanted for workplaces.

Thus you pile up and up in the centre of the town, or out and out in the suburbs, so that our cities tend to grow higher and higher inside and larger and larger outside, like a sort of expanding cone. This type of growth has led to several problems.

We shall discover the problems that arise outside the town when we come to the next chapter. Inside the town it has led to the traffic problem. We have spoken of families being overcrowded inside their homes, but they can be overcrowded outside their homes too. For if you pile one home on the top of another you get overcrowding on the site. This means that families all pour out of their homes at the same time to go to work, to school, to the shops, and you get the congestion, bus queues, crowded streets, dangerous roads, and slow-moving traffic that disturbed us so much before the war.

*A Solution: the Garden City*

But why must the workplaces all herd together in the centre of the town? Why can't some of them move to less crowded areas, and leave more room for living places in the centre? So thought Ebenezer Howard, as he sat in the Law Courts in 1898, taking down the speeches in shorthand. Moreover he put his ideas to a practical test.

Mr. Howard wasn't an architect or a town-planner. He wasn't a builder or a surveyor. And he had no money. In fact he was an ordinary member of the public. In spite of that, he built two towns where the inhabitants were within walking distance of their factories, and yet were able to live in a well spaced-out area—in a cottage with a garden. The names of these towns are Letchworth and Welwyn, both in Hertfordshire, and they laid the foundations for many of the new ideas for town building today.

*Decentralising Industry*

But how are we going to persuade industries to move away from the dense centres of our great cities, where they have been established perhaps for years?

Some industries, of course, cannot be moved—for example those that depend on or serve the docks and harbours. Until the war most industries would probably have said that it was impossible for them to move away without harming their business. Forced evacuation, however, proved that this was not always the case. Here, then, may be a good opportunity for persuading certain industries not to return to congested areas, but to establish themselves either in new towns of the type suggested by Howard, or in old country towns which are perhaps in a depressed area and would welcome some fresh life.

*Rebuilding Bombed Areas*

In 1940, let us say, the area in which we lived was bombed. It has since been cleared. We will suppose that some of the industries in our neighbourhood have moved away, so that our old town need not be built up again so densely, and, if we want to, we can have a cottage with a garden near our work.

Some people, however, prefer to live in a flat, for example the single people who are out at work all day, and the old people, who cannot manage to do the housework of a big place. We shall want a variety of homes, and of workplaces too, in our neighbourhood, so as to avoid monotony and provide for all types. Let us build our flats, however, in such a way that the area is not overcrowded, that there is plenty of open space round them, and we can provide gardens to sit in for the old and the tired.

And this question of healthy surroundings and the need for rest brings us to the next of our family needs.

**(ii) Our Health**

We mean by this how to keep well, as well as what to do when we are ill. Many mothers already attend child welfare clinics to learn how to keep their babies well. Should we extend this service to all ages and have a health centre for this purpose in our neighbourhood?\*

**(iii) Our Food**

The good choice of food maintains our health. If we should move to a new neighbourhood we shall, therefore, need shops of the type to which we have previously

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\* See the summary of the White Paper on a National Health Service on pp. 548-52.

been accustomed, whether a market or a store. Also the war has taught a good many of us to grow some of our own food and how good it tastes, so we shall want gardens or allotments near our homes.

#### (iv) Our Education and Recreation

We want facilities not only for our children, in the form of schools for all ages and of all types, but also for ourselves. Many of us would probably like some centre near our home, where there was opportunity for learning a handicraft or a language, for listening to music or joining a choir, for seeing an interesting film or play, and for meeting other people and getting other points of view over a glass of beer or a cup of tea.

#### *Community Centres*

One of the drawbacks of the new housing estates built after the last war was that there were no opportunities provided for getting to know the other people on the estate, or for cultivating interests outside the home. After the first novelty had worn off, some people felt they would rather have slums and sociability than a new house and isolation.

Before the war community centres to supply this need were being provided on some housing estates, yet, in spite of wonderful buildings and equipment, they did not always produce as much community spirit as has been found in the discomfort of the shelters during the war. Why was this? And how can we preserve this wartime community spirit and continue it in the life of our new towns?

#### *Open-Air Recreation*

The community centre, with its clubs and social life, may provide for some of our recreation, but we shall want other opportunities, too, particularly in the open air: playgrounds for the children, sports grounds for ourselves, and open spaces where the whole family can picnic or sit about on fine days.

Shall this open space be like our present parks? Or the gardens in our town squares? Or shall it be bits of real country like our commons and heaths? Sweden, for example, has tried in one of her cities to bring in wedge-shaped bits of country, so that you can walk, or in winter ski, from the heart of the town into the depths of the country, through country surroundings all the way.

#### (v) Transport

Finally, we want to be able to move about from our home on these different activities.

What shall our streets be like? We don't let people scramble over railway tracks. The fast motor traffic is just as dangerous as our trains. Do we want two kinds of roads: one for fast through traffic, on which none of our homes or shops will face, and another for service traffic alone, on which we can live and shop safely and comfortably? Both types of road can be made pleasant to look at with trees and green verges.

We have learnt during the war to do without railings. Do we want to put them up again? If we do not, will our gardens get covered with other people's paper, or have we learnt so much of the value of salvage that we shall never again fail to drop our litter into a basket? How shall we park our cars?

### 3. Size of the Neighbourhood

One more point remains to be considered before our neighbourhood is complete. What size shall it be?

#### (i) Can We Feel Responsible Citizens in a Big City?

Before the war we were inclined to feel that we, one family in a big city, were lost in the vastness of it. We felt of no importance, just one of many thousands of similar families. Who were we, anyway? And how could it matter what we did or said?

#### *A Lesson of the War*

Since the war, however, many of us have found that it matters quite a lot; that what we do or say affects a number of people; that as, say, an air raid warden in charge of a street, a fire guard in charge of a house or an officer of the National Fire Service in charge of an area, we are in fact of vital importance to the community. We know the people, the homes, and the local services of a neighbourhood. If we report on weak spots and make suggestions for improvement, there is a likelihood that our suggestions may be adopted. We have found, in fact, that we are really responsible citizens on whom much depends.

#### (ii) A Suggestion for the Future

Must we lose this newly-found realisation of our own importance and individual responsibility when peace comes again? Is it not this which has given us that sense of purpose which is helping us to win the war? How can we maintain this constructive pride and interest in our neighbourhood, so as to preserve that feeling of purpose for the equally difficult task of reconstruction?

Let us first think how it has come about.

We are divided in the Services into units of a size we can grasp and know. This suggests that our neighbourhood too should be of a size we can grasp and know, and which does not overwhelm us. What size is this?

#### (a) *The Residential Unit*

In the Exhibition produced by the Royal Institute of British Architects, it is suggested that we might start with a residential unit of about 1,000 people, which would provide enough babies to support a good nursery school. This unit would have a pleasant community feeling of its own and would include a few shops for everyday things, a café and a pub.

#### (b) *The Neighbourhood*

Five of these units would provide enough children to support a junior and senior school, so that these residential units could make up a neighbourhood of 5,000 people, for whom would be provided bigger shops, churches, a library, a club, and a health centre, with business offices and a few small industries, like bakeries and laundries.

#### (c) *The Borough*

Eight of these neighbourhood units might make a borough of 40,000 people, with its own town hall, park, swimming baths, railway station, hospital, stores, theatres and cinemas.

*(d) The District*

And finally six boroughs could make up a complete district, with a first-class technical school, an exhibition hall, a place for concerts, a market, and a special hospital

This sort of plan, with each size of unit clearly defined, might serve to provide, not only for our needs as a family, but our capacities and tastes as citizens.

Can we, by comparing towns and villages that we know, decide whether we think this is a workable idea for our new towns, or whether we think some of the sizes suggested are too small or too large?



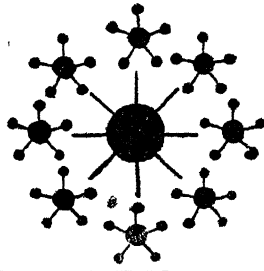
1,000 people form a <b>RESIDENTIAL UNIT</b>		Provided with a nursery school, a few shops, a café and a pub.
5 Residential units form a <b>NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT</b>		Provided with a shopping centre, churches, a library, a club, a health centre, and a few small industries.
8 Neighbourhood units form a <b>BOROUGH UNIT</b>		Provided with town hall, park, swimming baths, railway station, hospital, stores, theatres and cinemas.
6 Borough units form a <i>DISTRICT</i> , which would be provided with a first-class technical school, an exhibition hall, a place for concerts, a market, and a special hospital.		
<i>Note.—The black circles in the centres of the units represent the services available.</i>		

FIGURE 20

#### 4. Conclusion

We have in this chapter dealt with the home and its neighbourhood. We have seen our house fit harmoniously into its natural background. We have provided in its neighbourhood for work places and industries of all types close at hand. We have also provided in the neighbourhood for the needs of our family in the way of shops, health, education, and recreation. We have considered what size that neighbourhood should be to enable us to play a responsible part in its development and maintenance, and yet to provide us with the amenities we need.

But we have still to fit the town into its place in the country as a whole, and to look at our country homes. For this we must leave our home and go and spend the day with the Smiths, who live some distance away in the country.

## Chapter III.

## THE COUNTRY

### 1. Six Problems of the Countryside

We have considered our home in the town. Now let us go and spend the day with the Smiths, and see what living in the country is like.

#### (i) The Spread of the Town

Let us suppose that we go by bus. We have to get from the heart of our town to its outskirts. We drive through thickly-crowded shopping areas. We drive through closely-packed residential areas. We drive through newly-built factory areas. And still we are in the town. We drive through the wider-spaced housing of the suburbs. Yet still we are in the town. We drive through new housing estates with nice little gardens, but we are not in the country. We may drive along a road edged with petrol stations, allotments, chicken coops and cafés. There is an occasional field and you can see a hedge, but it is still not real countryside.

In fact it may be the better part of an hour, even in a bus, before we do reach the real countryside.

Our city has been on the march, eating up green fields. This makes it difficult for the townspeople to reach the real countryside, or the country people to reach the centre of the town, without an expenditure of time, energy and money that they cannot always afford. When the great trek, which we call evacuation, took place at the beginning of the war, this fact came home to us with all its implications, for many of the children who were evacuated from our great cities saw the country for the first time. They had never seen cows or pigs or chickens. They thought milk and vegetables came from a bottle or a tin.

Should children, however town-bred, have no chance of knowing the country better? Should they not have some opportunity of indulging in the freedom which the country gives? We seem to have bred two races foreign to one another: the people who live in the country and the people who live in the big towns. Is this a good thing?

#### (ii) The Advertiser

At last we get clear of the straggling aftermath of our town, and drive along a road with a magnificent view on either side. But from time to time the view is blotted out by a hoarding, jarring and inappropriate both in thought and in design; in thought, because we do not wish to be reminded at this moment whose pills are good for us, whose rubber soles we should wear, or even whose beer we should drink; in design, because it flaunts its size and its huge and blatant lettering against the delicate colouring of the countryside.

Do we really want our countryside peppered with these reminders of daily life? Is it really essential to the maintenance of industry to draw attention to its products in places such as these?

#### (iii) Destruction of Life

We are now arriving at our favourite little country town. Its narrow old streets were spoilt some years ago by the jam of traffic, with some cars parked by the roadside waiting for their owners to finish shopping and others trying to get through the town which lies full in the path of the main road. This problem was overcome by making a by-pass round the outside of the town, so that through traffic could go swiftly by that route. Last time we visited the Smiths we sped round on this road without going through the town at all.



Today we go the same way, but what do we find? A thin stream of small and ugly houses has wound its way like a ribbon down our by-pass. The waiting cars block the road as before. Children from the houses dash across under our wheels. A stream of people emerges suddenly from behind a bus to get to their homes. A few shops have been built to provide for this new neighbourhood, and their vans narrow the road to a single line of traffic.

### THE BY-PASS

ribbon building  
defeating its object

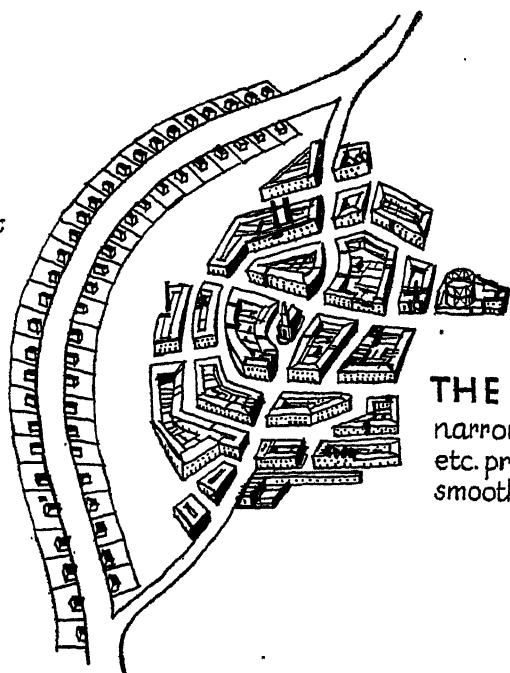


FIGURE 21

There is danger on this road again. Before the war every day saw 18 deaths and 200 accidents on the roads. There is also delay. The cost of delay in London alone is estimated at 25 million pounds a year. Yet as soon as we solve this problem in one place it seems to burst out again in another.

#### (iv) Destruction of Beauty

It is time now for a short halt, and we decide to stop at a spot which used to be one of the most beautiful in all our lovely country. But when we get to it we may find the builder has been there before us, and it has disappeared beneath bricks and mortar, red tiles and the concrete mixer. Piles of dug-up gravel lie heaped about. Grass and heather and bracken are trampled into earth and mud and thrown-out débris, and the open country where our youth could stretch its legs and fill its lungs has been given over to buildings.

#### (v) Destruction of Food

The Smiths are farmers, and have been for generations. They live in a richly agricultural country, whose productive soil we have learnt to value today. This fertile soil is reached some miles before we get to the Smiths, and we have often admired the swaying cornfields, watched with interest the rotation of crops, and looked enviously at the cabbages and turnips produced in such abundance.

But today, as we turn down this road, we may see instead the tall and smoky chimneys of a factory. Round it has sprung up a growth of houses, spreading a mile or more along the road and about a quarter of a mile deep.

The food produced by this stretch of country has gone for good.

#### (vi) Country Isolation

When we arrive at the Smiths, we find them worried. They have lived and worked on the land for generations. Now, however, Bob, the eldest son, says he can get better pay in the town and has gone into a factory. Mary, the eldest daughter, has gone into a shop in the town. She is engaged to marry a young farmer, but the only housing accommodation they can find has no electricity, no gas, and no bathroom, and every drop of water has to be pumped. So she has persuaded him to work in the town also, where they can get a flat. Mr. Smith finds it difficult to manage the work himself. Mrs. Smith feels lonely and isolated without the children, and says she never sees anyone to talk to, and it takes so long to get to the nearest shops and cinemas.

## 2. How to Approach the Problems

As we sit round the Smiths' dinner-table we discuss this series of confusing problems. The town is eating up the countryside and the country people are moving to the towns. Factories are built on food-growing land, yet we agreed in the last chapter that it would be a good thing if some of the factories did move into the country. Remedies for traffic congestion are supplied, and at once cancelled again. How can we disentangle this series of contradictions? Have they all the same basic cause, or does each one have to be solved separately?

#### (i) How Do We Solve our Own Problems?

Let us think for a moment about problems which we have to solve in our own lives.

Take our garden. We like a show of flowers perpetually in bloom, from February snowdrops to Christmas roses. But we must have some cabbages, a row or two of beans, some carrots and a few lettuces. Can it be done? Some quiet evenings with a seed catalogue and a ground plan provide the answer.

The same with our clothes. If we use up that bit of material, we can utilise last year's bag and gloves. Or wait. If we turn the pattern like that, we can manage to get a short jacket out of it as well.

#### (ii) Thinking It Out Beforehand

Now in each of these examples the problem was the same and the answer was the same. In each case we had a limited amount of material and a lot of things to fit into it. But we managed to fit them in by thinking it out beforehand.

In our country of Britain we have just the same problem: we have a limited amount of material and a lot of things to fit into it. Our material consists of 88,750 square miles, of which about 61,000 are effective and suitable for settling large groups of people, or for industry and commerce. Into this we have to fit the needs of a population of over 46 million; their shelter, their food, the industries by which they live, the amenities we discussed in the last chapter, and their recreation. It is clear that a great deal of thought must be given to this question, if we are to use our material to the best advantage.

Have we thought it out? Have we planned our material before cutting into it? Let us look again at our six problems and see what has been done and what more may be required.

### 3. Efforts to Solve the Problems

First we found that the town had grown so big it was difficult to reach the country.

#### (i) Green Belts

One solution suggested for this problem is that the size of each town should be limited, and that beyond that limit should be a green belt of open country, into which the town could not spread. If the town had to spread it must do so by means of satellite towns, placed beyond the green belt, each with a green belt of its own.

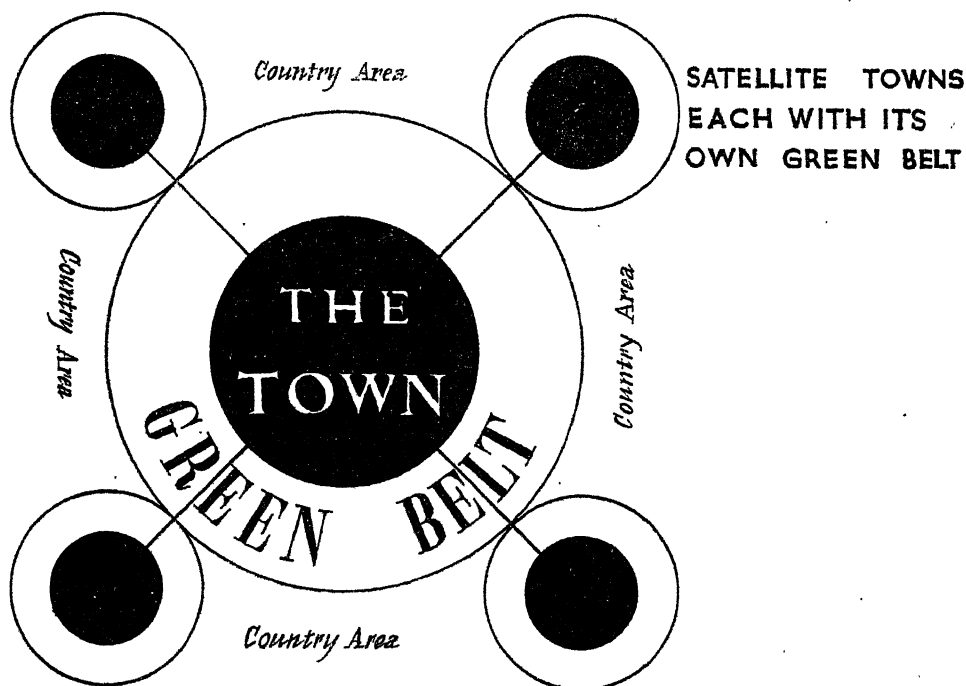


FIGURE 22

#### (ii) Control of Advertisements

Next we found that advertisements were spoiling the look of the countryside.

An effort to control this was made in the Town and Country Planning Act of 1932, which allows a Local Authority to require the removal of any advertisements, under certain conditions, when they are on a piece of land which has been included in a town planning scheme.

#### (iii) Control of Ribbon Development

Thirdly, we found that we had allowed a string of houses to be built along the by-pass, resulting in danger and delay on the roads.

An Act to stop ribbon development was passed in 1935. This enables Local Authorities to prevent building on either side of the main roads by compensating the owners for leaving the land undeveloped. It is often, however, too expensive an undertaking for a small Local Authority to do so, since such land is valuable and therefore the cost of compensation may be high.

**(iv) Preservation of the Countryside**

Fourthly, we found that a stretch of country, of such beauty that it should have been preserved for the people to enjoy, had been used for building purposes.

Several voluntary societies have done their best for many years to prevent this happening. Octavia Hill, whom we last met as a Housing Manager, saw this danger in the early years of this century, and through her work a National Trust was founded, which buys up pieces of country worth preserving for the nation. This it does through the generosity of the public, who sometimes give the land itself, or sometimes the money to buy land with. The Trust now owns about 100,000 acres in England and Wales.

Besides this organisation there is the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, which tries to rouse the public to a consciousness of how their country is being spoilt; the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society; the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings; and several others.

**(v) Saving our Food-growing Land**

For the past quarter of a century England has been losing her richest soil to the towns at the rate of 35,000 acres a year. In the year 1938-39 the loss was as much as 97,000 acres.

The Town and Country Planning Act of 1932 enables Local Authorities to control building on rural areas by making planning schemes which define the use to which such land can be put.

This legislation, however, is largely permissive and often involves the Local Authority in paying compensation which makes it difficult for it to carry out the scheme. Authorities vary in size, and one of them by itself is often too weak financially or in its administration to plan effectively. Sometimes several Authorities co-operate by forming joint committees so as to be able to plan larger areas. We shall meet a suggestion for solving this problem in Chapter IV.

**(vi) Back to the Land**

Finally we come to the Smiths themselves, valuable workers on the land, on whom we depend for the production of our food. Yet, forced by circumstances, they are being lured to the town. In 1921-26, for example, there were about 816,000 people working on the land. By 1938 there were only 593,000—that is to say, about 25 per cent. of the agricultural workers had moved to other jobs. What are the reasons for this move?

**(a) Higher Wages**

This is outside the scope of our discussion, and has recently been helped by the establishment of a minimum agricultural wage of £3 0s. 0d. a week. For many years, however, indeed since the Industrial Revolution began, country workers have been attracted to the towns by the higher rates of wages in industry.

**(b) Better Housing and Amenities**

Although, as we have seen, housing conditions in some cases are still bad in the towns, it is rare to find inhabitants who have no electricity or gas to their hand, or who have to pump their own water.

In the country, however, these services are frequently lacking. Electricity is needed both for working the farms and for helping to make the homes of the workers clean, bright and convenient. Water and drainage

are also needed and, where a main water supply is not yet available, electricity might be used for the pumping. Regular transport between the village and the market town, and the village and the school, would reduce the feeling of isolation.

(c) *A Fuller Life*

The desire for cinemas, plays and concerts, for better educational facilities, better medical services, and the chance to meet other people inevitably lures the younger country dwellers into the towns, where these are available.

The answer may lie in an experiment that can be found in Cambridgeshire. Here four Village Colleges have been supplied, each covering a rural area. The facilities provided by these colleges are partly those of a community centre, partly of an educational centre. The activities range from the provision of an elementary school to lectures for adults, play-production, orchestras and choirs, billiards and allotments. A development of these centres, which have their own transport services, might overcome this problem of a fuller life for country dwellers. Some contend that clubs such as these help to break up family life; others that it is a means of maintaining it.

#### 4. Conclusion

Our day in the country with the Smiths has revealed to us six points for consideration:—

- (i) That it is getting increasingly difficult for townspeople to reach the country or for country people to reach the centre of a large town because the towns are growing so big.
- (ii) That we sometimes deface our countryside with advertisements inappropriate to their surroundings.
- (iii) That although we have tried to find a remedy for traffic congestion, the problem is still with us.
- (iv) That we are building over some of our most beautiful pieces of countryside.
- (v) That we are losing our agricultural land to the towns.
- (vi) That we are losing our agricultural workers to the towns through lack of housing and social amenities.

We then asked ourselves how these problems had arisen, and we examined the efforts that had so far been made to remedy them.

This brings us to the question: are these efforts enough, or can we do more? What should we do if it were our own material we were dealing with? Should we not spread it out carefully and say: here is agricultural soil so we must not build; here is less rich soil so we can use it for industry and housing; here is beauty which we must not spoil.

But indeed these are our problems, for Britain after all is our own country. Can we not, by learning about them, thinking about them, talking about them, decide what we want and why we want it? Then, and only then, can we direct the experts who must work out the technical details. Without us, the people of Britain, without our help and our informed and considered suggestions, they cannot act. If we take a journey into the past, we shall find that it is through the interest and efforts of the people that the good homes and beautiful surroundings that we have come about.

## Chapter IV.

## PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

### 1. How Has It Come About?

In the three chapters on "The Home," "The Town" and "The Country" we have found many efforts to improve the conditions of our homes and many tasks still awaiting us. We have found that a well-arranged home brings health and comfort to a family, but that there are still some families living in squalid, overcrowded conditions. We have found that, though a vast slum-clearance campaign was taking place up till the outbreak of war, there were still dreary and sordid streets, congested traffic, danger on the roads and loneliness in outlying housing estates. We have found that, though we have received from the past a heritage of open country and woods, downland and meadow which it is hard to beat, we tend to spoil it with hoardings and petrol pumps, ribbon development and jerry-built housing.

But how has this come about? Unless we know, we may make the same mistakes again, or we may miss a good idea which might be developed for future use. Let us take a rapid journey through the past, picking out from it those points which may be of use to us.

### 2. The Past

After the Britons had built their first settlements of rectangular wooden houses in the clearings of our forest-covered land, they started to plough and sow the soil which fixed them to their homes in early agricultural communities.

#### (i) Early Housing Estates

It is not, however, until the arrival of the Romans that we begin to see symmetrical towns and villas springing out of our still luxuriant forest, and roads running straight, well-constructed, and purposeful across our countryside. To the south-east, where the sea indents so deeply into the land, you may watch the birth of a town, rectangular in design as any modern American city; compact within its stone, encompassing walls; a town with a bridge, where half the Roman roads from the north and the south converge; a town of commerce, from where the riches of this country are shipped across the seas; the town that is to be the pride, the darling, the despair, the admiration of the centuries: the town of London.

#### (ii) Our Parish System

Later, say between 300 and 1000 A.D., the planned cities and roads of the Romans give way to the large rural townships of the Anglo-Saxons. They leave alone the luxurious villas of their predecessors, and group their log houses round the big hall of their lord. They need, you notice, a centre. Another kind of centre, too, is springing up in those solid, square-towered stone buildings, where men meet to pray and form the parish system of England.

#### (iii) Planning the Land

Moving quickly through the next 300 years, we take a glance at Britain as we pass. She has not the chessboard appearance of today. Along the newly-drained river valleys lie villages of from two to five hundred people, grouped round the village church and manor house in the middle of open fields. These fields are divided into hundreds of little strips, each an acre or half an acre in size, separated by grass footpaths. It looks like a group of allotments on a gigantic scale. But the land is

planted in careful rotation of cattle grazing, wheat or rye, and oats or barley. This plan is made locally by the village. The inhabitants realise that their future welfare lies in the skilful use of their land.

Is there a lesson to remember in that ?

#### (iv) First Drift to the Towns

As the plague of the Black Death comes spreading across the country in the 14th century, the stricken population leave the land untilled and overgrown, and we see the law stepping in to limit the mobility of the free labourer, who tends to drift away from his village in search of highly-paid employment. That seems to have a familiar ring somehow.

#### (v) The Homes Change

Now we are speeding through the 16th century, and the look of the homes as well as of the countryside is altering. The manor-house is not necessarily of stone. Sometimes it is of half timber, sometimes of the new-fangled brick. Even the poor man's house has glass instead of horn in the windows, and chimneys to draw away the smoke.

#### (vi) Attempts at Planning

Queen Elizabeth, more farsighted than we have been today, sees the approaching though distant danger of the unwieldy growth of London. In an attempt to stop it, she creates the first "Town-Planning Act", forbidding houses to be built beyond certain boundaries.

And many years later, in the 17th century, another opportunity presents itself for making London a city worthy of its greatness. When the Great Plague of 1665 and the Great Fire in the following year had done their worst, the King called his surveyor, Sir Christopher Wren, and ordered him to make a new plan to rebuild London. Sir Christopher was a man of vision and he drew up a plan which, had it been carried out, might have saved us from many of our traffic and transport difficulties today.

#### (vii) Architects of the Countryside

The landscape now looks more bare and bald, for trees have been ruthlessly cut down by Cromwell's men or for the building of ships or for iron-smelting. Then a Mr. Evelyn, stepping before us in 1664, publishes a "trumpet note of alarm to the nation on the condition of their woods and forests," and starts the new hobby of tree-planting. The great landowners, the smaller gentry, the farmers, Repton the first landscape gardener, and many others have the courage to consider the future, for they plant trees whose full growth they will never see, and they design landscapes of which they can never enjoy the benefit.

Today, as we watch our own landscapes deprived of their trees in the nation's cause, can we say the same of ourselves ? Do we feel sure that we too, when the day comes, will have the vision to plant for the future ?

#### (viii) Architects of the Town

Now we are passing through the 17th into the 18th century, a time of town development in comfortable streets and squares. John Nash is producing Regent Street, Craig is working in Edinburgh, the Woods are at Bath, and the Adam

brothers are developing the Adelphi building in London. These and other builders are showing that graciousness and serenity can be produced in towns as well as in countryside.

#### (ix) The Steam Engine Takes a Hand

But now, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, a throbbing sound is heard. The scene becomes almost invisible through a cloud of smoke and steam. Dimly we see, as we peer through it, a welter of industrial development—factories rising everywhere and to work in them our village populations are again streaming towards the towns.

For these factory workers some shelter must be provided, and round these factories are springing up crowded, sordid, monotonous little dwellings, many of which still exist today. They leave us not only a legacy and a problem, but a lesson as to what happens when building is done in a hurry.

#### (x) And the Petrol Engine

As we pass into the 20th century, we get the reactions to this overcrowded, unhealthy town life. On the improving roads snorts a strange and uncouth monster, travelling at the unheard-of speed of 15 miles an hour. Watch it gain momentum, for it is to have as great an influence on our homes in town and country as Wren or Nash. For good or for evil, the petrol engine has made its appearance to help the craving for escape from the towns.

Those who are able to do so move outside into the country. They cannot go far because they must reach their work inside the towns, but, as we have already seen, they spread across the countryside, across the green fields, through the planted woods, along the main roads, in an unending stream of little houses, till one town joins another, and the word "conurbation" has to be coined for an unbroken collection of towns.

### 3. The Last War and After

In our journey through the past we have almost reached the present. Now we want to go a little more slowly and take note more carefully of the developments which have had an immediate and considerable effect within our own experience.

#### (i) Rent Restriction

Now comes the Great War, and the housing shortage becomes acute. No houses are built for four years. Many are growing old. Families, though smaller than hitherto, are on the increase, so that more homes are needed. Rents soar, and, in an effort to stop this, the Rent Restrictions Acts are passed which culminate in the Act of 1920. They restrict increases of rent for houses of a specified rateable value, and give the tenants some protection against eviction.

Have we learnt anything from that lesson today? Yes, for on the outbreak of the present war, Parliament passed an Act which continued the existing control until six months after the end of the emergency and brought more houses than hitherto within the scope of the control.

Today there are included in these restrictions all houses with a rateable value, on 6th April, 1939, of £75 or less in England and Wales, of £90 or less in Scotland, and £100 or less in the Metropolitan Police District and the City of London.



**(ii) The Great Housing Campaign\***

Here in 1918 come the demobilised men, from Flanders, from France, from the East, clamouring for places to make their homes. And in response we see unfold the greatest housing campaign of all time. Four million dwellings are built in twenty years; money, materials and labour are poured forth to provide four million homes. The building was done partly by private enterprise, partly by the Local Authorities, and the following figures for 1930-39 give the proportions :—

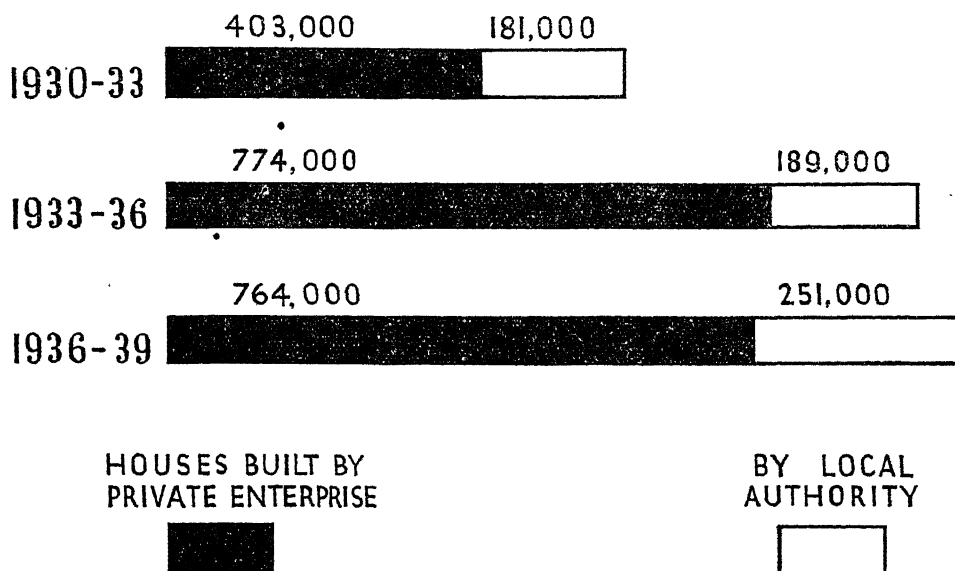


FIGURE 23

It is an effort as fit to rouse admiration as any we have noticed on our journey. How was it done?

**(iii) The Part of the Public**

First come the public, demanding, pressing, urging. They are of two kinds: those who themselves want the homes, and those who see the need of them for others. The second kind sometimes band themselves together in voluntary Housing Societies, to draw the attention of the public and the authorities to bad housing conditions, and occasionally to build homes themselves as well. By keeping public interest alive, and by trying out in their building schemes experiments which, when proved successful, may be adopted by bigger authorities, these Societies play a not inconspicuous part in the campaign.

They are able, moreover, to charge low rents for their dwellings, because they obtain money cheaply from members of the public interested in the improvement of housing conditions, and who either give the money free, as a voluntary donation, or are willing to accept a low rate of interest. These Societies have been able, therefore, to cater sometimes for a different kind of tenant from those provided for by the Local Authorities.

\* For a comparison with the Government's present short-term housing plans, see the footnote on p. 271.

**(iv) Private Enterprise**

The private builder was responsible, without financial aid, for 2,500,000 of the 4,000,000 dwellings. Sometimes these houses were provided by individuals who employed an architect to design them and a builder to build them. Sometimes it was the builder himself who built houses as a speculative venture, and sold them to the purchasers. The builders' houses were not always successful since they were often built cheaply and hurriedly and without the advice of an architect.

In both types of private enterprise the Building Society played an important part, by advancing money to the purchaser of a house. A Building Society is different from a voluntary Housing Society, since it is a commercial concern in which the public invest, just as they would in any business, and expect a good return on their money.

**(v) Local Authorities**

Then come the local Councils, large and small, with powers to provide the largest housing schemes. For example, there is London, which builds 90,000 dwellings, some in housing estates outside its own boundaries, some in blocks of flats within them; Manchester, with its effort to create another garden city in the satellite town of Wythenshawe; Leeds with its experiments in drainage and in lifts; and many others.

**(vi) The Ministry of Health and the Housing Acts**

Next we must look at the Ministry of Health, under its successive Ministers, striving to solve this tremendous problem. A number of Housing Acts are passed during these twenty years, and when we look at them we notice one feature common to them all: the feature of the subsidy. This is a grant of money, paid sometimes to the Local Authority, sometimes to the private builder, to encourage the provision of low-rented dwellings. The scale of the grant depends sometimes on the number of persons rehoused, sometimes on the cost of the building or land.

**(vii) Help for the Tenants**

Last, but far from least, come the tenants, some of them struggling in their new homes to pay rents too high in proportion to their incomes. It was hoped that the subsidy would be able to bring down rents to a figure which the lower-paid worker could afford. But building costs were so high that this was not possible in every case, and experiments such as rent rebates and family allowances were tried by some Housing Societies and some Local Authorities in an effort to solve this problem.

Let us consider an example from a Council housing scheme. The Browns, who live next door to the Robinsons, have two grown-up children, who are both earning and contribute something every week to the family income. The Browns cannot afford to buy a house in the open market, built for profit by a private builder. But they can comfortably afford the rent of the Council house, which has been reduced by the subsidy, and do not need extra help from public money. The Robinsons, however, have a family of four small children and cannot afford to pay this rent.

***Rent Rebates***

A method of adapting the rent to suit the income of the tenants is sanctioned in one of these Housing Acts passed in 1930, and more fully in another passed in 1936. It is suggested that the subsidy is intended for the tenant who needs it, for as long as he needs it, and that it should not just be used for all the municipal houses, irrespective of the income of their tenants.

The idea of this method is that the rent shall be adjusted to the income of the tenant, and the number of people he has to keep on that income. The most usual way of arranging this is to deduct a certain amount, say 6d. or 1/–, from the weekly rent for every child in the family who is not earning. Another way is to take one-fifth of the tenant's income as a suitable proportion of what he should spend in rent, irrespective of the number of children he has, and to fix the rent at that.

A number of housing authorities, both Local Authorities and Housing Societies, already carry out some scheme of rent rebates, or differential renting, as it is sometimes called.

### *Family Allowances*

However excellent this system may be in the hands of Local Authorities or Housing Societies, it does not, of course, solve the rent problem for large, poor families in houses owned by private landlords. Some people think that a better method of arriving at the same end is to adopt a system of family allowances. This consists of giving a weekly sum to each family on behalf of each dependent child, and the allowances are, as a rule, paid for either by the State or by the employers.

## 4. The Present

On the outbreak of the present war we see all building stopped by the Defence Regulations, except what was required for war purposes under the authority of the Government. Any building operations costing more than £100 now require a licence.

In 1940 Hitler's bombs bring the realisation that there will have to be a big programme of rebuilding when the war is over, and that it will be an opportunity to rebuild on better lines. But as we envisage this possibility we may ask: how can we be sure that we build the right homes for the right people in the right place near the right work?

These questions are discussed in three reports which have been presented to Parliament during the war. They are:—

- (i) Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population, 1940. (Barlow Report.)\*
- (ii) Report of the Committee on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas, 1942. (Scott Report.)\*
- (iii) Final Report of the Expert Committee on Compensation and Betterment, 1942. (Uthwatt Report.)\*

### (i) Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population

The Royal Commission, with Sir Montagu Barlow as Chairman, was appointed to examine generally the causes and effects of changes in the location of industry. Its report recommends that redevelopment of congested city areas should be undertaken; that decentralisation of industries and industrial population from these areas is essential; and that action is necessary on a national scale, for which a central planning authority would be required.

A central authority is now developing. At present there is for England and Wales the Ministry of Town and Country Planning and for Scotland the Secretary of State for Scotland.

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\* For details of the publication of these reports see the footnote on p. 49.

## (ii) Committee on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas

The Royal Commission had no power, however, to consider where those industries should go, which it had recommended should be decentralised from the big towns.

To continue the story and to consider this and other problems of the countryside, a Committee was appointed in 1942 under the Chairmanship of Lord Justice Scott. The Committee considered the conditions which should govern building and other constructional development in country areas so as to harmonise with the maintenance of agriculture, and, in particular, the factors affecting the location of industry and their bearing on the economic life, employment and the well-being of the countryside and the people living in it.

The Committee points out that all land is not equally fertile, and that this must be remembered when there is a question of building on any part of it. It recommends that all land in the countryside should be included in planning schemes. It suggests that, on balance, the introduction of industry into the towns of country areas would be beneficial, so long as careful thought were given to its placing. It urges that the special needs of agricultural workers should be taken into account in any post-war housing schemes, and is anxious that village life should be made attractive by social activities and centres, and by facilities for recreation.

## (iii) Expert Committee on Compensation and Betterment

In the subjects of both the Barlow Commission and the Scott Committee a problem occurs which they were not empowered to solve, but which, unless it could be solved, might make the implementing of their recommendations almost impossible. This was the problem of acquiring control of the development of land and of compensating those people whose land, as a result of this control, went down in value.

An Expert Committee on Compensation and Betterment, with Mr. Justice Uthwatt as Chairman, was therefore appointed in 1942 to examine the subject of the payment of compensation and recovery of betterment in respect of public control of the use of land ; to consider possible means of stabilising the value of land required for development or redevelopment, and any extension or modification of powers to enable such land to be acquired by the public on an equitable basis ; and to advise what alterations to the existing law would be necessary.

The Committee recommends a combination of measures, including :—

- (a) *Building Rights* : That the Government should acquire the building rights on all the land in the country which has not yet been built over. The owners would still own it, but they could not build on it, or sell or lease it for building, except by arrangement with the State.
- (b) *Powers for Local Councils* : That Local Councils should have wider compulsory powers to buy land and redevelop it. This is regarded as specially necessary in blitzed and badly arranged areas, where there may be a number of different owners, as it would mean that the streets and building plots could be rearranged on one plan instead of on a number of little ones.
- (c) *Rules for Compensation* : That new rules, which the report describes, should be adopted for fixing what compensation should be paid to owners.
- (d) *Periodic Levy* : That inside town areas any owners whose land increases in value should pay a periodic levy of, say, three-quarters of the increase in value.

**(iv) What the Reports Do**

These three reports, then, make a survey with a view to future action. They have done in a big way just what we are trying to do in a small way; they have found out the facts, presented them, formed opinions about them, and made suggestions based on those opinions. All three reports are still under discussion and consideration by the Government.\*

Two of them, the Barlow Report and the Scott Report, have been accepted in principle as have also the Uthwatt recommendations as to the purchase of reconstruction areas and measures to stop speculation. Some of their recommendations are in process of being implemented, such as the setting up of a national planning authority by means of the recently-formed Ministry of Town and Country Planning, which we have already noted.

This Ministry took a first step early in 1943 in the shape of the Town and Country (Interim Development) Bill, which was placed before Parliament.† This is a limited Bill directed to secure that no acre of England and Wales shall go unplanned; to prevent the plans of Local Authorities being frustrated, while still in the workshop stage, by selfish developments; and to facilitate co-operation between Local Authorities.

**5. What Can We Do?**

As members of the public we have a grave responsibility for the future. Already, for example, we have noted the surge of public opinion that brought the immense housing campaign in the years between the wars. Technicians may draft plans, politicians may pass laws, but they are of little value without our support and co-operation. If this is so, what can we do about it?

**(i) Learn the Facts**

First, we have got to know what we are talking about. It is impossible to state anything with conviction, or to make up our minds with any certainty, unless we really know the facts on which to base our arguments. This means a good deal of study followed by much thought, because, having got the facts on each side of a question, we have got to decide which view we agree with.

**(ii) Talk about the Facts**

Secondly, having got facts and opinions, we can talk about them. This does two things: if the people we talk to have opinions also, it gives us the chance of comparing notes, and of developing and enlarging our ideas; if, on the other hand, the people we talk to know nothing about it, we are introducing them to the subject and adding to the body of informed public opinion.

**(iii) Express our Choice**

But we can be more active than this, for we can influence supply by our type of choice. For instance, we have already said that whatever type of furniture or style of house sells best will obviously be the one supplied. Therefore, if we refuse to buy a shoddy type of furniture or house, and insist on these being well-designed, we shall eventually get them. Again, if we want a certain type of policy carried out, it is up to us to see that the people we put into our local Councils or into Parliament are those who also wish for this policy.

\* See the summaries of the White Paper on Employment Policy on pp. 554-7, of the Town and Country Planning Bill on pp. 560-1, and of the White Paper on the Control of Land Use on pp. 562-3.

† Since this was published, the Bill has become law.

**(iv) Make the Necessary Sacrifices**

Then there is another, rather different way, in which we, as makers of public opinion, can influence the future of our homes, and that is by being prepared to make sacrifices in order to get what we have decided is best. That, after all, is what we are doing during the war. We are putting up with things and going without things in order to achieve what we want.

Can we not do the same for the sake of achieving a healthy, happy country? It may mean, for example, that, if we want our new homes carefully planned, both inside and out, and built in the right places, we shall have to go without them for a year or two while those plans are being made. Or it may mean going without things we want after the war in order to pay in our taxes for our new homes. But if we realise what it is we are aiming at—as we shall, if we inform ourselves of the facts—and if we want badly enough to see our aim turned into realisation, then we shall be ready to make sacrifices in order to achieve this aim.

**(v) The First Condition for Achievement**

But there is one essential on which everything else depends. We can have as definite opinions as we like, we can know just what we want and why we want it, but none of it will be the slightest use if we have Hitler's Government and not ours to deal with. We should then be given what they thought good for us, and we should be allowed no voice in the matter at all.

Therefore the first and most immediate task is to win the war. While we are winning it, we can be doing our thinking and making up our minds. And when we have won it, we shall be both ready and able to say what we want. But until that task is behind us, all our plans for the homes of the future in this country are in jeopardy. It is as important that we should face this fact honestly, as it is that we should realise that victory will bring not a relaxing but a transmitting of our efforts. It is not a time of rest that we may look forward to, but an adventure, a challenge and a very great responsibility.

SECOND SEQUENCE: REPORT ON THE NATION

B.W.P. 10

# THE HEALTH OF THE CITIZEN

By

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## Chapter I.

## WHOSE JOB IS HEALTH ?

### 1. What Is Health ?

To be healthy is much more than merely to be free from recognisable disease. It is to be purposeful in living and to entertain the hope of achieving this purpose ; not to suffer loneliness but to share with others in the adventure of living ; to be keenly aware of oneself and one's external world, and to be gladly concerned in the exploration of both.

#### (i) Healthy in Body and Mind

The human body is a marvellous machine built up of a number of specialised component parts, just as a motor car is. These parts are the different organ-systems—respiratory, digestive, muscular, nervous, excretory, etc. Each of these makes its own special contribution to the wellbeing of the whole, but no one of them is independent of the others. They are all co-ordinated and if any one of them is defective, the whole body becomes affected and diseased.

But a man is more than a machine. He has a mind. Nor is he mass-produced in a set pattern. He is an individual with his own particular qualities, both of mind and body. And to be healthy, the individual must be healthy in every respect, in body and in mind, for a diseased body can provoke disorder of the mind, just as a disordered mind can lead to a defective body.

#### (ii) Enemies of Health

Man shares this earth and its riches with a great multitude of other living things. Many of these cater for his needs ; others compete with him for the resources of the earth. Some live on man, just as man depends on others for his food and clothing. And certain minute living things, bacteria and viruses, for

example, living on and in the human body, cause disease. In order to flourish, they must gain access to the human body, within which they feed and multiply and, in so doing, harm and even destroy their hosts.

Some of these pass into the human body by way of food and water, others by the air a man breathes, and still others by the contact of human bodies. Some, such as the louse and the mosquito, feed on man, sucking his blood. Since they carry within their own bodies the germs of disease, they can transmit these germs to the human beings they bite.

To be healthy, therefore, a man must be free from, and protected against, such disease-causing germs.

### **(iii) What Protection against these Enemies?**

Man lives in groups, herded in societies, so that the germs of disease can readily pass from individual to individual. He builds houses and towns and sometimes, knowing but little about human requirements and caring less, he has built them without adequate space or proper ventilation, lighting and water supply. He has engaged in dangerous trades and occupations that must cause disease unless the greatest precautions are taken.

Advances in science have given us accurate knowledge of what man needs in the way of food, both in quantity and quality, and what he needs in clothing, housing, ventilation, exercise, leisure and education.

## **2. Are We Healthier in the Army?**

The knowledge is being applied eagerly and thoroughly in the Army, nowadays, and the standard of health of the Army in this country is higher than that of the civil population from which the Army is drawn.

### **(i) The Army Selects the Fittest**

There are several reasons for this high standard of health.

First of all, the Army is composed of young adult men and women in their prime, whereas the civil population includes representatives of all ages from babies of one day to centenarians. As would be expected, illness is more common at the two extremes of life, among the very young and among the old.

Secondly, of the young adults who are called up for the Army, not every one passes the recruiting board's examination. These boards are sieves of selection, which pass into the Army only those who can attain certain defined standards of mental and bodily fitness. The weaklings, the deformed and the defective are rejected and returned to civil life.

Finally, there is a constant discharging back from the Army into civil life of those who are found to be suffering from defects or derangements that were not recognised by the recruiting boards, or who have developed defects which render them unfit for further soldiering.

Thus only the relatively healthier are accepted and retained, the rest being returned to civil life.

### **(ii) And the Army Makes Them Fitter**

Not only is soldiering a fit man's job; it is a job which makes men fit. The soldier must be quick-witted, intelligent, agile and capable of enduring privation and great stress and hardship, and his training and education are directed towards equipping him with these qualities.



He is prepared for fighting against highly-trained, well-equipped enemies of high morale in the dank jungles of Burma, under the fierce cloudless skies of African deserts or among the ice-topped mountains of Norway. He must carry for long distances loads which, in relation to his bodyweight, are greater than those heaped upon an elephant's back. He must use and understand machines of great complexity and delicacy, and tackle jobs which everyone would have regarded as being beyond his capacity in civil life.

### 3. The Health Services of the Army

It is not surprising therefore that the Army authorities have applied to military affairs all the existing knowledge concerning the ways of preserving and elevating the health of the individual.

#### (i) A Job with a Purpose

Very great attention is given to morale. The morale of the Army is high and morale can be measured in a battalion and an Army, as in the country as a whole, by the amount of sickness among its members. The higher the morale, i.e. the greater the faith and confidence the group has in itself, in its leaders, and in the value of the tasks it is required to undertake, the lower the sick rate will be.

Young people entering the Army are told of the Army's history, its traditions, its organisation and the job it has to do in the service of the nation. They are invited to share in its hopes, in its failures and its successes, to become partners in a vast and purposeful adventure which promises great benefit to mankind. Everyone is encouraged to realise that he or she plays an essential part in the Army, and has a personal contribution to make to the common good.

#### (ii) The Right Man for the Right Job

The Army does its utmost to ensure that the individual is fitted for the job he is to do. The bodily and mental qualities of every recruit, as well as the skills and aptitudes he has learnt by training and experience, are discovered. Since the jobs that have to be done in the Army are known, it is possible for every recruit to be earmarked for the kind of job for which he is best suited.

Such a personnel selection system, which guides men to suitable tasks, does much to prevent misfits, and this is a most important factor in the preservation of health. A man who is happy and content in his job, who feels that he is being used to the best advantage, is far less likely to become "browned off" and begin to magnify slight aches and pains into disability.

It is, of course, obviously too much to expect that every man and woman in the Army will get exactly the kind of job each would prefer. There may be no such job in the Army or not enough jobs to absorb all those who want them.

#### (iii) The Part of the M.O.

The regimental Medical Officer is primarily concerned with the preservation and elevation of the health of the troops under his care. He, like his patients, is a soldier, a member of the same community and sharing its ideals.

His first task is to keep himself and them fit in mind and body, to recognise the earliest signs of trouble and to guide his patients towards expert specialist knowledge whenever this is needed. He is required to ensure that the orders relating to health matters, issued by higher military authority, are observed by the unit of which he is part, and to act as expert adviser to the unit in all questions of rations, clothing, accommodation, sanitation, vaccination and inoculation, etc.

Co-operating with him are the Dental Officer, and the Command or Divisional specialists in hygiene and pathology.

#### (iv) Behind the M.O., the Specialists

Behind the regimental M.O. are specialists and consultants in the various branches of medicine, who are concerned with the treatment and cure of disease, and the return of the soldier, restored in health, to his unit.

### MEDICAL SERVICES IN THE ARMY

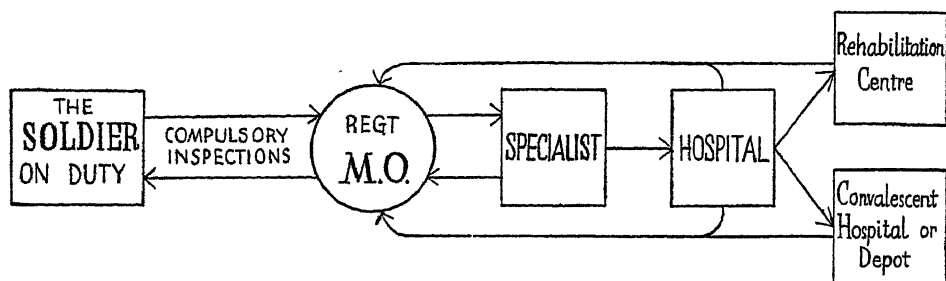


FIGURE 24

The soldier, reporting sick at the M.I. room, can be referred by his M.O. to a specialist at the nearest hospital for examination and opinion. On the staff of the typical hospitals in this country to which he may be sent, there are specialists in medicine, surgery, eye diseases, ear, nose and throat diseases, radiology (X-rays), whilst in certain hospitals in each Command there are specialists in skin diseases, V.D., diseases of the nervous system, bone and joint surgery, and physical medicine (remedial and purposeful physical exercises).

#### (v) Treatment in Hospital

If necessary, the soldier is admitted to the wards of the hospital to receive treatment at the hands of the specialists concerned. Command consultants and consultants on the staff of the War Office, doctors of eminence in their profession in civil life, generally supervise the work of these specialists and ensure that the highest standards of professional skill are maintained.

#### *Convalescent Hospitals*

When treatment is completed, the soldier, according to his general condition, may return to his unit or go on for a while to a convalescent hospital, a convalescent depot or to a rehabilitation centre. There, as the result of training to suit his capacity and need, he becomes hardened and fit to resume his duties.

#### (vi) Physical Development Centres

Since it was found that many raw recruits could not be expected, because of their poor general physical condition, to stand up to the intensive training at the Primary Training Centres, a number of Physical Development Centres have been created. In these the under-developed receive special care, and with purposeful exercises and suitable training the great majority soon fill out. They are then returned to the Primary Training Centres, able to last the course.

#### 4. How Do the Civil Health Services Compare ?

Let us now look at some of the differences between the Army and civil health services.

##### (i) Regular Medical Inspections ?

In civil life the majority of people visit or call in the doctor only when they are, or think they are, ill ; in the Army the M.O. is for ever inspecting the troops under his care, watching their health and looking for the first signs of ill health.

##### (ii) Specialist Advice and Hospital Accommodation ?

In civil life it is not always easy to get to see a specialist at a hospital, and if admission is necessary, a non-urgent case may have to wait for weeks or even months before there is a vacant bed. In civil life only the larger hospitals in the larger centres of population have comprehensive specialist staffs always available, and equipment sufficient to permit any and every kind of modern treatment to be undertaken. Post-war plans, however, aim at reorganising the hospital system so that a patient may readily get the treatment he needs.

The provision of purely military hospitals in any particular area and the size of their staffs are determined by the number of Emergency Medical Service hospitals available and the number of troops to be catered for, and it is generally possible for an M.O. to fix an early appointment with a specialist.

##### (iii) Accepting Treatment ?

In civil life the grown-up individual can please himself and decide to remain unprotected against infectious diseases, such as smallpox or typhoid, and parents can please themselves and refuse to have their children vaccinated against smallpox or inoculated against diphtheria. A great deal of popular health education, however, has been undertaken during the last few years.

In the Army the soldier can refuse to be vaccinated or inoculated, but, if he persists in his refusal, he becomes exposed to the great pressure of public opinion and to the arguments of his M.O. It is pointed out to him that there is no merit in making himself an efficient soldier, if, at the same time, he leaves himself exposed to the attacks of enemies more dangerous than Germans or Japs. The overwhelming majority of soldiers, who have joined the Army to get on with the war and to defeat the enemy, are more than prepared to be guided by the advice of their Medical Officer, for unless they are protected against smallpox and typhoid, they cannot easily be sent to fight in those parts of the world where these diseases are rampant.

#### 5. What Do the Army Intakes Show ?

The problems of the Army doctor in this country are concerned, not so much with battle casualties and the treatment of sickness contracted abroad, as with the poor physical and mental condition found in many of the intakes, the products of malnutrition, faulty housing, faulty upbringing and of neglect.

Under-development, dental decay, emotional instability, lack of a sense of social responsibility—these are some of the handicaps which far too many of our young men and women bring with them and which have to be overcome before they can take their places in the Army. The faults of our social structure and the inadequacies of the pre-war medical, dental and educational services are clearly revealed among the Army intakes of today,

### Too Little Attention to Prevention ?

There can be no doubt that the medical profession as a whole, in pre-war days, was forced to give far too much of its thought and energy to the treatment and cure of disease, and far too little to preventing disease.

The doctor is a servant of the public, and gives to society the kind of service society needs and demands. Until very recently in this country, very few private individuals were seriously interested in their own or other people's health, while great numbers, being themselves unwell or afraid of being ill, were keenly interested in disease. There was so much sickness about, so much to be treated and cured, that the universities and colleges, where medical students were taught, offered courses of instruction which were almost entirely concerned with the diagnosis, treatment and cure of disease.

## 6. The Partners in the Civil Health Services

Yet there were in this country very large and comprehensive *health* services, concerned not only with the cure but with the prevention of disease. Let us look at the partners in their operation.

### (i) Parliament

Parliament itself is the final national health authority. There is the Minister of Health, the Minister of Labour, the Home Secretary, the Minister of Food and the Secretary of State for Scotland, each the head of a large Department and each directly concerned, in greater or less degree, with the preservation and elevation of our health. Through some of these Departments, Parliament guides the activities of the Local Authorities—the popularly elected Councils of all kinds and sizes—in matters relating to the health of the community.

### (ii) Local Authorities

The Local Authorities are concerned with the local application of Acts of Parliament.

Under the Local Authority there is a Medical Officer of Health (not of disease, be it noted) who is the head of the local health services. These services vary in size and complexity with the size and composition of the local population. Obviously an industrial region with slums demands a kind of health service that must differ from that of a residential district inhabited by the well-to-do.

In a typical city area there are the superintendents and staffs of the general, mental and infectious diseases hospitals, the school medical and dental officers, maternity and child welfare officers, a tuberculosis officer, a V.D. officer, health visitors, nurses and midwives. There are also an engineer, concerned with such things as sewerage and water supplies, an architect dealing with housing, a veterinarian, sanitary and food inspectors, and many others.

### *What Services Do They Provide?*

Few members of the general public encounter the M.O.H. and the members of his staff, save the school doctor and dentist, yet the lives of all the community are directly affected by his and their activities. It is to the health services of the State and of the Local Authority that the citizen owes a pure water and food supply, adequate houses, proper working conditions, satisfactory sewage disposal, clean

streets, protection against infectious diseases, the medical and dental care of school children, the care of expectant mothers and of the newborn child, and a score of other things.

### PARTNERS IN THE HEALTH SERVICES

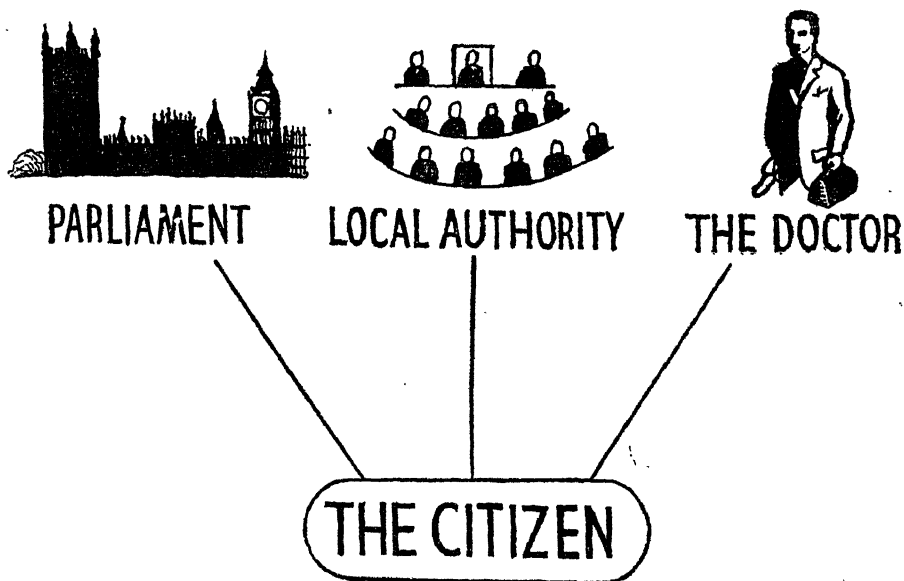


FIGURE 25

#### *The Local Authority and Public Opinion*

The health services of a large city resemble the medical services of the Army in their organisation, but not in their powers. They are provided by a Council which is exposed and sensitive to public opinion, particularly where money is concerned, and often money is saved at the expense of health. This is not the case in the Army, for health is prized above all.

#### (iii) **The Doctor**

Most people have a family doctor, a general practitioner of medicine—a G.P. They know little of the profession to which he belongs, however.

#### *Training and Registration*

They do not know that it takes a minimum of five years at a university or college, plus some years in the hospital wards or in an assistantship, to give the doctor that knowledge and skill which will enable him to launch out into competitive private practice. About £1,500 will have been spent on his education. Those who have ability but no capital behind them are therefore at a disadvantage.

On graduation as a Bachelor of Medicine and of Surgery (M.B., Ch.B.) or as a Member and Licentiate of a Royal College of Medicine—Member of the Royal College of Surgeons (M.R.C.S.) and Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians (L.R.C.P.)—he is entitled to register, i.e. to have his name entered in the Medical Register maintained by the General Medical Council. Thereafter he is entitled to charge fees for professional services rendered, and to sign the certificates required under various Acts of Parliament.

*Buying a Practice*

Usually a new graduate seeks a resident appointment in a hospital for 6-12 months. Here he can expect free board and lodging plus a salary between £0-£120 a year. Thereafter, should he buy a practice or a share in one, he must pay one and a half times the average value of the practice or the share, over the preceding 3 years. Thus he will need another £1,000 or so to launch himself.

*Income as a Panel Doctor*

The average G.P. draws a substantial part of his income from his "panel" under the National Health Insurance scheme. He received, before the war, a fee of 9s. a year for every patient on his panel. There was an upper limit of 2,500 panel patients, save in special circumstances, and the average number of panel patients per panel doctor in England and Wales in 1937 was 964, giving a gross income of about £434.

The panel patient is at liberty to choose his own panel doctor, and the latter to accept or decline a patient's request to join his panel.

But even though a doctor may expect to make £1,000 or more a year, this figure is not a real indication of his net income, for he must provide his own equipment, his own drugs for his private (as distinct from his panel) patients, a car and possibly a chauffeur, a secretary and a dispenser. Moreover, he is expected to support a comparatively high standard of living. Most doctors work hard and for many years, but only a few die rich.

*The G.M.C.*

The General Medical Council, brought into being by the Medical Act of 1858, is the professional body charged by Parliament with the keeping of the Medical Register. Its members visit and inspect the medical schools, so that the Council controls the standards of medical education. It has the power to erase from the Register the name of any doctor found guilty, after inquiry, of infamous conduct in a professional respect. There is no appeal from a decision of the Council to any court of law.

The Medical Act was intended to protect the general public and not to profit the medical profession. Nevertheless the unqualified and unregistered still flourish, for the public gets the kind of medical attention it demands and it commonly turns to the mysterious and the magical, and so supports the charlatan and the quack.

*The B.M.A.*

The British Medical Association is the doctor's trade union, with some 37,000 members. It has done much to assure adequate rates of pay and conditions of service for doctors, but it has done more to preserve and enlarge the dignity of the profession, to make the profession an instrument of great usefulness to be used by society for the achievement of its aims.

**(iv) The Citizen**

Whatever Parliament, the Local Authorities, or the medical profession may do to preserve the health of the community, is of little value unless the average citizen, whom they serve, takes a keen and intelligent interest in health matters. He must learn and follow the few simple rules of health, make full and proper use of the services that are available and by his vote see to it that these services are developed.

In the end it does depend on us, and in future chapters we shall look in more detail at some of our achievements and some of the problems that still await us.

**Chapter II.****THE MOTHER AND CHILD****1. Need for Protection**

Some babies, of course, are born deformed or imperfectly developed, and some contract disease, syphilis, for example, from their mother whilst still within the womb. But apart from such exceptions, the newly-born baby can be regarded as being free from all disease and possessed of positive health.

**SOME OF THE SPECIAL SERVICES**




 <b>MOTHER AND BABY</b>	Ante- and Post-Natal Clinics. Midwives. Extra Food, etc. Health Visitors. Home Helps.
 <b>THE INFANT</b>	Infant Welfare Centres. Smallpox Vaccination. Diphtheria Immunisation. Day Nurseries. Distribution of Orange Juice, Milk, etc.
 <b>THE SCHOOL CHILD</b>	School Medical Services providing periodical examinations. Provision of Milk. Provision of Midday Meals.

FIGURE 26

Motherhood, however, can be dangerous. Moreover, the baby enters a world in which disease-causing agencies abound, and no one could hope to avoid them through his own efforts. Accordingly, we have organised services for the protection of the mother and the preservation of the health of the newborn infant.

**2. The Expectant Mother**

In older days childbed was all too frequently dangerous, but nowadays we know much more about these germs and about ways of combating them.

**(i) Care Before and After the Birth**

In 1902 the Midwives Act passed through Parliament. It ensured that the midwife should be a highly trained, certificated and registered professional nurse, and made illegal the attendance without a doctor of the untrained "handy woman" on a woman in labour. In 1918 the Maternity and Child Welfare Act made it possible for Local Authorities to organise provisions for the care of the mothers and children before the birth (ante-natal) and after it (post-natal) and for "health visitors" to attend and advise in the people's homes.

Nowadays about three-quarters of all expectant mothers in the larger cities attend ante-natal clinics, but in the rural areas not more than a quarter do so. At such a clinic, the mother receives advice and is examined periodically in order to ensure that all goes well. Many Local Authorities nowadays also arrange for the distribution at their ante-natal clinics of extra milk and other forms of nourishment.

Other Local Authorities have initiated a system whereby the expectant mother books a midwife in advance, who arranges for a doctor, usually the woman's own family doctor, to examine the patient on three separate occasions during pregnancy. The midwife conducts the confinement but calls on the doctor for help if this is needed. A month after the baby is born, the doctor again examines the mother.

Some fifty Local Authorities have adopted a scheme whereby "home helps" are provided for the mother of the newborn babe, and paid by the Authority concerned, which in return receives some contribution from the family, according to its means.

#### **(ii) Confinement in Hospital?**

The habit whereby the expectant mother goes into a hospital to have her baby is spreading. Already about a quarter of the mothers are doing so. This practice has many advantages, for in a hospital, with its greater facilities and staff, any unforeseen difficulty can be dealt with. Moreover, the mother is removed from the disturbances and distractions of her own family, at a time when it is she, even more than they, who needs careful attention.

#### **(iii) Purely Medical Measures Are Not Enough**

In connection with the measures to help the expectant mother, the classical work of Lady Williams in the Rhondda Valley in Wales deserves to be quoted.

In 1934 in the Rhondda Valley, the local maternal death-rate was about 7·20 per 1,000 live births, i.e. over seven mothers died in every thousand live births. Lady Williams arranged for increased and improved ante-natal medical care, attention by a specialist in midwifery, extra training for the midwives and for the free issue of antiseptics. In spite of this, the death-rate did not fall. Knowing that many of the expectant mothers were very badly nourished and that many families were not in a position to spend more than 2s. 6d. per head a week on food, she decided to tackle this problem as well. She arranged for the distribution of food among necessitous pregnant women. The death-rate soon fell to 4·77.

This experiment has attracted a great deal of attention, and a certain amount of criticism has been levelled against its design and the interpretation of the results. Nevertheless, it pointed to the obvious truths that motherhood is dangerous to the badly-nourished and that there is no point in giving antiseptics to those who stand in greater need of food—a need which the Government meets by its various schemes.

#### **(iv) Other Factors in the Problem**

Factors other than the general condition of the expectant mother affect the death-rate of mothers in childbed. It is more dangerous, for example, to have a first baby than a second or third. Since considerable numbers of married couples nowadays limit the size of their family, many having but one, it follows that there are relatively more first babies born now than there used to be when large families were the rule.

It is also more dangerous to have a baby at the age of thirty than at the age of twenty. Nowadays, both men and women marry later in life, so that the average age of mothers is higher than it used to be.



### 3. The Baby

In 1906-10, out of every 1,000 babies born 11·6 died on the first day. In 1938 the figure had become 9·8—not a very great change here. It would seem that the babies who die almost immediately after being born are either the prematurely born or else such as suffer from some gross congenital error of development.

On the other hand, relatively fewer babies now die during the second week of life. The rate during the 2-4 weeks period has been halved during the last 40 years, and at ages over one month the death-rate has been reduced by 60-70 per cent.

#### Death-Rate of Illegitimate Babies

The death-rate among illegitimate babies is nearly double that among babies born in wedlock. This is understandable when it is remembered that in our society it is rare for an unmarried, pregnant woman to receive adequate care. She is overburdened with anxiety and is regarded by others as shameful, for often we may exhibit towards her a barbarous moral outlook. We are tending, however, to become more humane, now it is recognised that, though society may choose to punish the mother, there is no justification for punishing her child.

### 4. The Infant and School Child

For the preservation of the infant and for the repair of any defect that it may develop, Local Authorities provide infant welfare centres where the mother can receive advice on the care and management of her child, or be referred to a hospital or to a doctor in the event of any ailment needing skilled medical attention. Moreover, the County and County Borough Councils and a few others have instituted a system of "health visitors," who visit the homes and advise the mothers.

#### (i) Protection—if the Parents Want It

Every infant in this country has the right to be protected against smallpox by vaccination, and against diphtheria by immunisation. The doctors are paid by the Local Authorities for such vaccination and immunisation, but the parents must give their consent.

#### *Vaccination against Smallpox*

In 1938 only 34 per cent. of the total births of England and Wales were successfully vaccinated, whilst no less than 51 per cent. of parents registered conscientious objection. There is a strong and organised body of anti-vaccinationists in this country, and parents do not enjoy the thought of having their tiny baby marked with the vaccination scar. It is only when smallpox threatens to become epidemic and many deaths from it occur, that prejudice and ignorance are overcome.

#### *Immunisation against Diphtheria*

Until recently the situation was even worse with regard to immunisation against diphtheria, the great killer of children. In this country, however, a widespread and furious campaign to popularise anti-diphtheria inoculation was launched in 1940. In the County of Aberdeen 75 per cent. of parents consented to have their children inoculated. But results have varied. Thus in England and Wales as a whole, almost a half of the children aged 1-15 years remain unprotected.

Immunisation is a reliable protection and, if it had been carried out as a routine procedure, it is safe to say that the number of cases of diphtheria which occurred in 1938 would not have been 65,000 and that the number of deaths would not have

been 2,931. For example, the cases of diphtheria fell in Toronto, following wholesale immunisation, from 164 to 3 per 100,000 among the whole population, and the deaths from diphtheria from 65 to 0.

### (ii) Day Nurseries

For the toddlers there are the day nurseries organised by the Local Authorities, very few before the war, but now a considerable number as a result of the addition of hundreds in wartime. The day nursery supplies a want that is felt by many people, though, of course, there is no question of compelling all mothers to send their children to them.

Not every woman who can bear a child is the best person to rear it and many homes and vicinities are the least suitable playgrounds for youngsters. In these days of small families, moreover, it is difficult for many mothers to make home-keeping a full-time job. Women now enjoy intellectual and recreational equality with their menfolk and women go into outside work, especially in wartime. And children in the day nurseries enjoy and profit from the company of other children of similar ages.

So it is that the day nursery can be a godsend to many mothers and a haven to the children. Here the toddlers are cared for by trained women who give great attention to habit formation, personal and public cleanliness, food and sleep. Arrangements are made by the Local Authority for the distribution of orange juice, codliver oil and milk, either free or for a small token payment.

### (iii) Services for the School Child

For the school child the State and the Local Authorities provide a school medical service. All children are examined at least three times during their school career, once in the first year and again at the ages of eight and twelve.

The purpose of these examinations is the detection of the earliest signs of defect, so that it may be treated with the best prospects of complete cure. Decaying teeth, strained eyes, running ears and the like are recognised and arrangements for treatment made.

Moreover every child over five has the right to have special food at the country's expense. Every one of them is entitled to a supply of milk daily, either free or at a cheap rate.

## 5. Special Problems

Many children display a hereditary tendency to become "nervous" or "difficult." Others are made so by an unfavourable home or school. These become neurotics as they grow into their 'teens. Certain Local Authorities have set up clinics where these children's mental and moral difficulties are studied and treated, and the later development of their difficulties prevented. The Board of Education gives a grant to aid such clinics.

### (i) The Difficult Child

These difficult children are the products of the reaction between their own personality and their surroundings, and commonly they come from homes in which there is continual conflict and frustration. They are difficult to manage, steal, are fearful and hot tempered, and these habits, if unchecked, result in making them unfit for life in our society. The underlying problem in many cases is the adjustment of the home life. These clinics are needed because in our society so many parents are inexpert in the raising of children, and because in so many homes there is no real place for a child.

### (ii) The Backward Child

There are among us great numbers of mental defectives, some 300,000 it has been estimated. Though they develop normal, adult-sized bodies, they remain stunted mentally—they are men and women with the minds of young children. Their incapacity to pass beyond an elementary stage of education is recognised at school, and since it became obvious that they needed special attention, special schools for them were provided by the Local Authorities. In 1938 some 17,000 of these mental defectives were attending some 190 schools and training centres.

These unfortunates constitute a serious social problem. They have to be protected from exploitation from others, they do not fit into an adult competitive world of great complexity, and, since there are so many of them, society must create within itself sufficient niches into which they can fit. There are many kinds of jobs they can do, and many more which they cannot, and it is for society to see that they are allowed to make those contributions to the common good that are within their powers.

## 6. Future Development of the Services

In the survey which has just been outlined, there are many achievements in which we can take pride. It is still true, however, that the health services which deal with the expectant mother, the infant and the school child, have to be developed still further. In certain large cities very extensive services are provided, but in many areas of the country they are grossly deficient.

As late as the year 1937, 16 per cent. of all children entering the elementary schools were found to be suffering from some defect that needed treatment, and some 95 per cent. of school children under 5 years of age had decaying teeth.

### (i) What Should Be the Lines of Development ?

For this state of affairs several reasons can be suggested. There are not enough doctors, dentists and nurses to provide the skilled attention that expectant mothers, infants and school children need. Often the good that is done in hospital and school is undone by the conditions of the home. There is not much lasting profit in going to a day nursery or to a good school if one must return to a slum which is dirty, where sleep is fitful and disturbed, and where ignorant or careless parents cannot or do not give to the child its requirements for healthy, sturdy development.

### (ii) The Importance of Home Conditions

It is a wise child who chooses its parents with care, for the choice of parents means also the choice, among other things, of a home and of a social environment. To be born into a slum home is to court disaster.

The slum harbours two kinds of people : first, those who, because of hereditary defects, are too seriously handicapped to compete successfully with their normal fellows in the struggle for social security and advancement ; secondly, those who, though normally endowed with strength and wit, have encountered overwhelming misfortune and have become imprisoned in poverty.

Slum conditions, created by the misfits and the unfortunates, themselves deform the minds and maim the bodies of normal children born in them. Slums mean overcrowding, and overcrowding can mean much more than lack of privacy and of elbow-room. It can mean degradation, and the survey of overcrowding in Scotland in 1936 disclosed a number of disquieting instances.

### (iii) The Great Housing Campaign

In their attempt to provide decent homes, Parliament and the Local Authorities have, during the last hundred years, forced up the standard of housing, and in the preceding booklet "The Home of the Citizen" we have already noticed the great housing campaign between the wars.

Between 1918 and 1939 over four million houses were built, i.e. about one-third of all our houses today. Under an Act of Parliament of 1930, Local Authorities had determined the number of houses which were unfit for human habitation and had begun their demolition and replacement. An Act of 1935 laid down the conditions of room-space. This standard, which does not count infants under one and counts a child under ten as a half, provides that two rooms should accommodate not more than three persons, three rooms not more than five persons, four rooms not more than seven and a half persons, and five rooms not more than ten persons. Houses of more than five rooms should accommodate not more than ten persons, plus two additional persons for each room over five.

### (iv) Tasks of the Future

For all these achievements, our task is not completed. There are still houses, badly built and ill-formed, which offend every rule of health, and there is still overcrowding. In 1936, 3·8 per cent. of all working-class families were overcrowded according to the standard just given. That figure was for Britain as a whole and conditions varied, of course, from county to county and even between countries. Thus no fewer than 22·6 per cent. of Scottish working-class families were overcrowded.

Moreover, even if people can be transplanted to a healthier region, that may raise other problems. Men are removed from their place of work, and women from their shops, and fares eat into wages. Such transplantation does not necessarily lead to a lowering of sick-rates. Indeed, it may result in a rise, for if houses have higher rents and if travelling expenses are raised, then less money is available for food. In this way, a better home can mean worse nutrition.

Such considerations await us when we resume the task, already well begun, of rebuilding a healthier Britain.

## Chapter III.

## THE HEALTH OF THE WORKER

### 1. What Does Ill-Health Cost Us?

It is, of course, quite impossible to produce a balance-sheet showing exactly the number of people who have been ill in any given year, or the amount of money spent as the result of injury or sickness. It was estimated before the war, however, that we must have spent something like £300 millions a year on health, or some £6 per head of the population. This huge sum must be translated into terms of human suffering and of the loss to the community of creative energy and happiness.

#### (i) The Loss in Production

According to this estimate we lost about 30 million working weeks a year in England and Wales alone, because of sickness among employees insured under the National Health Insurance scheme. If the average earnings of those who received benefit under the scheme were taken to be £2 a week, then the money value of the work that they were unable to do must have been over £60 millions a year. Since

it is reasonable to reckon that these "insured" sick constituted about half of the total sick in the country, then, at a moderate estimate, work lost through sickness must have been worth about £120 millions a year.

Work not done means less food grown, fewer clothes made and fewer homes built, fewer goods to export, increased difficulties in the transport and distribution of commodities. In this way, sickness makes us poorer than we should otherwise be.

### (ii) Cost of Treating the Sick

The cost of treating and maintaining the sick can be reckoned fairly accurately. According to the estimate from which we have already quoted, the cost before the war was about £185 millions a year.

Hospitals and medical services cost Local Authorities and other public bodies some £40 millions and cost voluntary bodies some £20 millions. £44 millions were paid out in sickness and medical benefits each year under the National Health Insurance scheme and by Friendly Societies and trade unions. £12 millions were spent under the Workmen's Compensation Acts on disablement cases. About £45 millions a year were earned by doctors and dentists in private practice, and some £25 millions were spent by the general public on medicines.

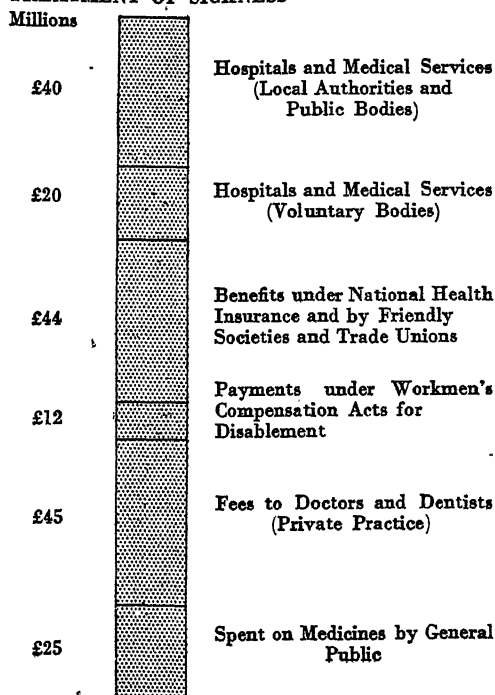
## 2. What Do We Spend in Preventing Disease?

All the money spent on the treatment of people who are sick must be compared with the money spent on the prevention of disease and the preservation of health.

### WHAT DID WE SPEND ON HEALTH EACH YEAR?

Some Pre-War Estimates

#### TREATMENT OF SICKNESS



#### SOME PREVENTIVE MEASURES

##### Personal Health Services

Millions £13 Maternity and Child Welfare, School Services, etc.

##### Sanitation and Environmental

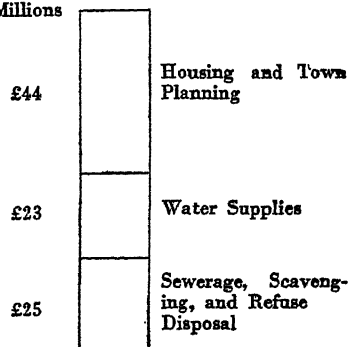


FIGURE 27

### (i) Personal Health Services

Before the war the State and the Local Authorities spent some £13 millions a year on their health services, including £5 millions on the school medical services, £3½ millions on maternity and child welfare, £2 millions on the salaries of Medical Officers of Health and the various health officials of the Local Authorities, and the small sum of £200,000 on medical research.

### (ii) Sanitation and Environmental Services

To this must be added £100 millions spent by the State and Local Authorities on general sanitation and other environmental health services, including £44 millions on housing and town planning, £23 millions on water supplies, £25 millions on scavenging, sewerage and refuse disposal.

### (iii) What More Can be Done for Prevention?

By comparing the cost of ill-health and the cost of the preventive measures, it can be seen that the emphasis is on cure rather than prevention. No doubt this was forced upon those responsible by the conditions which had been created by the Industrial Revolution. But now we know that much of the sickness that now exists is preventable, and know how it can be prevented. It is to be expected that in the immediate future more and more of the money we are now spending on curative measures will become diverted to projects for the preservation of health.

We know that we can preserve and even enlarge the healthiness of our population by removing poverty and social insecurity, by abolishing malnutrition and maladjustment, by altering our standards of value and by educating ourselves to an appreciation of the personal and social benefits which robust health gives.

## 3. National Health Insurance

Do what we may, however, the sick will always be with us and for them care will always be needed. This country has a fine record in this field of social service, and, for a hundred years and more, systems of voluntary insurance against sickness have been developing.

A new era opened with the beginning of National Health Insurance in 1911.

### (i) Whom Does It Cover?

This was a State-controlled scheme in which, in return for regular contributions, working people got a small cash benefit in times of sickness, and a right to medical attention. Membership of this scheme is compulsory for practically all manual workers. Until recently, non-manual workers earning more than £250 a year were excluded, but since the war began this limit has been raised to £420.

### (ii) How Does It Work?

The general provision is that both employers and employees contribute weekly to central funds to which the State adds a further contribution.

The new scheme was built upon and around the existing insurance organisations of Friendly Societies, trades unions and clubs, and all the participants in the National Insurance Scheme were encouraged to join one or other approved society. Cash benefits are managed and paid by the approved societies, but medical benefit has always been organised locally by insurance committees which draw up the panels of doctors and chemists. On these committees three-fifths of the seats are allotted to the approved societies, one-fifth to the Local Authority and one-fifth to the panel doctors.

**(iii) What Cash Benefits Are Provided ?**

The cash benefit is meant to provide a minimum income for anyone off work through sickness. Until he has been insured for 26 weeks and has paid 26 weekly contributions, he is not eligible for benefit. After that, he is eligible for the lower rate of sickness benefit—12/- a week for men, 10/6 for single women and widows and 10/6 for married women. When he has been insured for 104 weeks and has paid 104 weekly contributions, he is eligible for the ordinary rate—18/- a week for men, 15/- for single women and widows and 13/- for married women.

As a general rule, sickness benefit does not begin to be paid until the fourth day that the man is off work and it may be paid for a total of 26 weeks. If the man is still off work after 26 weeks, he may get disablement benefit which is at a lower rate.

*Maternity Benefit*

Another cash benefit under the scheme is for maternity. This is a payment of £2 on the confinement of the wife of an insured man, or of a woman who is herself insured and is payable only after 42 weeks in insurance and after 42 weekly contributions. An insured married woman is usually entitled to a double maternity benefit, amounting to £4 in all, and is prohibited from engaging in remunerative work during the four weeks after confinement.

*Additional Benefits by Some Approved Societies*

Certain of the approved societies, because of their prosperity, are able to pay additional benefits. Some provide for the payment of dentists' bills, for ophthalmic treatment, convalescent homes and medical and surgical appliances.

**(iv) What Medical Attention Is Provided ?**

Under the scheme, the insured person is provided with a home doctor service. The doctor is paid according to the number of patients on his panel, and in accepting those who choose him as their doctor, he undertakes to look after them. They can attend his surgery or call him in when unable to attend there.

Through attending upon an insured person it is usual for the doctor to become the family doctor, attending also those in the household who are not insured. As a direct result of the system, therefore, more people are brought into contact with medical care.

**4. The Future of National Health Insurance**

The National Health Insurance scheme was a magnificent idea. It has given to every wage-earner the right to medical attention and to a minimum income when he is off work through sickness, and has provided for this by a system of small regular contributions when he is well. On the whole it can be said to have worked well.

**(i) Where Is It Weak ?**

Yet it will undoubtedly undergo far-reaching changes in the future, for there is now criticism of it for such reasons as the following :—

- (a) Although the contribution you pay weekly is fixed by law, yet the benefits vary, since some of the approved societies can give additional benefits.
- (b) It does not cover the wives and children of insured persons.

(c) It does not include consultant and specialist services.

(d) The fees paid to doctors for their panel patients are such as to oblige them to seek as large a panel as possible. A large panel means that the doctor must be content to look after those who are actually sick, since he could not possibly attend to the preservation of the health of all the 2,500 panel patients he is permitted to have. Smaller panels and higher fees per patient might be expected to result in better medical service, and in more attention being given to the maintenance of health than to the cure of disease.

## (ii) The Beveridge Report\*

Some of the proposals of the Beveridge Report are concerned with the improvement of the scheme and the Government has declared its attitude on the following points:—

(a) At present the National Health Insurance scheme is one of the various social insurance schemes, each with its own organisation and agencies. The Report proposed that the various schemes should be unified and that each insured person should obtain all benefits by a single weekly contribution on a single document.

This proposal has been accepted.

(b) The Report proposed the extension of the insurance scheme to all persons of working age.

The Government has accepted this proposal.

(c) The Report proposed the supersession of the system of approved societies giving unequal benefits for equal compulsory contributions but advocated retaining the societies as agents in working the national scheme.

The supersession has been accepted and the Government would very gladly consider any method of retaining the societies as agents, in the way suggested.

(d) The Report proposed the separation of medical treatment from the administration of cash benefits and the setting up of a comprehensive medical service for every citizen.

The Government welcomed this conception of a reorganised and comprehensive health service.

## 5. Two Types of Hospital

There are two types of hospital in this country, the voluntary and the public.

### (i) The Voluntary Hospitals

There are more than 1,000 voluntary hospitals. They are free from State control and are run by committees of management on which Local Authorities and subscribers are represented. Commonly there are doctors also serving on these committees of management, but there are also medical committees consisting of representatives of the medical staff which deal with medical policy and practice, and make recommendations concerning staff appointments.

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\* See the summary of the White Paper on a National Health Service on pp. 548-52 and of the White Paper on Social Insurance on pp. 563-7.



*How Do They Get their Income?*

Their income is made up in various ways ; from voluntary contributory schemes, such as the penny-a-week funds, which enable millions of people to cover themselves against hospital expenses by this small regular payment ; from payment by patients ; from subscriptions and donations ; from contributions from Local Authorities ; and from investments and legacies.

Recently there has been increasing dependence on the contributory schemes and on patients' payments, and in 1935 these provided 27 per cent. and 22 per cent. respectively of the revenue of voluntary hospitals in England and Wales, excluding London.

*What Patients Do They Cater For?*

They deal with about one and a half million in-patients a year, and in addition attend to some six million out-patients. The original purpose of this type of hospital was to provide medical attention for the sick poor. These used to go directly to the hospital and this age-old practice still persists. Although numbers of those who present themselves as out-patients are on the panel of some doctor, they by-pass the doctor and go straight to the infirmary, even though they are not emergency cases.

The wards of these hospitals are open to all belonging to families with incomes of less than £6 a week. It has become necessary, however, in these days of rising costs, to invite patients to contribute to the costs of their treatment so far as they are able, and steps are taken to prevent the abuse of free hospital treatment by those who can really afford to bear the cost. In addition, " paying patients " are often taken in separate wards.

*Who Staff the Voluntary Hospitals?*

The senior medical staffs of these hospitals, the surgeons and consultants, hold honorary appointments. They are men of high standing in their profession who give their time and skill to the service of the poor, earning their living during the rest of the day by attending to private patients. It is usually in the wards of these hospitals that the medical student develops his skill in diagnosis and treatment, under the tutorship of the honorary staff, and there he learns the art of dealing with patients.

**(ii) The Public Hospitals**

Public hospitals, on the other hand, are administered by the Public Health Committees of the Local Authorities. Expenditure is met out of rates and the Local Authorities are compelled to recover from patients, as far as possible, the cost of their maintenance or a proportion of it. The staff is salaried and specialists and consultants are commonly employed on a part-time basis.

These hospitals provide nearly three-quarters of the available hospital beds in the country, including the majority of those for infectious diseases, tuberculosis and maternity. They do not cater for out-patients on the scale of the voluntary hospitals.

**(iii) Advantages and Disadvantages of the Two Types**

Each type of hospital, voluntary and public, can claim certain advantages, and has to acknowledge certain disadvantages.

The freedom from bureaucratic control permits the voluntary hospital to make bold experiments in policy. The voluntary hospitals also give the opportunity

for a vast amount of voluntary effort of great social value, but, on the other hand, they must spend much time and energy on appeals for funds. Finally, their distribution over the country need not bear any relation to the needs of the population. At present, they can be founded wherever those responsible wish to have them.

### *Getting the Best of Both*

During recent years it has been recognised by Local Authorities that it is necessary to plan the distribution of hospitals according to the needs of any region and that to make the best use of the available hospital beds there must be collaboration between the two types.

Much has been done to foster this. The trend in finance, administration and staffing is bringing them closer together, and it is to be expected that in time there will arise out of these two types a unified, comprehensive, regional, hospital system that will provide all the facilities needed by the general public.

## **6. Special Services**

For certain diseases special services have been organised.

### **(i) Infectious Diseases**

Smallpox, diphtheria, typhoid, scarlet fever, cerebro-spinal fever, and the other infectious diseases demand special arrangements because of the ease with which an infected person can pass on the disease to others.

In 1889 Parliament passed the Infectious Disease (Notification) Act, which compelled those having charge of a person suffering from certain stated diseases to report the matter to the proper Local Authority. The Authority then became responsible for seeing that measures were taken to prevent the spread of infection, for inspecting premises where infectious diseases are suspected, and for the protection of food supply against infection. It became an offence for a person suffering from an infectious disease to travel in a public vehicle and a Justice of the Peace can order a person suffering from an infectious disease to be removed to hospital. Special hospitals for infectious diseases are provided by the Local Authorities.

The result has been that these scourges, which used to be responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands, are now controlled.

### **(ii) Tuberculosis**

Tuberculosis is a very common and a very serious disease of young people. Between the ages of ten and forty it is the chief single cause of death in this country, and between the ages of twenty and twenty-five it is responsible for nearly half of all female deaths. It is curable, especially if recognised and treated early, but this treatment demands special care in hospital.

A tuberculosis service has been organised by Local Authorities, aided by the State. This service is at the disposal of all. Tuberculosis dispensaries with special medical staffs form local centres for diagnosis, education and after-care, and sanatoria for the treatment of in-patients are provided. Since a great amount of T.B., e.g. some 80 per cent. of abdominal tuberculosis, is derived from infected cattle, national schemes have been launched for eradicating tuberculosis from the cattle herds of the country, and for the supply of milk guaranteed to be free of T.B.

### **(iii) Venereal Diseases**

Gonorrhoea and syphilis are responsible for much ill-health, and since the germs that cause them are passed from individual to individual during sexual intercourse, they can spread with great rapidity. There is always an increase in these diseases in times of war and at present they are causing great concern.

*How Prevalent Are They?*

Those suffering from venereal diseases need not report them, and so it is impossible to know how many people are suffering from them. A general idea of their prevalence, however, can be formed from the figures which cover those attending the V.D. clinics set up by Local Authorities.

<i>New Infections of Less Than Twelve Months' Duration</i>			Syphilis	Gonorrhœa	Total V.D.
1939	...	...	4,986	28,981	33,967
1940	...	...	5,611	25,137	30,748
1941	...	...	7,332	26,349	33,681

*Can They Be Cured?*

Gonorrhœa used to be much more intractable than it now is, leading to sterility in adults and to blindness in babies infected by their mothers. We have drugs available nowadays which make cure almost certain and swift, but treatment cannot be given unless those who have contracted the disease present themselves for treatment.

Syphilis can also be controlled by treatment, though this is not so simple. Because syphilis can be so successfully treated in the early stages, the disease in its most horrid manifestations is seldom encountered nowadays. General paralysis and insanity are late symptoms of the disease, and each year over 1,000 insane paralytics are still admitted to institutions.

There are difficulties, all created by the patients themselves, in the way of the adequate treatment of syphilis. There is a social stigma attached to the disease, and sufferers are ashamed to seek help. The cure is prolonged and many of those under treatment, which is free and confidential, lose interest and cease to attend the centres before the course of the treatment is finished.

*How Effective Are the Present Regulations about Treatment?*

Before the war there were about 190 centres in England and Wales and 50 in Scotland for the free treatment of V.D.

From time to time it has been urged that V.D. sufferers should be made to undergo treatment. In 1928, for example, the City of Edinburgh asked permission to introduce compulsory control of infected persons, but Parliament refused to give permission.

Since the war a Defence Regulation, the much discussed 33B, has been issued, which gives powers to Local Authorities to bring under examination and, if necessary, treatment any person who has been named by two patients, under treatment for V.D., as the suspected source of their infection.

**(iv) Mental Disorder**

In 1935-36 we were spending nearly £9½ millions on the public asylums of this country. It has been estimated that there are 8 mental patients for every 1,000 of the whole population. Another estimate is that one person in every 20 born can expect to end up in a mental hospital.

Life in an industrialised community like our own is becoming more and more complicated; the individual is exposed to great stresses and emotional disturbances, and considerable numbers fail to adjust themselves to the conditions in which they must live. All men are not equal in respect of mental capacity and stability, and it is not to be wondered at that many break down.

We must so fashion our society that in it all types may find tasks that fit their capacities, and remove from it those conditions which lead to frustration and deformation of the personality.

## Chapter IV.

## THE WAR—AND AFTER

### 1. Targets for the Health Services

The purpose of the health services is to preserve and increase the health of the community, to control all disease-causing agencies, to aid people to avoid preventable disease and to retain, for as long as possible, the robust vigour of youth. Everyone, however, must die sooner or later and death is commonly due, not to the wearing out of some delicate part of man's machinery through old age, but to damage caused by extravagance or ignorance in eating, drinking, working or playing, or by the action of disease-causing germs.

At any rate, being built as we are, it is inevitable that one or other part of the body will ultimately break down, become inefficient and cause disharmony and death. This happens to motor cars as well as to men. And the aim of the medical services is not to prevent death of this kind, but to postpone it.

#### (i) Are We Healthier than our Forefathers?

There has been a marked fall during the present century in the death-rates at all ages between one week and seventy-five years for men and eighty for women. Although the average person has, therefore, a better chance of reaching a ripe old age than our ancestors had, the actual span of life remains what it was—something between seventy-five and eighty-five.

Though we can expect to live longer, it does not follow that we are any healthier than our forefathers. Because we have gained control over many of the diseases which used to kill the young, we do not die in childhood in such great numbers, and more people therefore reach middle age. Yet it cannot be said that we are as healthy as we might be.

#### (ii) Some Problems Solved—Some Remain

Cholera, plague, scurvy and other great scourges are things of the past as far as this country is concerned. The sanitary engineers and the scientists and the doctors ceaselessly guard us against them. But we have illnesses aplenty, the common cold, influenza, rheumatism and all the rest.

Two specific weaknesses may be mentioned in passing.

#### *Bad Teeth*

Our teeth are rotten and dental decay has been responsible for a very great deal of ill-health. Dentists are far too few in number to treat the people's teeth. In the school medical services before the war there was only one dentist for every 7,000 children in England and only one for every 11,000 in Scotland. Yet it is known that 95 per cent. of elementary school children urgently need dental attention.

Under the National Health Insurance scheme, contributors receive dental treatment, on an average, only after two-and-a-half years in an approved society. Any good, therefore, that has been done by the school dental officer has disappeared before the teeth are again treated. This state of affairs has come about mainly because we have shown but little interest in our teeth, and have not demanded dental care. It is safe to say that the number of dentists must be doubled before we can expect to see the average person of thirty-five with a complete set of natural and healthy teeth.

#### *Bad Eyes*

Eyes, ears, teeth and hair grow old, as hearts and kidneys do, and it would seem that though we are equipped with hearts and other internal organs that can perform

their jobs quite well for sixty or seventy years, most of us have not been issued with eyes that will last so long in perfect condition. Spectacles come with middle age for most people.

But the majority of people who wear spectacles were not examined by a medically qualified specialist in eye defects and diseases. They got them from an optician who, though certainly qualified to measure and correct certain errors, cannot be regarded as being competent in all cases to recognise and treat the diseases of the eye which may be the underlying causes of weak vision. The fact is, however, that there are not enough doctors who have specialised in eye work to meet the needs of the public, and so it is that great numbers must of necessity go direct to the optician. Far more eye specialists are required.

## 2. What Are the Commoner Causes of Death ?

It is worth while looking at the main causes of death against which our health services must be directed.






	Chief Causes of Death	Safeguards
 0 - 2 Years	Pneumonia. Measles.	Use of M. & B. 693 successfully combating pneumonia. Hope of controlling measles soon by immunisation.
 2 - 5 Years	Pneumonia. Diphtheria.	Immunisation from diphtheria if we want it.
 5 - 15 Years	Accidents among Boys. Diphtheria among Girls.	Notice present campaign for safety on the roads.
 Young Adults	Tuberculosis. Accidents.	T.B. services by Local Authorities, aided by State. Early treatment makes cure possible.
 Middle & Old Age	Cancer. Heart disease.	For cancer, the only hope at present is early recognition and treatment. Simple, orderly living is the safeguard against heart disease.

FIGURE 28

### (i) Among Children and Young Adults

During the first two years of life the most important causes of death among babies who are normal and healthy at birth are pneumonia and measles. Among children between two and five years the great killers are pneumonia and diphtheria. Accidents

among boys and diphtheria among girls are the dangers between the ages of five and fifteen. Among young adults tuberculosis and accidents are the greatest threats to continued life.

There is hope in these statements. New discoveries in chemistry have given us the sulphonamide drugs (the famous M. & B. 693) which promise to give us complete control over the germs which cause pneumonia. Diphtheria immunisation is already available, and this disease will be conquered when parents co-operate wholeheartedly with the Medical Officers of Health. There is every reason to hope that measles will soon be controllable by the same means. Tuberculosis can be checked in ways already suggested.

### (ii) Among the Middle-Aged and Old

Common killing diseases of middle age are cancer and heart disease. These are also responsible for a half of all deaths among people of sixty to seventy.

#### *The Danger of Cancer*

There is more cancer in this country today because there are relatively more old people in it. When most people died before thirty-five, cancer was rare, for cancer is a disease of late middle age.

By the Cancer Act of 1939, it was intended to establish through the large Local Authorities a service for the diagnosis and treatment of the disease. Unfortunately the war broke out before it could be put into operation.

For the present the only hope for the sufferers is to place themselves in the doctor's hands at the earliest possible moment. Hundreds of scientists all over the world are eagerly studying the nature and the causes of cancer, but the time has not yet come when we can hope to prevent the growth of these fatal tumours. For the present, all that can be done is to educate the public to recognise that cancer is common in middle age and that it is imperative in their own interests to consult their doctors when they begin to suffer from quite minor troubles, since these may be the first danger signals.

#### *Heart Disease*

The heart is a remarkable organ that is required to do work of a kind that would ultimately wear out the engine of a Spitfire. Day and night, year after year, it goes on pumping the blood round the body without pause.

The habits of great numbers of people are such as to throw great and quite unnecessary strains upon it, particularly in these days when so many of us develop high blood pressure and are content to become flabby and fat when youth has gone. The treatment of heart disease is primarily to take care of the heart, to live a simple, orderly and healthy life and to grow old gracefully.

## 3. What Have We Done in Wartime?

In the course of our complete mobilisation for war we were forced to make a stocktaking of our human population in order that we might know what resources we had. We now know more about the quality of our people than ever before, more about the amount and kind of disease, more about the general level of health. Such knowledge will be invaluable when we begin to rebuild our society after the war.

We were forced, also, to examine carefully every social service and institution in order to determine whether or not it was as efficient as it might be. We know now much more about the health services of the country and of the ways in which we can and must improve them.

What are some of the lessons that we may consider carrying over from war to peace?

**(i) The Chance of a Worthwhile Job**

Happiness, serenity, harmony within and without, are essential if the individual and the community are to be well. Thousands upon thousands of individuals in this country are sick in body because they are sick in mind, and it is the latter condition that needs treatment. And, no doubt, this is partly the job of the medical psychologists. Their work is still limited because medical psychology is but a relatively new science and because the psychologists are few in number and divided among themselves.

*Who Were We Anyway?*

But there is more to it than that. Sickness of this kind is often due, partly at least, to our feeling that we are unimportant and insignificant members of the community. Who were we anyway? We might be unemployed and get a sense of being useless and hopeless. And even if we had a job, we might find little satisfaction in it and get little feeling that we were making an important contribution to the community.

*Now a Job that Matters*

In wartime, this sickness of mind is greatly reduced. In war there is attractive glamour and adventure and the individual and the community can dedicate themselves to the achievement of a high purpose. Each of us, as a member of a platoon or a searchlight crew or of some unit of the civil defence services, can feel that something depends on us, that we have a contribution to make. Generally speaking, we are eager to be healthy because we wish to serve and nothing could be of greater importance in raising the standard of health than this wish to be well.

The question faces us as to how that sense of individual importance in a common cause can be maintained in normal times.

**(ii) We Feed Better**

We are healthier in war than in peace also because we are forced to control the kind of food we eat and to regulate its distribution. Before the war the only animals that were properly fed according to scientific principles were livestock and pets. Fancy mice were much better fed than men. But now the food men and women and children get is the food they actually need in order to work or grow. Today far fewer people are digging their graves with their teeth, and far fewer children are undernourished.

**(iii) The Emergency Medical Service**

The war brought into being the Emergency Medical Service. Hospitals were built, premises adapted and medical and administrative staffs supplied all over the country, for the acceptance and treatment of air raid casualties. Since these were far fewer than was expected, the E.M.S. has been taking care of great numbers of sick soldiers from among the troops at home, and from overseas expeditionary forces. It has also been dealing with the overflow of civilian patients from voluntary and public hospitals.

*How Does the E.M.S. Work?*

The E.M.S. is a remarkable organisation well worthy of careful examination, for it is an example of what can be done to provide a complete hospital organisation to do a special job.

It is a regionalised service, that is to say, the country was divided into a number of regions, and each region was provided with a complete medical service of its own, with hospitals and resident whole-time salaried staffs, with specialists and consultants employed on a part-time basis, and with administrative officers. Because financial considerations could be disregarded, the scheme could become as nearly perfect as might be.

#### *What Can We Learn from It?*

There seems no doubt that the medical services of the future must be regionalised in some such way as this, and the voluntary and public hospitals and certain of the newly-built E.M.S. hospitals fitted into a unified system.

#### **(iv) The System of Periodic Examinations**

We have already noted the system in the Army of periodic examinations of the healthy in order to detect the earliest signs of disease. This is also being done in industry through the industrial medical officers, who are employed in increasing numbers for factories and workshops.

The system might well be extended in civilian life, to enable the medical profession to give its best service to the community. It will require not only more doctors, as we have already said. It will demand completely new systems of teaching in the medical schools, for at the present time it is safe to say that the young doctor has not learnt how to recognise slight and significant variations from normality. It will also affect the rate and direction of medical research, for concerning these matters there still remains much that is unknown.

### **4. The Future of the Health Services\***

Out of the turmoil of war new hopes and plans are emerging. Both the Government and the medical profession are busily engaged in drawing up plans of reconstruction in which schemes for promoting the health of the people and for the more reasonable use of the profession figure largely.

There can be little doubt that great and comprehensive changes will happen, for it is now accepted that the real wealth of a country is to be measured by the health of its people, and not only by its material resources or possessions. In his broadcast on 21st March, 1943, the Prime Minister spoke of this prospect:—

“We must establish on broad and solid foundations a national health service.”

#### **(i) What Is the Minimum Required?**

Granting that sufficient doctors, dentists, specialists, nurses and all the rest become available through recruitment and improved training, and that adequate hospital accommodation is bequeathed to us by the war, it will become our task to build out of them the new health services of the country. It is impossible for anyone to predict the form they will take.

There is, for example, much dispute within the medical profession about the advantages of private enterprise among doctors as against their employment in a whole-time salaried service, run, say, by the State; or about the value of independent hospitals as against their control by the State.

At any rate, there seems to be general agreement that everybody should have available a home doctor, the services of specialists, a hospital service and a rehabilitation service to fit the patient for work again after illness.

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\* See the summary of the White Paper on a National Health Service on pp. 548–52.



**(ii) Should We Develop Local Health Centres ?**

In order to provide these services in civil life, many favour a system in which the local health centre would be the core. Here the family doctors, the general practitioners, would see all out-patients and from it they would set out on their rounds to see patients who were confined to bed. An adequate secretarial staff would compile the medical histories of the patients. In an attached laboratory trained technicians would conduct their laboratory aids to diagnosis—X-rays, blood tests, urine tests, etc.

To this health centre local people would be encouraged to come for periodic overhauls. An almoner's staff might visit the homes of the sick in order to see the sickness against its background of conditions at home, and to ensure that "home helps," day nurseries, schools and the like were properly utilised.

Covering a number of local health centres would be a regional hospital. Admission to the hospital would be through the centres and the hospital would have a complete staff of specialists to whom patients could be referred. Within the region there would also be convalescent and rehabilitation units.

**(iii) What More Is Necessary ?**

It needs to be emphasised, however, that the health services of the country, whatever form they assume, are not the sole guardians of the nation's health. They can do but little unless others play their parts. When poverty, for example, is unknown there will be infinitely less disease, and far more abounding health—but the health services alone cannot abolish poverty.

The health services cannot do much until we recognise that laws of health exist, and we wish to obey them. Education in how the human body is built and how it works, education in the care of the teeth, in the value of food and sleep, in vaccination and inoculation, in sound personal and public habits, is needed and needed badly. Education in the purposes and uses of leisure and in the purposes of work must be offered. Instruction in the conduct of life and in the reasons for living must claim its place in education, for few people today know how to live, and still fewer know what life can offer, or what they should seek.

Before we can hope greatly to improve ourselves, we must improve our world.

SECOND SEQUENCE : REPORT ON THE NATION

B.W.P. 11

## EDUCATION AND THE CITIZEN

By

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and

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September 1943

### Chapter I. WHAT IS THE GOOD OF EDUCATION?

*"What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy."*—(John Dewey).

#### 1. How Long Does Education Take?

How long ago is it since we left school? Anything from one to twenty years or more. Can we remember what we learnt there? Or do we say we have forgotten all we ever learnt? So often, particularly if we are successful, we are ready to say we have forgotten everything, but it isn't true. Most of the things we do depend on something we learnt when we were at school—the job we had in peacetime, the books we read, the games we play, the ideas we have, they can all be traced to some simple foundation that was laid when we were children, when we were "being educated" as we say.

#### Education Is a Life-long Process

But were we educated only at school? It is still customary to talk about Mr. So and So who was educated at such and such a school as though his education began and finished there. If we think a bit that doesn't seem quite right.

Before we went to school we learnt as babies to walk, to talk, to feed ourselves. As children at school we learnt to read and write and do simple problems in figures. In youth we learnt to think, perhaps to discuss abstract ideas, to do a job of work. But after school the process still went on. As grown-ups we have learnt to live with our fellows, to make and keep a home, to widen our interests and to work for others as well as for ourselves.

## THE INDIVIDUAL GROWING IN THE COMMUNITY

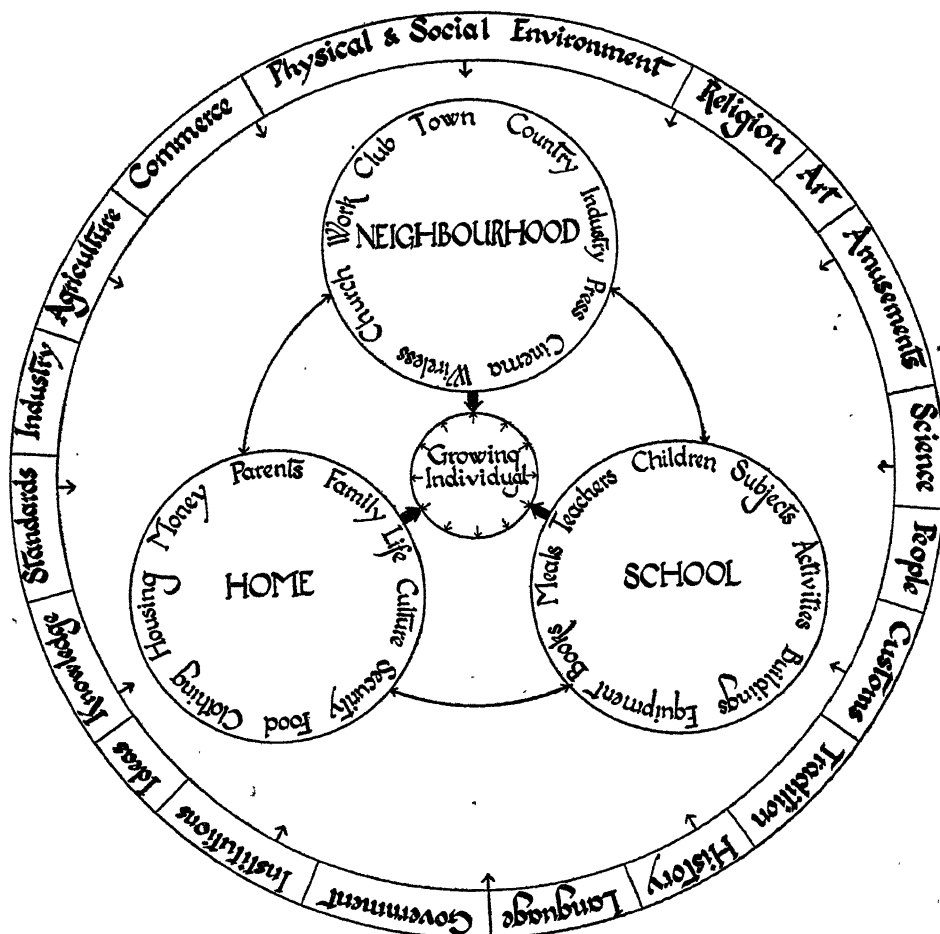


FIGURE 29

This diagram is intended as a general illustration of the process of education. It attempts to illustrate the following points which are discussed in the chapters :—

- (i) that the child is the centre of the educational system ;
- (ii) that in essence education is concerned with the two-way process by which the individual shapes and is shaped by the environment ; (Chapter I)
- (iii) that the child grows up in a threefold environment of home, school and neighbourhood ; that all three play a part in his education, and that each influences and is influenced by the other ; (Chapter I, Section 6)
- (iv) that the school environment depends partly on the needs of the child, partly on the subjects and activities chosen from the world outside for inclusion in the school ; (Chapter III)
- (v) that the art of teaching is concerned with the *methods* by which growing children are helped to shape and be shaped by the school environment. (Chapter IV).

In fact, we live and learn. Our education is not just something that was done to us between the ages of 5 and 14, or 16, or 18. It is something that has gone on since we were babies and will go on, in the old phrase, "from the cradle to the grave."

## 2. What Does Education Do to Us ?

We can see that this education is a lifelong process, because it is in this sense just another name for our growth and development. But development of what ? If we look more carefully we can agree that this living and learning, this education, has brought changes in us which can be divided into three main groups.

### (i) We Grow in Body

There are first the changes connected with the body. We began as babies by having our bodies educated. We were taught to use our legs to walk, our tongues to talk and our hands to do a variety of things for ourselves.

Even if we look back only ten years we can see that our bodies have had still more education. We have been "toughened"; we have learnt to "turn our hand" to a variety of new things either in our work or games. We have learnt to type or throw a good dart, to handle weapons or to cook, to set a lathe, to draw a diagram or dig a trench. In other words we can use our bodies more efficiently.

### (ii) We Grow in Mind

Then there are changes which concern our minds, our brains. Through reading or listening-in or by discussions, whether in classes or in the pub, we have acquired new knowledge and changed our ideas. How much more do we know about France and Germany, or America or Russia or China ? We may have learnt how an internal combustion engine works or how to read a map. We can probably think and talk more intelligently. In a word, our minds are developing, being educated.

### (iii) We Grow in Spirit

But there have been some changes, perhaps the most important of all, in which not only our bodies and minds have been concerned, but also our emotions, our sense of values.

What changes, for instance, have there been in our religious faith and feelings ? Do we still believe the same things ? Are these feelings stronger or weaker ? It is unlikely that we are the same as we were ten years ago.

And what about our relations with our fellow men ? Is our love for our neighbour stronger or weaker ? Have we learnt to give and take ? Do we still strive after the same qualities of character that we did ? Are our emotions under better control ? Do we still act on impulse ?

And our feelings for what is beautiful ? Do we still like the same kind of scenery, the same pictures, the same music ? Have we learnt to value some things much more than we did, and to reject others ?

These are changes of something more than mind and body. They are changes, developments of the spirit.

## 3. What Makes Us Grow ?

And so education in its broadest sense is simply a growing process, an all-round development towards fuller personality. Let us go a step farther. What makes us grow and change ?

**(i) Our Nature**

We have heard people say, " Oh, he's just like that. That's the way he's made ! " And undoubtedly there is something inside us which from the moment we are born makes us want to do certain things.

We say that it was *in our nature* as babies to be hungry, to suck, to reach out. Later, as children, we felt an urge to run about and play, to collect and make things, to imitate, to ask endless questions, to explore, to assert ourselves, to go about in gangs.

And now, as grown-ups, we still see signs of these *instinctive* trends in what we do. We direct our wits and energies towards certain ends. Instead of exploring the nursery we are keen to go overseas ; instead of going about in gangs we join a society or a trade union ; instead of playing with dolls, we marry and have children. So we may say that as part of our nature we inherit certain energies and powers of mind and body which are making us grow and change.

**(ii) Our Environment**

But our growth, just like that of plants and animals, depends on something *outside* us as well. As children the growth of our bodies depended on the kind of food we had. Did we read Dickens or Buffalo Bill ? That would affect the development of our minds. What sort of people did we spend our time with ? It was they who helped to influence our character.

In other words, our growth depended on the things and people and ideas that surrounded us. They provided the nourishment on which our minds and bodies and characters developed. And all these things and people and ideas that surround us we call by the single word " environment."

**(iii) Their Inter-Play**

We have reached the conclusion that our education, our development, depends on two things—our own nature and our environment. It is a process that works two ways. All the time we are being influenced by friends or parents or teachers, by books or wireless or films, we are also influencing them in our turn.

We hear people say, " What a change has come over that couple since they had the baby." The child is not only being influenced by his parents ; he is influencing them. Or if we read the newspaper we can see the same two-way process—the newspaper, partly at least, prints what we want and yet in turn helps to form our opinions. So we not only live and learn, but live and teach too, all the time.

**4. Where Does Organised Education Come In ?**

But if education is simply our development in body, mind and spirit, and if this depends in part on the urge inside us to grow, in part on the environment outside us, we may well ask : " Then why all the talk about schools and subjects and teaching and examinations ? Where do they come into education ? "

**(i) The Need for Organised Education**

They come in because they are the means by which we provide a special environment, designed to help children to grow. As a community we have to make sure that new members born into it have this help. As far as we know, we pass on to our children at birth none of the ideas, knowledge, accomplishments, culture or traditions which we have acquired during our lifetime. They inherit from us

simply the capacity for learning these things. So each generation starts from scratch with a clean sheet, and if it were possible to abolish all education, we should in a single generation go far towards slipping back from civilisation to savagery.

Our children would grow and develop, it is true, but we cannot afford to let their development depend on their haphazard experience. We get a warning of what would happen if we look at some of the children whom the war has deprived of normal schooling. We must therefore protect them from things that are harmful and make certain that they learn others.

### (ii) Organised Education Found Everywhere

And so we provide a system of organised education. In all communities, whether primitive or civilised, some attempt is made to give this organised help. In native tribes there is organised teaching of fishing and hunting, or of the use of weapons, or of the mysteries of tribal law and worship. Putting it another way, we can say that the natives are taught how to earn a living, how to preserve their lives, how their community is governed and what its religious faith is.

But notice that the native is not taught shorthand or typing or office procedure. He is not taught mathematics or mechanical engineering. Why? Because these things are not found in his environment, in the life he is going to lead.

Education then must take account of the sort of environment in which the community lives. We in Britain do not organise an education which will help us and our children to live the life of an Eskimo; we do not help people to grow into fully-developed South Sea Islanders. We could not if we tried. The education we provide cannot ignore the ideas and beliefs and activities and values which are to be found in the environment, in the community.

### (iii) Individual and Community

In organising our education, then, we must keep our eyes on these two things at once—on the needs and powers of the individual whose growth we want to help, and on the kind of community in which he is to live. What kind of community is ours?

## 5. What Is the Purpose of Education in a Democracy?

We in Britain live in a democratic community which demands from each one of us the richest individual contribution to its common life of which we are capable. It is a community which prizes certain things—freedom, and the responsibility that goes with it; equality of opportunity; a respect for the value of human personality and a belief in the importance of the individual; the idea of co-operation and of care for the other fellow. Our education then must reflect these values.

And what are the activities by which we enrich the life of the community and our own lives? We have discussed many of them in B.W.P. sessions. We need to live life to the full, to work for our living, to learn to govern ourselves, and to make good use of our leisure. Education must help us to do these things—to become good men and women, good parents, good workers, and good citizens.

### (i) The Balance between Individual and Community

If we look at the individual we shall say that we have to assist all sides of his growth, to develop his full powers of personality, his practical and technical abilities, his social qualities, his special skills and talents. If we look at the activities of the community we shall talk of education for life, or for industry, or for citizenship, or for leisure. On the one side we are putting the emphasis on the nature and

interests of the individual to be educated, and on the other side on the environment in which he is to live. We cannot ignore either side of the picture but must keep a balance between the two sides.

This helps us to see why there are so many different ideas about the purpose of education. It all depends on where we put the emphasis.

### *If We Concentrate Too Much on the Individual ?*

If we look solely at the development of the individual and forget the community, we may help people to grow but fail to fit them for their responsibilities as citizens. They will become like the Miller of Dee and say : " I care for nobody, not I, if no one cares for me."

### *If We Concentrate Too Much on the Community ?*

If we look solely at the community, we may go to the other extreme and say that the purpose of education is to mould people to a fixed pattern, so that they are forced to fit in with the way of life imposed by a Government or Party. In Nazi Germany, for example, children are used to serve the purposes of the Party in power, and education has become propaganda. The individual is sacrificed to the State and his needs are ignored ; respect for individuality has gone by the board ; blind obedience alone is demanded. Listen to the vow taken by all German teachers :—

" Adolf Hitler, we swear that we will train the youth of Germany so that they will grow up in your ideology, for your aims and purposes, and in the direction set by your will. This is pledged to you by the whole German system of education from the primary school through to the university."

### (ii) **We Must Educate the Whole Man**

We may keep a balance between the needs of the individual and the claims of the community, but lay all the emphasis on one side of individual growth, or on one element in the life of the community.

If, for example, we concentrate on the development of the mind and forget growth of body and character, we shall say that education is just instruction, and that its only purpose is to help people to acquire knowledge. Its purpose is this, but surely more than this. We are reminded of the bookworm.

If on the other hand we single out, say, industry or domestic work from all our activities in the community, we shall say that the purpose of education is to produce good workmen or good housewives, or to get us good jobs. It is all of these things, but surely more than these. We are not simply breadwinners or housewives. We are first of all human beings.

### (iii) **The Purpose of Education**

If we keep all sides of the picture in mind we can perhaps reach the conclusion that the purpose of education is to assist every human being to achieve a balanced development of body, mind and spirit, and to fit him to make the fullest possible contribution to the life and work of the community.

## **6. What Ought We to Do about It ?**

We have decided that the life of our community will be rich in every sense if we have full freedom and opportunity to make our maximum individual contribution to it. Our lives and characters in turn will be made richer if we play a full and

responsible part as members of a vigorous community. If, for example, we are capable of becoming artists or doctors or skilled craftsmen or engineers, we must have the necessary education and training. If we don't, we shall not make the best of our lives and the community will be deprived of the services we might have given. This is a double waste.

### (i) Equal Opportunities for All

The same is true of our children. And if we mean our own children we must also mean all the children in the community. We must give them all the opportunity for full development. This democratic view of the purpose of education was perhaps best summed up by the Prime Minister in his broadcast on 21st March :—

“ Human beings are endowed with infinitely varying qualities and dispositions, and each one is different from the other. We cannot make them all the same. It would be a pretty dull world if we did. It is in our power, however, to secure equal opportunities for all.”

### (ii) Where Do our Children Grow Up ?

And so as citizens of a democracy we must consider what education we provide. But it is not simply a question of schools. Of each twenty-four hours our children spend a part at home, a part at school and a part in the neighbourhood. We have to watch all the time how each of these is affecting their growth—and our own. And how are the three related ?

#### (a) *The Home*

To show how important our homes are we might take three children brought up in widely different ones.

Tom was born on a farm. He was left free to roam about, to watch the animals, to play in the hay, to talk with the ploughman. He grew up resourceful and strong, but there were no books in the house the talk was all of the farm, and his parents were too busy to take much interest in him.

Mary's parents were poor. With two younger brothers she was brought up in an overcrowded tenement. She had too little to eat, the street was her playground and she knew nothing of the country. But she learnt to fend for herself and get on with other people.

John's home was in the suburbs of a big town. His father was an author, his mother an artist. Their home was filled with good books and pictures, they had many friends, and his life was full and varied. But he was an only child.

#### (b) *Home and School*

By the time these children were ready to go to school they had already developed certain habits, ideas, attitudes and standards of behaviour. In other words, the foundation of their education had been laid. But the influence of our homes does not stop there. Our own education, ideas, incomes and ambitions will go far in deciding what kind of education our children are to have, and how effective it is to be.

The more closely we can keep in touch with what the school is doing the less likely are our children to feel that they are living in two separate worlds. If the teachers know us and our homes and we are interested in what they are doing we can form a partnership. For this reason many schools have Parents' Associations, exhibitions of school work and “open days” to which parents are invited. But we cannot keep our children at home or at school all day.



*(c) The Neighbourhood*

As they grow older they spend more and more time in the neighbourhood, in the local community. This is educating them for good or ill, while still at school, through Press, wireless and cinema, through church and club and library, through the street with its advertisements and distractions.

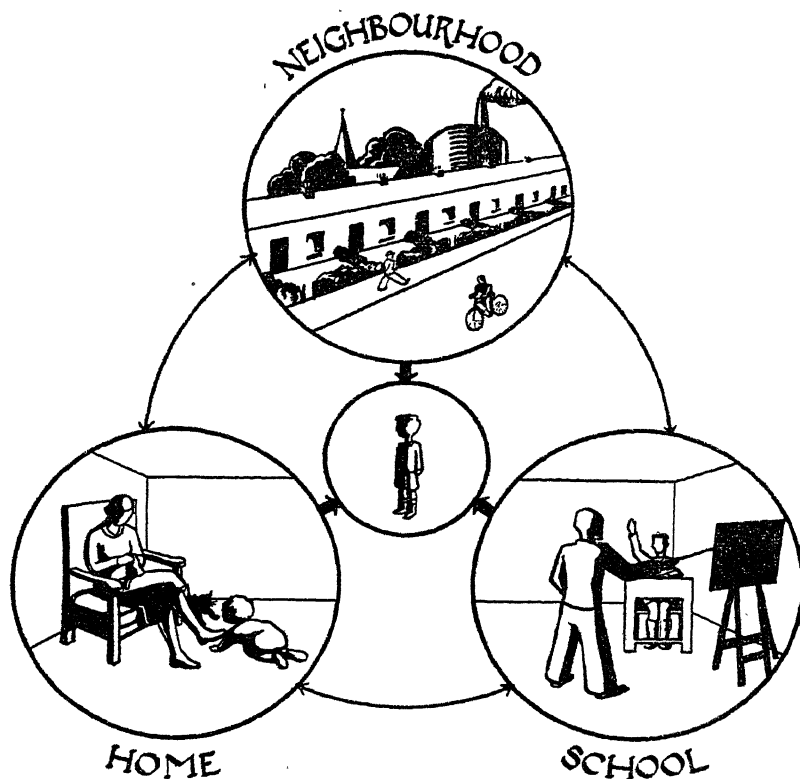


FIGURE 30

It decides to a great extent the speech they will use, the friendships they make, the interests they pursue. The older they grow the more important a factor it becomes, until for most of them at 14, for a few at 16 or later, the school drops out and they are left to the mercy of the grown-up world, with what help the home and part-time education can still give. To most of them the world means work—in shop, office, factory or on the land. They are then educated by the life they lead.

*(d) Neighbourhood and School*

The schools they attend also shape and are shaped by the life of the neighbourhood of which they are a part. The village school in the country, the town school in the crowded city, the technical school in an industrial area—each reflects its surroundings, and each too can become a centre for the life of the community.

### (iii) Our Threefold Responsibility

There are, therefore, three ways in which we can look to our children's education.

As parents we can make our homes better. As citizens we can make our neighbourhoods better. And as both we can see that the organised education we provide fulfils the purpose we have described. How far does it offer equal opportunities for all, children and grown-ups alike, for full growth according to their individual capacities?

#### *Improvements Are Being Suggested*

We are offered at present a variety of suggestions for its improvement—the raising of the school-leaving age; more nursery schools; secondary education for all; part-time continued education; a better school health service; more technical education; better teaching; closer ties between home and school and between school and neighbourhood.

#### *Let Us Get the Facts Straight \**

How can we judge the value of these suggestions? Only by finding out about the system of education that exists at present. In the three chapters that follow we shall try to answer three main questions: How do we provide education for our children and for ourselves?—the system that exists. What do we learn in schools and other places?—its content. How are we taught?—its method.

When we have looked at the organised education that exists, we can then ask whether the suggestions will help or not. Help what? Help us to get nearer to our goal—to get nearer to the education which will provide the right opportunity for all of us, at each stage of growth, to develop our full powers and so achieve a complete and happy life in a free community.

## **Chapter II. HOW IS OUR EDUCATION PROVIDED? \***

*"Give us the Young. Give us the Young, and we will create a new mind and a new earth in a single generation."*—(Benjamin Kidd.)

### **1. Whose Job Is Education? †**

About 700,000 babies are born in Great Britain each year. We have seen that their education begins the moment they are born and goes on till they die. But we have also seen that we provide a system of organised education for them and we want to make that the best possible.

To do this we must know through whom we provide this organised education. Who are the partners in the educational system?

#### **(i) Parliament**

Parliament is the final national authority which in its various laws requires or permits all the other partners to do certain things and makes grants to some of them, provided they satisfy the conditions laid down. On us, as parents, it imposes a duty to see that our children between the ages of 5 and 14 receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic.

\* The relevant changes effected by the Education Act of 1944 are outlined in footnotes marked (A) throughout this chapter. In addition, a general summary of the Act is given on pp. 546-8.

† This chapter deals primarily with the educational system in England and Wales. The Scottish system is different in some respects and the main points of difference are noted on pp. 343-4

*A New Bill*

There is a great deal of discussion at present, in speeches and pamphlets and books, about the adequacy of the law as it stands, and it is now known that before this booklet appears the Government will have announced their proposals for educational reform. There is no doubt that it will make proposals about the raising of the school-leaving age, the introduction of part-time continued education, and a number of other topics which are discussed later in this chapter.

## THE PARTNERS IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

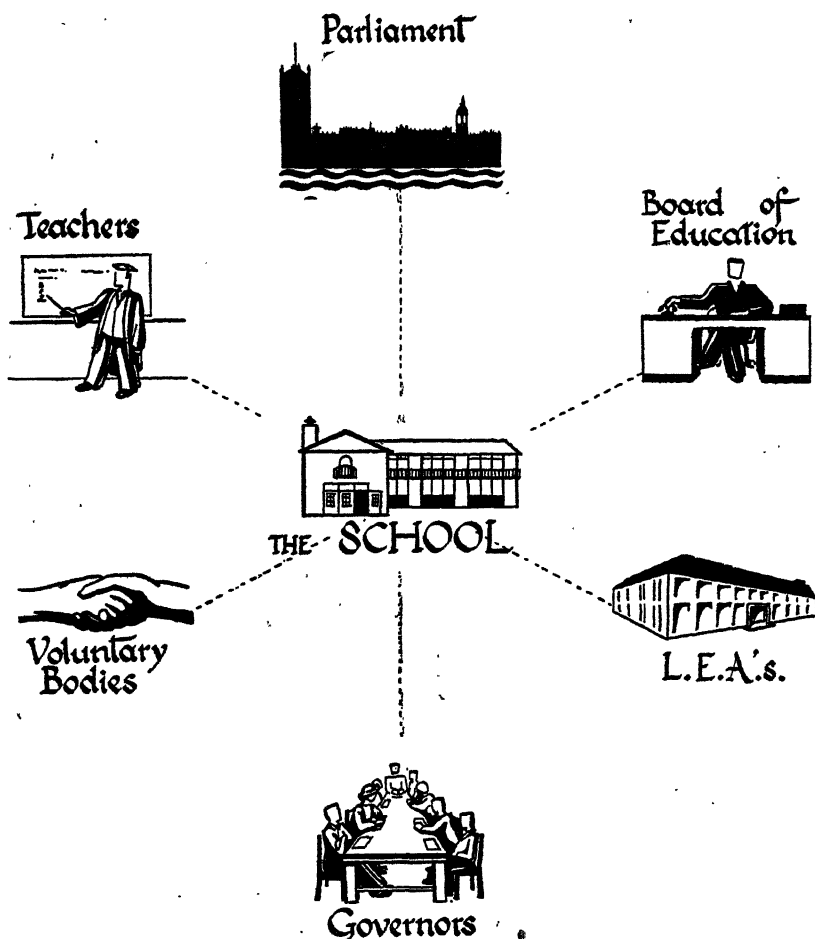


FIGURE 31

### (ii) The Board of Education

Whose responsibility is it to see that the law is carried out and to ensure that the monies provided by Parliament from the taxes we pay are properly administered?—the Board of Education. (A.1.)

(A.1) The President of the Board has now become Minister of Education and his Department the Ministry of Education.

The Board is a Government Department presided over by a Cabinet Minister who is known as the President of the Board. It has a separate Welsh Department.

There is a separate Ministry of Education in Northern Ireland, which controls the working of the schools more closely than in Britain. There are 1,700 public elementary schools, 76 secondary schools and 134 technical instruction centres.

### *What Does the Board Do ?*

The Board does not provide any schools, or prescribe the curriculum or appoint and pay teachers. Nor does it have any control over universities, private schools, or Public Schools. (A.2.)

But it sees that the general lines of policy laid down by Parliament are carried out. It maintains a staff of Inspectors who review the work being done in schools and put their expert experience at the disposal of teachers and Local Education Authorities ; in addition, it publishes a wide variety of pamphlets dealing with all sides of education.

Further, by the Act which created the Board, a standing committee of experts, known as the " Consultative Committee," was set up to investigate and report on questions referred to it by the President. (A.3.) It has produced, among others, the Hadow and Spens Reports, which are having a great influence on educational thought and organisation.

### **(iii) The Local Education Authorities (L.E.A.'s)**

Neither Parliament nor the Board, however, directly provides our schools. This is done chiefly by the Local Education Authorities. Who then are they ?

The L.E.A.'s are our Councils, and in England and Wales are of two kinds :— first, the County and County Borough Councils, known as *Part II Authorities*, who are responsible for elementary and higher education ; secondly, certain Borough and Urban District Councils, known as *Part III Authorities*, who are responsible for elementary education only. This means that if we live in certain areas, we may send our children to an elementary school provided by one L.E.A. and to a secondary school provided by another. Many people think that in any one area both types of education should be controlled by one L.E.A. (A.4.)

In Northern Ireland there are 8 L.E.A.'s which work through 18 Regional Education Committees.

### *What Can We Do about Them ?*

These Councils are, of course, elected locally and they delegate their education work to Education Committees, which consist of some members of the Council and other persons experienced in education.

(A.2) Private schools will be subject to registration and inspection, but not immediately. Proposals for a closer association between the Public Schools, the Ministry of Education and the L.E.A.'s are being considered.

(A.3) The Consultative Committee is abolished and in its place two Advisory Councils are established, one for England and one for Wales, appointed by the Minister to advise him on the theory and practice of education. These Councils can make recommendations on their own initiative as well as on matters referred to them by the Minister.

(A.4) The Part III L.E.A.'s will cease to function as such as from the 1st April, 1945 ; from that date the County and County Borough Councils will be all-purpose L.E.A.'s with a responsibility for the whole of their areas. (In some cases two or more may be combined into a Joint Board.) County L.E.A.'s will delegate certain functions relating to primary and secondary education to Divisional Executives consisting of one or more Boroughs or Urban or Rural Districts.

They are thus subject to our control and can keep in touch with the neighbourhood they serve. As citizens we can do much to improve the education of our children by taking a keen interest in the election of the Councillors, or better, by becoming members of an Education Committee ourselves, through election or invitation.

#### *What Can They Do about Us ?*

Certain provision they must make. Thus they must all provide, without cost to parents, sufficient elementary schools for the children in their area, and see that all children between the ages of 5 and 14, who are not otherwise provided for, attend them. Part II Authorities may, and in fact do, provide and assist other bodies to provide higher education as well. (A.5.)

L.E.A.'s differ considerably in the provision they make. This depends on a number of factors—their size, their wealth, and the progressiveness and energy of their Education Committee and of the Director of Education whom they appoint to advise them and carry out their policy.

#### *How Do They Pay their Way ?*

Between them the L.E.A.'s in England and Wales spend about £100,000,000 a year, and those in Scotland £15,000,000. They obtain about half this money from the local education rate, and half by way of grants from Parliament. (A.6.)

Much of this money is spent in maintaining schools which are owned and provided by voluntary bodies, or in aiding them financially. Let us look at this further group of partners in the educational system.

#### (iv) **The Voluntary Bodies**

So far we have dealt mainly with the State system which dates only from 1870, and has grown up piecemeal to make good the gaps left by voluntary enterprise.

One of the most characteristic features, however, of education in this country is the prominent part still played by private initiative and voluntary agencies outside the State system.

Private bodies, national and professional organisations, charitable funds and commercial bodies, provide schools and other forms of education of almost every kind—nursery schools, special schools, elementary and secondary, private and Public Schools, technical schools, training colleges, adult education classes and universities.

In addition, innumerable private individuals are engaged in running schools, many of them well known. And the fact that any individual, however ill-qualified, is free to run a school, has raised the question whether all private schools should be subject to inspection by the Board or the L.E.A., to ensure that the health conditions and the education given are adequate. (A.7.)

#### *What Is the "Dual System" ?*

Of the voluntary bodies one of the most important is the Churches whose close partnership with the L.E.A.'s in the provision of elementary education has created in England and Wales the "dual system" of "provided" or Council schools and "non-provided" or Church schools.

(A.5) All L.E.A.'s are obliged to make full provision for the three progressive stages—primary, secondary, and further education. Special financial assistance will be available from the Exchequer for the poorer Authorities.

(A.6) This expenditure will be nearly doubled when the reforms are complete. By that time considerably more than half the total will be contributed by the Exchequer.

(A.7) See (A.2) above.

Council schools, of which there were in 1942 about 10,360, attended by about 3,513,000 children, are owned, managed and maintained by the L.E.A. Church, or voluntary schools, as they are sometimes called, of which there were about 10,550, attended by about 1,522,000 children, are *maintained* by the L.E.A. who pay the teachers, provide books and equipment, heating, lighting and cleaning, but are *owned* by the voluntary body, on whom fall the responsibility and cost of structural repairs and of any improvements to the buildings that may become necessary.

In a Council school the L.E.A. appoints the teachers; in Church schools, the voluntary body.

Religious instruction is given in Council schools, but it must not be distinctive of any particular religious denomination. In Church schools it follows the beliefs of the body providing the school. Parents are in both cases free to withdraw their children from religious instruction.

### *What Are the Problems of the Dual System ?*

Most of the Church schools were built in the 19th century and the Churches have found it difficult to meet the cost of improving and rebuilding them as standards have risen. The religious question also complicates the reorganisation of elementary education and has been for forty years a subject of controversy.

So one of the questions awaiting our decision is how the dual system can be adapted to secure equality of opportunity, and a sound and economical organisation of schools. (A.8.)

### **(v) Governors and Managers**

We have described the part played by L.E.A.'s and voluntary bodies. But is there no closer link between a neighbourhood and the school which serves it ?

Connected with almost every school there is a body of persons concerned with its welfare and efficiency. In secondary schools they are called Governors; in elementary schools, Managers. The extent of their powers and responsibilities varies with the type of school and its dependence on State aid. A secondary school may be maintained entirely by the L.E.A., aided financially by it, or by the Board, or it may be entirely independent.

Most elementary schools, including all not provided by the L.E.A., must have School Managers. In non-provided schools the majority of Managers are appointed by the Church that built the school, the remainder by the L.E.A., and they control the religious instruction and the appointment of teachers. (A.9.)

(A.8) In future the technical term for non-provided schools will be " Voluntary Schools," and broadly the solution of the problem is as follows :—

- (i) The premises and organisation of non-provided schools will be brought up to modern standards.
- (ii) Where the Managers are able to meet 50 per cent. of the cost of bringing and keeping their premises up-to-date the Exchequer will meet the remainder and in general the position of the school over denominational instruction and the appointment of teachers will remain as at present. These schools will be called " Aided Schools."
- (iii) Where the Managers cannot meet 50 per cent. of the cost the L.E.A. will become entirely responsible for improving and maintaining the premises and also for the appointment of teachers: except that a small proportion of teachers to give a limited amount of denominational religious instruction will be " reserved " teachers, acceptable for this purpose to the Managers, who will also be consulted as to the appointment of the head teacher. These schools will be known as " Controlled Schools."

(A.9) All primary and secondary schools maintained from public funds must have a body of Managers and Governors respectively. The proportion of L.E.A. Managers or Governors will be one-third for " Aided Schools " and two-thirds for " Controlled Schools."

## (vi) Teachers

But all the partners so far mentioned have a single purpose—to bring children and young people together in schools so that they may be taught by teachers, the last and most important partners in the team.

*How Much Is Left to the Teachers ?*

We can see already two characteristic features of the system of education which we provide : the great measure of responsibility and control given by the central authority to the individual school, and the important role of voluntary agencies. A third is the freedom of teachers. Headmasters and mistresses are free, within wide limits, to run their schools on the lines they think best. They, in turn, if they are wise, leave their staff free to work out their own syllabus and methods of teaching within a general framework, though one of the limits to their freedom is imposed by the system of examinations.

*How Are They Employed and Paid ?*

They are neither employed nor paid by the State, but by the L.E.A.'s, Governors or Managers of the schools where they work.

They receive salaries in accordance with an agreed scale for different types of school and area, known as the Burnham Scale. (A.10.)

*What Qualifications Do They Have ?*

In 1943 there were nearly 167,000 teachers in English and Welsh elementary schools, of whom four out of five are recognised by the Board as "Certificated". This means that they have successfully completed a two-years training course at a training college, or have taken a university degree followed by a year at a university training department. There are 25,000 teachers in grant-earning secondary schools, of whom nearly four-fifths have taken university degrees, and three-fifths have been trained as teachers.

*How Should They Be Trained ?*

Since the quality of schools depends so much on the quality of the teachers, there is much discussion about their recruitment and training. Some people suggest that they are drawn from too narrow a section of the community and that every teacher should do a turn at another job before he begins teaching ; others that the training colleges cannot in a two-year course do the double job of continuing their students' full-time education *and* training them as teachers, and that it is unwise to segregate teachers in training from the rest of the community ; others, again, suggest that unsuitable recruits should not be tempted to choose the teaching profession as a means of obtaining financial help towards a university education.

Questions of this sort, involving the supply and training of the additional number of teachers who will be required to make many proposed reforms effective, are being investigated by a committee of experts, with Sir Arnold McNair as Chairman.\*

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(A.10) New salary scales are being worked out in readiness for the various changes which come into force under the new Act on the 1st April, 1945.

\* The Report of this committee has now been issued : " The Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders " ; H.M.S.O. ; 1944 ; 2/-.

## 2. What the Partners Provide : State-Aided

Now that we have obtained a rough picture of the partners into whose care we hand over our children, let us see what between them they provide. Here we shall do no more than outline the types of provision made—considering first the State-aided provision ; in the next chapter we shall examine what is taught at the different stages.

Let us suppose that we live in the suburb of a large industrial town, with a progressive L.E.A. which provides education of all types, and that we propose to rely on the education it can offer to our own son George, who is just two years old.

George then must attend school between 5 and 14. By the Education Act of 1936, the leaving age was to have been raised to 15 from 1st September, 1939, subject to exemption at the age of 14 for what was called beneficial employment, but the war intervened. (A.11.)

### (i) Nursery Schools

Should George go to school at an earlier age than 5, however ? An increasing, though small, number of nursery schools have been provided for children between the ages of 2 and 5. When the war began there were only 120, with room for between 9,000 and 10,000 children out of a total population, between 2 and 5, of more than a million and a half. About half these schools were provided by voluntary effort and half by L.E.A.'s who for twenty years have been able, but not compelled, to provide them where they are needed. And one of the questions that face us is whether it should be the duty of an L.E.A. to provide nursery schools for children whose parents want them.

At any rate it would be the exception rather than the rule to find such a school for George. But if there is a nursery class at the elementary school, he can join it as soon as he is three. It is less good than a nursery school, but better than sharing a room with the older children. This is what George's cousin Jim, who lives in the country, will probably do in his village school, where there may not be enough children of his age to form a separate class. (A.12.)

### (ii) Elementary Education

At five George begins his elementary education. As a result of the Hadow Report of 1926, the elementary schools have been undergoing reorganisation, which is replacing the old system of the infants' department and the seven " standards " of the main school, by a series of separate infants', junior, and senior schools or departments.

Let us assume that George lives in an area where the schools have been reorganised.

#### (a) *Infants' Schools*

First of all, he enters the infants' school or department where he stays for two or three years. There may be nearly 50 children in the class, so that with the best will in the world his teacher finds it difficult to avoid the methods of the drill sergeant.

#### (b) *Junior Schools*

Between seven and eight he moves on to the junior school or department where he stays another three or four years. His cousin Jim probably stayed at the same school, where there are too few children to make it possible to provide separately for infants and juniors.

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(A.11) The leaving age will be raised to 15 on the 1st April, 1945, though if the war makes it impossible to have teachers and buildings ready by then the date may be postponed till not later than the 1st April, 1947. The Minister must raise the age to 16 directly it is practicable to do so.

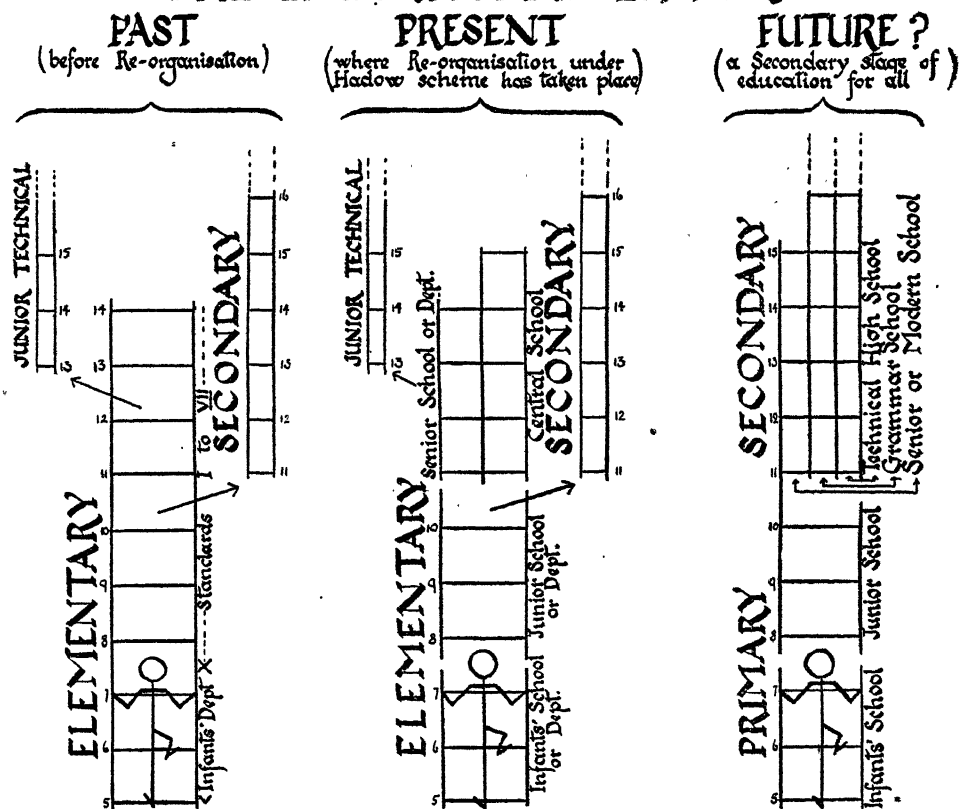
(A.12) L.E.A.'s are obliged to make provision (in separate nursery schools or in classes attached to infants' schools) for children under five, though attendance will be voluntary.



*Where Can He Go from There ?*

When he leaves the junior school at about the age of 11, George will have completed what is known as the *primary* stage of his education. As his parents we now have to try to decide, even before we can tell much about his abilities or interests, what his career is to be. If he is to enter one of the professions or qualify for a responsible job in industry or commerce, he ought to have a secondary education ; in any case we don't feel he will be ready to enter adult life at 14.

## THE EDUCATIONAL LADDER



## FULL TIME PUBLIC PROVISION OF EDUCATION FROM 5 TO 16

FIGURE 32

*How Can He Transfer ?*

Whether he can get into a secondary school will depend partly on his brains, partly on our purse. If he does well enough at the qualifying examination which he takes during his last year at the junior school, he will win a Special Place, and we shall pay a fee to the secondary school graded to suit our income. If we are poor, we shall pay no fee at all, and probably get a maintenance grant ; if we are well off, we shall probably pay the full fee of 12 guineas or more a year. What if he fails to win a Special Place, but does well enough to pass the entrance examination to the local grammar school ? Our ability or willingness to pay the fee will decide. About one out of seven children leaving the junior school transfers to the secondary school.

*(c) Senior Schools*

What are the prospects of the other six? Most of them go on to the senior school, or, if their elementary school has not been reorganised (and about half have been), stay at it until the end of the term in which they reach the age of 14.

In a few areas children who have just missed entrance to a secondary school can go to a selective central school—a type of senior school providing a four-year course which, during the last year or two, has a practical bias towards the activities of the neighbourhood. (A.13.)

Let us follow George into the secondary school and look at one possible way of avoiding an almost final choice at the age of about 11 of our children's future education and careers.

*(iii) Secondary Education*

The secondary school to which George goes provides him with a five-year course normally leading to examination for the School Certificate. There are some 1,400 such schools in England and Wales, with about half a million boys and girls. He can stay a further two or three years, and work for the Higher Certificate. He can then take a job, or if his parents can afford it, go on to a training college or university.

*Suggestions for Improvement*

The *Spens Report*, published in 1939 by the Consultative Committee, made recommendations which, if carried out, would give George at the age of 11 a choice of entering one of three types of secondary school of equal status—a *modern school*, similar to the existing senior or central school; a *grammar school*, like the existing academic secondary school; or a *technical high school*, with a five-year course based on that of the junior technical school.

To ensure that parents should hold these three types of school in equal regard, and choose the one best suited to their children's abilities and interests, it recommended among other measures that all should be administered alike under a new Secondary Code. The salaries of the teachers in the three schools should not depend on the type in which they worked, but on their qualifications. The standard of buildings and the maximum size of classes should be the same for all.

It also recommended that provision should be made where necessary for the transfer of children at about 13 from one type of school to another. By means of the gradual introduction of a 100 per cent. Special Place system, the abolition of fees, as soon as national finances allowed, should be the goal. Finally, while the adoption of a minimum leaving age of 16 might not be immediately attainable, it should even then be envisaged as inevitable.

Some people are suggesting that these different types of course could be combined in a single "multilateral" school, with separate "sides" or "streams" to suit the individual needs and capabilities of the children. The *Spens Report* considered this suggestion carefully, but did not recommend its adoption. It is a question worth discussion.

*(iv) Technical Education*

If George had shown signs of keenness or aptitude for engineering or some special trade, he might have begun to specialise at an earlier stage.

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(A.13) The term "elementary education" is abolished; there will be two stages of full-time education for all children—primary up to 11+; secondary from 11+ onwards (see below).

\* The proposed reforms in secondary education will, in fact, provide these three alternative choices at 11+: the *grammar school*, the *technical school*, and the *modern school*, with opportunities for later transfer in appropriate cases. There will be no tuition fees at any of the three types of secondary school maintained by an L.E.A.

*Junior Technical Schools*

At the age of 13 he might have been able to go to a junior technical school for a two or three-year course which would continue his general education and at the same time prepare him for a job. There are about 230 of these schools, with room for less than 30,000 boys and girls.

*Senior Technical, Commercial and Art Schools*

From the J.T.S., or from the secondary school, or even after a spell of work provided he had worked hard at evening classes, he could embark at about 16 on a full-time vocational course lasting two years or more. Some 19,000 young men and women attend such courses at technical, commercial and art colleges, or at organised day classes. Some of the bigger technical colleges provide such a wealth of courses and "out-of-school" activities that they bid fair to be called "People's Universities." Many, however, are old-fashioned and ill-equipped and cannot do justice to the needs of their students or of industry. (A.14.)

### 3. What the Partners Provide : Voluntary

More than 90 per cent. of parents send their children, between the ages of 5 and 14, to a school run by an L.E.A., but there are two main kinds of full-time education which fall outside this province.

If we are well-to-do and have ourselves had a private education, we may arrange for George to be educated outside the State-aided system.

#### (i) Private Schools

In that case we shall probably keep him at home until he is 8 or 9 and then send him to a private school. There are estimated to be more than 9,000 private schools. At some of these, mainly boarding, and called preparatory schools, he can be prepared for the Common Entrance Examination for admission to a Public School at the age of 13 or 14.

#### (ii) Public Schools\*

"There is no exact definition of a Public School; the name is usually applied to certain well-known schools of widely varying size and characteristics, which boys enter after several years in a private preparatory school, and stay at till about 18. Though they educate relatively few boys, their prestige and influence make them important; to be an old boy of any of them is an advantage throughout life.

"The Public Schools have a famous tradition; they have educated thousands of men who have given the most distinguished service to the country. But it is now widely felt, even by the schools themselves, that such privileged places do not fit into a democracy; that by their exclusiveness, which depends on wealth rather than ability, they preserve and intensify the division of social classes. It is further argued that, as 'leaders' have in the past come mainly from these schools, the nation loses by drawing from such a restricted source. It seems likely that the

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(A.14) The improvement and development of technical education is provided for.

\* These sections are taken from Chapter III of B.W.P. 2, which has further information on the subject of this chapter—pp. 66–75.

Public Schools will after the war be brought, in some way that has not yet been worked out, into the national system of secondary education.\*

"Education in Scotland has always been more democratic; there, boys of all social classes rub shoulders in the same schools."

### Universities †

"There are eleven universities in England, one in Wales, four in Scotland, and one in Northern Ireland. Oxford and Cambridge stand in a class apart, on account of their antiquity and the all-round life they can give their students. But as they are expensive and as they could not accommodate more than 10,000 students (about a quarter of the total number in England and Wales), other universities have been founded, of which the most important is London, with 12,000 full-time students. In addition, anyone, in any part of the Empire, can work for the external degrees of London University—as many men in the Forces have done since the war started. The provincial universities are at Durham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Bristol and Reading. As most of their students live at home, and the fees are comparatively low, these universities are of great value to their areas.

"Of the four Scottish universities, St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen date from the 15th century, and Edinburgh from the 16th. Their students number about 10,000—twice as many, in proportion to the population, as in England. Access to the universities is easy and cheap, and it has always been the rule in Scotland for all classes to flock to them.

### Scholarships and Grants

"About half the students at English universities go up with scholarships or grants awarded by the universities and colleges, by L.E.A.'s, by the Board of Education or by some other source. Every year some 2,500 students enter the universities who started their education in public elementary schools—about 450 of them going to Oxford and Cambridge. Even so, it is usually a struggle for poor students to reach a university and stay the course; in too many cases their health is injured by anxiety and overstrain, which may prevent them from fulfilling their early promise."‡

### How Are the Universities Governed?

All the universities are independent of the State and self-governing; they receive about £2 million each year in grants from Parliament, but are subject to no control by the Board of Education or L.E.A.'s.

## 4. From School to Neighbourhood

Of every 1,000 children who enter the elementary schools it has been calculated that about 5 climb the ladder to the universities. What provision do we make for the voluntary continued education of those who leave school at 14, 15, 16 or 17, and who, as Figure 33 shows, are the majority?

### (i) Part-Time Education

Let us suppose that George left school at 14. How can we still help his development and temper the sudden transfer from the shelter of school to the grown-up world of shop, office and factory?

\* Detailed proposals to this end are made in the Report of the Fleming Committee on the Public Schools and the General Educational System; H.M.S.O.; 1944; 1/6.

† These sections are taken from Chapter III of B.W.P. 2, which has further information on the subject of this chapter—pp. 66–75

‡ Wider and more generous provision of scholarships to the universities and other higher education institutions is an integral part of the plans announced by the Government.

## SCHOOL HISTORY of an AGE GROUP in ENGLAND and WALES

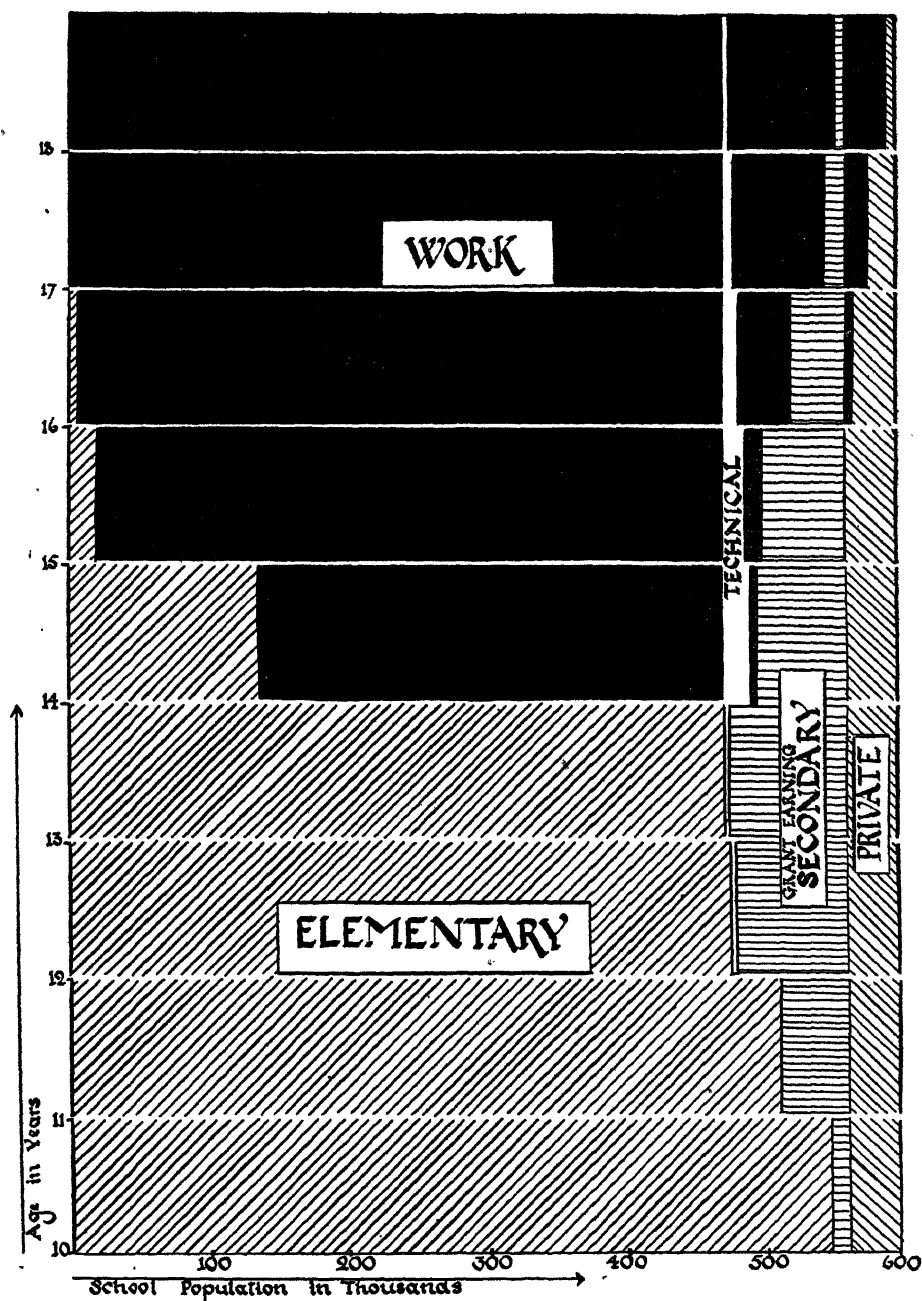


FIGURE 33 (A.15)

(A.15) This table will require considerable modification in the light of the changes which will begin to take effect on the 1st April, 1945. An interesting and useful project, both for instructors and their groups, would be to work out a comparative table as it will look after the Act has been implemented.

*Evening and Part-Time Day Classes*

Day classes are available, but it would be exceptional for his employer to give him "time off."

Instead he goes to evening classes at a technical college or evening institute, but he finds it difficult to hold down a job all day and then voluntarily, on two or three evenings a week, to spend two hours in study. Many of his teachers are also tired after a full day's teaching elsewhere. In 1938-39, of an estimated wage-earning population of more than two million between the ages of 14 and 18, less than a quarter took advantage of evening classes and of these less than 8 per cent. were allowed "time off" by their employers.

*Day Continuation Schools*

To help fill this "gap", the Fisher Education Act of 1918 made it compulsory for all children between the age of leaving school and 16, later to be 18, to attend a day continuation school for 320 hours a year. But this law was suspended in 1922, and with one exception at Rugby, no such compulsory schools exist, although a few voluntary bodies and progressive firms run schools of this sort. (A.16.)

*Youth Service*

The outbreak of war, with the disorganisation of family life, made it obvious that something more was needed if young people were to be properly cared for. On the initiative of the Board of Education, local Youth Committees were set up in all parts of the country, to bring together and assist the work of all those bodies which exist to provide "social, educational and recreational facilities" for young people who have left school but are not yet fully grown up.

Under the umbrella of Youth Service, George might, for example, join the Scouts, the Y.M.C.A., or the Boys' Brigade; one of the pre-service organisations such as the Army Cadet Force; a youth club run by the L.E.A. or a Church; or a voluntary service squad. At 16 he has to register for training and service, will be interviewed by the L.E.A. and encouraged, but not compelled, to join one of these organisations to fill his leisure hours profitably.

**(ii) The Problem of Youth**

Many people think that the problem of providing for these young people has not yet been tackled adequately. They see in the nation's youth one of the most important assets of the community, if its vigour is to be maintained. L.E.A.'s and voluntary organisations are doing excellent work in providing for their *leisure* activities, but the fact remains that they are plunged, still immature and untrained, into the adult world. What suggestions for tackling the problem are being made?

*Raising the School-Leaving Age*

It is widely held that the compulsory school-leaving age should be raised at least to 15 without exemptions, though many parents of small means feel they cannot afford to dispense with their children's earnings without the help of a maintenance allowance. (A.17.)

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(A.16) L.E.A.'s are to establish "County Colleges." Attendance on one day a week (or in special cases for two months a year) will be compulsory for all young people between the school-leaving age and 18 who are not in full-time attendance at school. The date for the operation of this scheme is not finally determined, but it will be given priority after the raising of the school-leaving age to 15 has been made effective.

(A.17) See (A.11) above.

The advantages of an additional year of compulsory education, both to our children and to the community, need no emphasis. The main difficulties are to provide staff and buildings to teach and accommodate about half a million extra children in our schools, and to adjust the needs of industry. More young men and women, many of them now in the Forces, will have to be trained, and this in turn means more provision in training colleges and universities. New schools will have to be built, others enlarged, but the use of pre-fabricated buildings—which have already been used successfully for nursery schools built during the war—will help to solve the problem. Evacuation, too, has shown that empty houses can be adapted for use as schools.

### *Compulsory Part-Time Education*

A second line of attack on the problem of youth, which the Government are considering, is the re-introduction of compulsory part-time education beyond the school-leaving age. Up to what age, and for how long each week should it be? Should our children on leaving school go straight into employment, with a part of their time reserved for education? Or should it be the responsibility of the community to control and train them as apprentices until they are ready to take on the full responsibilities of citizenship? How could this be done? In junior colleges, day continuation schools or youth centres? In technical colleges or in industry? In training camps or in community centres?

These are questions for discussion and raise big questions about the partnership between education and industry, between school and society. (A.18.)

## **5. The Education of Adults**

Assuming that the needs of youth are met, what further education can they still expect when they have reached the age of full citizenship? How, in other words, do we provide for our own education? We have said that we live and learn. How do we help ourselves to learn, to “keep alive” as we say? By a combination of voluntary organisation and public provision.

### **(i) Further Education**

Just before the war about half a million of us—less than 3 per cent. of those who might have!—attended evening classes connected with our work or hobbies in technical or commercial colleges or in literary and other evening institutes provided by L.E.A.'s.

### **(ii) Adult Education**

Some 60,000 of the more serious-minded of us went in our leisure time to organised classes and lectures in subjects not connected with our jobs. These adult classes are provided through a partnership of the L.E.A.'s and a number of voluntary bodies, of which the chief are the universities and the Workers' Educational Association.

The W.E.A. is a movement with a strong tradition of freedom and self-government, which for more than 40 years has been bringing an opportunity for serious study and discussion within the reach of a section of the community which would not otherwise have had it. It has more than 600 branches and organises over 3,000 classes a year.

Other bodies assisting in the provision of adult education include the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the trade unions, the Women's Institutes, the Rural Community

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(A.18) See (A.16) above.

Councils, the British Drama League, the National Adult School Union, the British Institute of Adult Education and others. The L.E.A.'s assist further by providing books through their public library service.

### (iii) Residential Colleges

It is coming to be recognised that, however good our schools, there are many things we cannot understand until we have had some experience of life. This means that all of us, from time to time, need to get away from our jobs to study and think about the problems which confront us as a community. One way of achieving this would be to establish a far greater number of residential colleges to which we might go for courses lasting a few weeks or months, or even a year. Before this war we had a handful only, catering for a few hundred students. These provided the only opportunities for full-time education of adults outside the universities. Compare Sweden with 59 People's Colleges and Denmark with 60. Are we interested enough in our responsibilities as citizens to make wider provision here?

### (iv) War Developments

Since the war began we have had wider opportunities, inside the Army and out, to educate ourselves. C.E.M.A. (the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts) is bringing good music, plays and pictures to all corners of the land. The B.B.C. continues to bring the discussion of serious topics into our homes and camps. Army Education and A.B.C.A. are helping us to widen our knowledge, extend our interests and understand the world we live in, and the Central Advisory Council for Adult Education in H.M. Forces brings together the civilian educational resources of the whole country to co-operate in this work.

### (v) The Neighbourhood in Education

We have seen how we are educated in turn in home, school and neighbourhood. One way then to improve education is to make better homes, better schools and better neighbourhoods, and to strengthen the ties between them. A second way is to lengthen the time we spend in schools. A third way is to try to organise for ourselves the life of the neighbourhood so that it enriches our lives and assists our development. This is easier in a village or small town where we feel we are "members one of another"; it is more difficult in a large housing estate from which we hurry each morning to work and return only to sleep, thus remaining strangers from one another; it is most difficult in a huge city where we lead impersonal lives and have little sense of community.

### *Community Centres*

How can we achieve this sense of fellowship, in which we can learn citizenship by practising it? The first need is a meeting-place which we can make the focus of the social life of our community—a village institute, a community centre, a civic centre. In some places the need is being met by private enterprise or voluntary bodies, by Churches, Women's Institutes, Housing Associations. In others the L.E.A. has taken the lead.

In Cambridgeshire, for example, the L.E.A. has established four Village Colleges, based on senior schools, to provide centres for education in its widest sense for all members of the rural community, young and old. Here is a field for our energies after the war in which, as citizens, we can all take a share in teaching and learning alike. Picture the change if every senior or secondary school could open its doors to the community surrounding it and provide not only for its children, but for all its members.



## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II: EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND\*

While much of the general information already in Chapter II is equally applicable to Scotland, it may be helpful to gather together some of the main features in which the national system in Scotland differs from that in England.

### 1. WHOSE JOB IS EDUCATION ?

#### (i) Parliament

#### (ii) Scottish Education Department

Headed by the Secretary of State for Scotland, who is a Cabinet Minister.

#### (iii) Education Authorities

The County Councils and the Town Councils of the four large cities (Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow) are the Education Authorities. There is no division into Part II and Part III Authorities.

#### (iv) School Management Committees

To preserve local interest in schools, the county is divided into districts, each of which has a School Management Committee representing parents and teachers as well as the Council.

#### (v) Teachers

Generally speaking, all men teachers in any school and women teachers in secondary schools must have university degrees or technical diplomas, plus attendance at a training college. Women teachers in primary schools need not have degrees, but they must then have a three years' training course.

#### (vi) A Partner Missing

Absent from the partners are the voluntary bodies and especially the main voluntary body, which in England provides schools, the Churches. The "*dual system*," as it is found in England, does not exist in Scotland.

In 1918 nine-tenths of the schools in Scotland were already provided by the public authorities, but there were a comparatively few Roman Catholic and Episcopal schools. An Act of that year made it possible for the Managers of these voluntary schools to transfer them to the E.A.'s who were bound to accept the transfer on agreed terms. The E.A.'s are responsible for all expenditure connected with the schools, regulate the time-table and appoint the teachers. But the teachers have to be approved as regards religious belief and character by representatives of the Church concerned. Two years after the passing of the Act were allowed for the transfer; after that no grant could be paid to any voluntary school that had not transferred. Where new denominational schools are needed, they may be provided by voluntary effort and transferred on the same conditions, or they may be provided by the E.A.

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\* The Secretary of State for Scotland has announced that he hopes to introduce some time before the end of 1944 a Bill amending the law relating to education in Scotland. In such matters as the raising of the school-leaving age and the establishment of compulsory part-time education to 18, the provisions of the Bill will follow those of the English Act.

## 2. WHAT THE PARTNERS PROVIDE

The system of schools as conceived under the revised Code, which followed the Education Act of 1936, is as follows :—

(i) **Nursery Classes or Schools :** 2–5 years.

As in England, E.A.'s are encouraged, but not obliged, to provide them and they are still sparse.

(ii) **Primary Schools.**—(a) *Infants' Classes :* 5–7 years.

(b) *Primary Classes :* 7–12 years.

Some primary schools retain pupils up to 14 or 15 in a post-primary department.

(iii) **Secondary Classes or Schools**

(a) *Junior Secondary Courses :* 12–15 years. A variety of three-year courses is offered, with a bias towards literary, technical, commercial or rural subjects. But each has a common foundation of subjects and each leads to examination for the Junior Leaving Certificate.

(b) *Senior Secondary Courses :* 12–17 years+. Different courses may have a different bias, but there is a common basis to all and all lead to examination for the Senior Leaving Certificate.

The E.A.'s are required to make adequate provision for all forms of primary and secondary education in day schools without payment of fees. Having done this they may, and a few do, have some schools in which fees are charged.

## Chapter III.

## WHAT DO WE LEARN ?

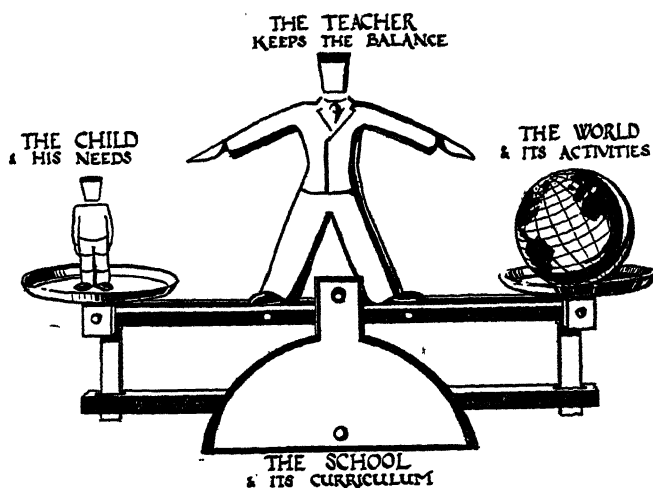
*“From the community and the State, from the parents, from the teachers, and from the nature and needs of boys and girls issue the forces that are to shape the school society.”—(Spens Report.)*

### 1. The School and Society

In the first chapter we suggested that the purpose of education is to help us, whether as children or grown-ups, to develop our capacities of body, mind and spirit to the full, so that we may lead full lives at each stage of our development, and make the richest possible contribution to the life of the community. In the second chapter we described the partners concerned in providing education and outlined the types of school they provide.

We now want to look inside these schools and see what they are offering. And if we asked ourselves what we learned at school, no doubt we would list immediately some subjects such as reading, writing, geography or cookery. But is that knowledge all that the school offers? Don't our relations with teachers and other children add something to our development? Don't activities such as acting plays or playing games help in our growth? And are we not affected by the buildings and amenities of the school? Are the classrooms light and spacious or dark and crowded? Are school meals provided or not?

In fact, we see that what the school does is to provide an environment, in which not only the subjects taught but the teachers and the other children and the buildings and amenities are a part. These elements all have their counterpart in the world outside.



## THE BALANCED CURRICULUM

FIGURE 34

What makes one school different from another is the different needs of children at each stage of their growth, and the varying importance attached to these elements. What we want to ensure for our children is that at each stage of their growth the school they attend provides a suitable environment.

## 2. The Nursery Years, Infancy and Childhood

Let us take a flying visit round the different types of school and see what they are doing for our son George and his twin sister, Mary, at each stage of their development. It should be kept in mind that if we lived in Scotland, the system of schools would be somewhat different, as is indicated in the Appendix to Chapter II.

### (i) The Nursery School

George and Mary are now between two and three years old. What are their needs? That is a good question to discuss, but the answer would probably include affection, security, play (with space and equipment for it), the companionship of other children, light, air and sunshine, proper diet, rest, exercise and medical care, and, last but not least, freedom to express themselves. The daily programme at the nursery school is worked out to meet these needs. They are encouraged to do as much as possible for themselves, at their own pace.

The development of their bodies takes first place. The school doctor examines them at least once a term, the school nurse visits them frequently. They play out of doors for a good part of the day, they have milk and a mid-day meal, and they sleep in the afternoon. Personal cleanliness is stressed and each child has his own towel, comb and toothbrush which he is taught to use. A part of their day is spent in quieter activities indoors. They draw with crayons, they play with apparatus designed to train their senses and develop their powers, they dance and sing and recite.

All the time they are learning to be useful and responsible members of their little community—to give and take, to look after the possessions they have in common, to wait on one another at meals, to wash and dress themselves.

But what of the teachers? Are there no lessons? Not in the usual sense. It is the teachers' job to stay in the background, to watch and guide and encourage, to help them when they need help, to create the environment in which they can follow their own happy pursuits in a world made for them.

### (ii) The Infants' School

By the time they are five, George and Mary should be ready to enter the infants' school. Have their needs changed? Probably not very much. They want to be on the move, to learn by doing things for themselves, to explore their surroundings, to master an unfamiliar language. They make no distinction between work and play and delight in the accomplishment of simple tasks.

If the school is a good one there will be no "subjects" taught, but as in the nursery school their day will be devoted to a series of activities, where possible out of doors, designed to develop their powers.

What should we find going on? Physical training, games, dancing and music to develop their bodies; story-telling, singing and acting to train them in a sense of rhythm and help their powers of speech and expression; work in the garden and walks in the neighbourhood, with the opportunities they give for discovery and observation; practice in the use of simple tools and materials.

And what about the three R's to give them the skill in reading, writing and arithmetic on which so much of their future learning depends? They are not encouraged to learn them until they feel the need to, and then not through formal lessons, but by the use of self-teaching apparatus. For example, they link words with pictures, trace the letters in a sand tray, learn to count by playing with pegs on boards.

### (iii) The Junior School

By the time they go to the junior school between 7 and 8, they are more responsible and self-possessed and they will have grasped the elements of the three R's. In a good school they will be given the nourishment of body, mind and spirit that is needed for the growth of children between the ages of 7 and 11. They are still restless and active, they want to experiment and ask questions, to collect things and information, and to learn what is going on around them. How does the school meet these needs?

There should be few set lessons, but instead again a series of practical activities which help to widen their experience and develop their powers. Physical training, music, art and craft, needlework, gardening, the three R's, stories from history, exploration of the neighbourhood and nature study—these all find a place in the curriculum, sometimes taught as separate subjects, but better arranged as activities at which children can work as individuals, as groups, or as classes.

### (iv) Are All Schools Like This?

This is an ideal picture. By no means all children at these schools have the good fortune of George and Mary. How far the schools can provide an environment which meets their need for physical activity depends largely on three things—the school buildings, the size of classes, and the demands made by the next stage in their education.

*Buildings\**

It's no good talking of dancing or handicraft, or indeed of activity at all, if the rooms are small and dark and filled with serried rows of desks. We can't teach cleanliness if there are no proper cloakrooms and nowhere to wash. We can't easily give children healthy bodies unless they have space to work and play out of doors—playgrounds, gardens, playing-fields.

*Size of Classes\**

The most skilful and devoted teacher can't treat a class of 50 children as individuals and provide each with the help he needs. Many of these schools were built when the elementary schools taught little but the three R's by mass methods. The emphasis has shifted now from the subjects taught to the needs and interests of the children whose development we are trying to help. Thus many of the buildings have become out-of-date and quite unsuitable. To bring them up-to-date and to reduce the size of classes are two of the most urgent problems to be tackled after the war, if the schools are to be happy communities in which our children can have freedom to grow.

*Examinations†*

But George and Mary might be in a small class in a beautiful building and still spend most of their time at a desk receiving class instruction. Why? Because their only chance of a secondary education may depend on their winning a Special Place at the examination which awaits them between the ages of 10 and 11. There is a great danger that what Wordsworth described as "delight and liberty, the simple creed of childhood, whether busy or at rest" will be sacrificed to examination requirements, and that the three R's will dominate their days.

### 3. From Childhood to Youth

The next stage in their development, from about 11 onwards, is usually called adolescence. They begin to undergo tremendous changes in body, mind and spirit. Their bodily changes make them aware of their sex. Their minds make their first excursions into the world of abstract ideas. It is a period of awakening emotions when they begin to discover personal values. Their interests and abilities begin to diverge. The budding artist or craftsman, scholar or engineer begins to appear.

This is a difficult stage in a child's life and, as we have seen, there are at least four types of school which attempt to provide the best sort of environment. Let us take a quick glance at each in turn.

*(i) The Senior School*

Senior schools, which provide the last stage in elementary education, are of recent growth. Many of them are housed in new buildings, with all the advantages of space and light. If they go to one of these schools George and Mary will find their bodies well cared for. They spend a reasonable amount of their time at physical training and games; they can have a good meal at the school canteen. They acquire skill and experience by practical work in gardening, carpentry or metal-work, housecraft and needlework and other forms of handicraft.

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\* A progressive reduction in the size of classes and the enforcement of up-to-date standards in buildings are part of the policy announced by the Government in the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction; H.M.S.O.; 1943; 6d.

† When three alternative types of secondary education are available for all children at the age of 11 and fees are abolished in the grammar school, the Special Place examination will disappear; children will be allocated to the schools which suit their particular aptitudes, account being taken of parents' wishes, schools records and the judgment of the child's head teacher.

*The Curriculum*

The usual "subjects" which we think of in connection with school are there too—English, history, geography, mathematics, science, and sometimes a foreign language. But these are treated in a less bookish way than in our time at school. They are related to the interests and experience of the children and connected, where possible, with the surroundings of the school.

English means debates and plays as well as the study of literature. History often works back from the present to the past instead of teaching "1066 and All That." Geography starts at home with the plan of a classroom or a survey of the neighbourhood. Science is connected with everyday things—how our bodies function, how a plant grows, how an electric motor or a steam engine works.

Music, art and religious instruction are also in the time-table, but much of what is valuable in George's or Mary's education does not appear there. They take part in many out-of-school activities which they are encouraged to organise for themselves. They are given increasing freedom and responsibility so that they can learn to be self-reliant, resourceful and tolerant. In other words they begin to learn the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

*Can We Improve Them?*

But this is a rosy picture. Are there no problems, no criticisms? Yes. The cream of the children have gone off at 11 to the secondary school, so that there is a danger that parents and children may regard the senior school as a second best. And of those left behind most leave school at 14 and little more than half find a separate senior school awaiting them at the age of 11; the remainder stay in schools which have not yet been reorganised. The teachers, too, are less well paid than in the secondary school and have to cope with larger classes.

**(ii) The Junior Technical School**

Of all the different kinds of school, these are the most closely related to the world outside. Some of them, known as trade schools, provide an apprenticeship in a single trade or occupation, such as hairdressing, seamanship, domestic science or building.

The education in others is based on some broad activity found in their neighbourhood, such as engineering, the constructive trades, commerce, or the artistic industries. They provide a general education with what is called a bias towards the employment which their pupils will follow. For example, a school based on the engineering industry might give five hours a week to English, six to mathematics, six to science, four to technical drawing, one to art and six to workshop practice. It thus combines a general with a vocational education.

**(iii) The Secondary School**

Suppose that George and Mary are among the minority who transfer to the secondary school. What are they and their class-mates offered there? They have been chosen as being more intelligent. Their parents expect them to follow up this first success by others. From their ranks will come the professional workers of the next generation—the doctors, parsons, lawyers, teachers and accountants. But only a few of them go on to full-time education at university or training college. About four-fifths of them stay for five years and then take a job. For two-thirds of these the job will be a clerical or commercial one.

*Their Traditions*

The time-table looks little different from that of the senior school. What then are the differences in the school life? They are mainly differences of tradition which determine what George and Mary learn. The senior schools are new. The secondary schools have inherited the traditions of the old grammar schools and also of the Public Schools of the 19th century. They have inherited the academic tradition, the classical tradition, the old scholar's tradition of the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake.

They have inherited, too, the tradition of education *for* something. The senior schools are experimenting with the newer idea of education as primarily a help to all-round development. The secondary schools have carried on the old tradition of education for a job—for leadership in commerce or the professions, for preparation of their pupils for entrance to the university.

*Are There Any Criticisms?*

They are therefore criticised sometimes for being bookish, for being not sufficiently close to modern life and the modern world. They are accused of being examination-ridden, and of turning out nothing but clerks with a contempt for manual work.

*Praise Too*

But they earn praise as well as criticism. Their defenders point out that to those that reach them they open a door to many professional and business posts. If they concentrate on the development of the mind, it is because their pupils were chosen for their capacity to profit by an academic education. They therefore provide in abundance for the things of the mind by means of lessons, private study in a good library and out-of-school activities.

Nor do they forget body and character. A modern secondary school will have spacious buildings with a gymnasium and large playing-fields. It will provide a mid-day meal and every aid to bodily development. It will be alive to the beauty of art and music, though it may devote less time to them in school hours. Because some of the boys or girls stay at school till 17 or 18 it can offer better opportunities for practice in responsibility and self-government.

*The School Certificate Examination*

This examination may govern and restrict the school life to some extent with its course of studies to be covered and its set books to be prepared. Its defenders see no reason why it need cramp the growth of those who take it at the end of a four or five-year course. Others want to see its scope extended. Its opponents press for its abolition.\*

• (iv) **The Public School**

The life in Public Schools differs from that in other forms of secondary school in a number of ways. With a few notable exceptions they are boarding schools. On the whole they draw their pupils from a limited section of the community, and while they share the curriculum and traditions of the other secondary schools, which they did much to create, they place greater emphasis on the classics, the

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\* A report on the "Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools" by a Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education, with Sir Cyril Norwood as Chairman, has now been issued; H.M.S.O.; 1943: 1/6. This report proposes important changes in secondary school examinations.

formation of character, religion and leadership, and have a closer connection with Oxford and Cambridge. They also keep the majority of their pupils to a more advanced age which allows more specialisation.

### *Leadership*

When a boy goes to a Public School, he enters a community where he is educated on the assumption that he will be a leader in some department of life when he leaves school or university. He finds an insistence on the responsibility of leadership and an emphasis on service. He hears of many examples of old boys who have served their country and the Empire in various walks of life. He is taught in his first years to serve. Later as a prefect, he learns to share the government of his house or school. The same lessons are taught in his games, which play an important part in his life, and in his Junior Training Corps. He learns that to command he must first learn to obey.

Thus in many ways he receives a vocational education ; he is trained for a job—leadership. One of the criticisms that has been levelled at Public Schools, apart from those they share with other types of secondary school, is that their high fees restrict entrance to them to the children of wealthy parents and so tend to keep the social classes apart. If, their critics say, they offer special opportunities for the development of leaders, they should be open to all who have the capacity.

### (v) **Some Questions**

This sketch of the school life offered by four different types of school suggests a number of questions.

Would it be possible to combine the advantages of these schools in a single school to which all children should transfer at 11 (or 13)? In this single school all would at first follow the same course, and later, as their bent were discovered, begin to specialise along their own lines. Or would it be preferable to send them, at the age of 11, to different types of school of equal status? In this case how should the selection be made? Should the curriculum during the first two years be roughly common to all three types of school, to make transfer from one to another as easy as possible?

To what extent and at what age should schools encourage their pupils to specialise in the development of those capacities by which they will earn their living?

What is the function of the Public Schools in a democratic community?

By what subjects and activities should schools teach citizenship?

To what extent was the choice of the jobs we took up influenced by

(a) our parents, (b) our education, (c) our own wishes?

Should girls be taught child-welfare as a preparation for home-making?

## **4. From Youth to Full Citizenship**

We saw in Chapter II that a small proportion of young people receive full-time education beyond the age of 16. A few remain at secondary and Public Schools, and a few go on at 16 or 18 to full-time courses at technical, commercial or art colleges, or at 18 to teachers' training colleges and universities. It would be futile in the space available to attempt even a sketch of the education these provide. It is omitted, not because they are unimportant, but because the opportunities they provide for vocational training, for liberal education and for research cover the whole field of human activity. To describe their content would be to mirror the universe.



This does not mean that they claim to be perfect. Many suggestions are being made, not least by the people most closely concerned with them, for the reorganisation and improvement of technical education, for the re-planning of teachers' training and for the development of the part which the universities play in the life of the community.

For example, should technical colleges teach the scientific principles underlying industry, or workshop practice, or both ? In a world based more and more on the machine, many people must be engaged in unskilled repetitive work. Should education try to show the significance of what they are doing, or should it concentrate on enriching their leisure activities ? Are the subjects studied at universities closely enough related to modern life ?

### Adult Education

To describe shortly the content of adult education is no less difficult ; of full-time there is very little ; of part-time there is such a variety as to defy description and the range of subjects offered depends on what we want.

Of the courses held under the Regulations of the Board of Education, those in sociology, literature and language, economics, philosophy and psychology, and history are most in demand. Of the courses provided by L.E.A.'s in technical, commercial and art institutions, the Board's Report for 1938 lists more than 200 subjects. They range from Arabic to rail carriage building, from elocution to pewterwork.

## Chapter IV.

## HOW ARE WE TAUGHT ?

*"Any change for the worse in educational methods means a change for the worse in the mentality of millions of human beings during their whole lifetime."*—(Aldous Huxley.)

### 1. Does It Matter How our Children Are Taught ?

We discussed first what we want education to do for our children. We want it to help them in their all-round growth and development. In the second chapter we considered the organisation of the different types of school which we have set up to help that growth. We then looked at the different schools to see what kind of help they offer our children at each stage of their development. We now want to see *how* that help is given. How are our children taught ?

Do we need to worry about that or can we leave it to professional teachers ? We might say we could if, when we had sent them to school, we had nothing more to do with them. But most of them come home each day, and then as parents we are faced with many of the problems that face their teachers. If our children are not to live in two different worlds and find that we are saying one thing while their teachers say another, we must know what is happening to them at school.

Or should we hand them over for three-quarters of the year—that is, send them to boarding schools if we can ? And should boys and girls be taught together—or in separate schools ? Let us discuss these last two questions first and then see what methods of teaching may be used.

## 2. Day Schools or Boarding Schools?

If we hark back to the last section of Chapter I, we shall realise that the real question here is not whether a day school is better than a boarding school or vice versa. The question is: Is it better, as a method of educating children, to let them share their time between home, school and neighbourhood; or should they be sent away from these surroundings for full-time education in a boarding school?

There is no answer that will be true of all children. It will depend a good deal on the individual child and the kind of home. A sensitive or emotional child may find a boarding school difficult; an only child may need the continuous companionship of other children. Again, if we, their parents, quarrel, or neglect or spoil our children, or if we are separated or away from home, or if through ill-health or poverty we cannot provide properly for them, home will not be the best place for them.

To argue the case fairly then, we must consider the average child, and we must not contrast the ideal home with the average school, or the average home with the ideal school. Assuming good homes and normal children, what have boarding and day schools each to offer?

### (i) The Case for Boarding Education

The first great advantage of boarding schools is that they are usually in the country, whereas for most children day schools must be in the town.

A second argument is that the school has the child for twenty-four hours of the day instead of six or seven. The influence of the teachers and of the school community is therefore regular and continuous, and they can get more done. The child, too, is not distracted by outside interests and does not have to adjust himself to the different claims of home and school.

Thirdly, it is claimed that a boarding school can, in a way impossible in a day school, provide a corporate life which fosters the art of living together, by which a child's character, self-reliance and sense of responsibility are developed. By living in a small community he learns to be a good neighbour, to make his contribution to his own society, and to take a definite share in its government by becoming a prefect or house captain.

### (ii) The Case for Day School Education

The supporters of day schools make the following claims:—

- that parents should not be relieved of all responsibility for their children for three-quarters of the year.
- that it is bad for children to be cut off from their natural life in the home, away from the influence of their parents who can give so much help if they co-operate with the school.
- that the day school offers as good a community life as the boarding school, but for a shorter period.
- that the life of a boarding school is too self-contained and divorced from the life of the community. Children can better learn the responsibilities of citizenship by growing up in the real, and perhaps hard, world in which they will have to live.
- that in the boarding school, the strength of the herd instinct tends to mould all pupils to one pattern.
- that the high cost of a boarding education puts it beyond the reach of the majority.

**(iii) Is There a Half-Way House?**

We have already suggested that the answer to the "day versus boarding" question may be that it depends on the type of child. But there are various ways in which it may be possible to get the best of both worlds. Some schools, for example, take boys or girls as weekly boarders, and they go home at week-ends only. Is this a satisfactory compromise?

Some people believe that evacuation has shown that the benefits of living together in a school community can be obtained in a year or less. They therefore suggest that every child during his school career should spend a period either in a school camp or in a boarding school.

**3. Should Boys and Girls Be Educated Together?**

We may find a clue to the answer by seeing what is done at present, first in day schools, then in boarding.

In England and Wales, boys and girls are taught together in nursery and infants' schools. Of the children between the ages of 8 and 11 in elementary schools seven out of ten are taught together in what are called mixed schools, the remaining three in separate schools. Between the ages of 12 and 15 the proportion of children taught in separate schools rises to half. Of the grant-aided secondary schools seven out of ten cater separately for boys and girls. These figures suggest that the tendency is to separate the sexes more and more as children grow older. Almost all boarding schools, on the other hand—with a few notable exceptions—provide for boys or girls but not for both.

In Scotland most of the schools provided by the E.A.'s contain both boys and girls, who are taught either together or in separate classes.

What are the arguments for and against co-education? It is the advantage of the individual child that we have to consider.

**(i) The Case in Favour**

The supporters of co-education argue that a good school should be an extension of family life. We live, they say, in a world which contains both men and women. We can understand the opposite sex only if we grow up with them. If the school society is to be a miniature edition of the larger society outside, it should be made up of masters and mistresses, boys and girls, all of whom have something valuable to contribute to its life. In such natural surroundings, too, problems of the relations between the sexes are less likely to arise.

**(ii) The Case Against**

Those who favour separate schools lay the stress on the needs of the individual child. Boys and girls, they remind us, particularly when they have passed beyond childhood, develop in different directions. Their interests and abilities and outlook differ, with the result that they tend to keep apart. If they are together they distract one another. Boys, they say, need the strong control of men, girls need the softer understanding of a woman. They also point out that it is easier to organise a school for one sex only and to teach boys and girls separately.

#### 4. Is All Teaching Alike ?

However we decide the questions whether children should be taught in boarding or day schools or whether boys and girls should be taught together, we still have to consider *how* they should be taught.

If we think back to our own school days, or listen to our children talking about their schools and teachers, we may be confused by the variety of ways in which they are taught. School A prides itself in getting children through examinations. At the Speech Day in School B the headmaster says that his school is successful in moulding character. In School C the teachers stay in the background and try to provide the surroundings in which children can work out their own development. In a word, the first school emphasises instruction, the second training, the third free development.

Almost every school in fact uses all three methods. What makes one school different from another is the amount of emphasis it puts on each. Can we say that one method is better than another ? Which do we use with our own children ? How do we answer the basic question : What is to be our attitude towards our children—and how are we and their teachers to approach them so that we can help them to develop fully ?

#### 5. The Vessel and Jug Method

The traditional method of education in schools is that of class instruction. We were probably taught this way ourselves. The child is regarded as an empty vessel and it is the business of the teacher to pour into him a portion of his own knowledge.

The emphasis is on the development of the mind by the process of filling it with information. We talk of “getting it into the child’s head.”

It is a convenient method both because it makes it possible for a large number of children to be taught together, and because its success can be measured in a rough and ready way by examinations. What are its difficulties ?

##### *How Is the Vessel Kept Open ?*

The main task of the teacher after he has arranged his own information in an orderly way—ready for pouring—is to keep open the neck of the vessel. How is this done ? Mainly in three ways—by stimulating competition among children, by rewards and punishments, or by winning their interest so that they co-operate in their own education.



**Vessel & Jug**

FIGURE 35

##### (i) Competition

Most of us can remember the scramble for marks, the effort to be at the top of the class—or to avoid being at the bottom ! While children like to measure their powers against one another, there is a danger in emphasising competition in a world which demands co-operation, particularly in international affairs. It often leads, too, to over-strain in an attempt to pass examinations or win scholarships. Hence it has sometimes been dubbed the “exam. and cram” method.

##### (ii) Rewards and Punishments

Closely allied to competition as a means of keeping the vessel open is the system of rewards and punishments to be found in many schools. The appeal here is chiefly to fear. We may remember some teachers for whom we worked because we enjoyed

their praise or hoped to win a prize. Most often it was because we found work less unpleasant than the consequences of avoiding it! The class room became a battlefield in which the teacher's armoury of impositions, the power of "keeping in," or the cane, were pitted against our cunning.

### (iii) Interest

By using these two incentives the teacher may be able to keep the vessel's neck open and pour in the information, but what guarantee is there that it doesn't evaporate? We can probably remember instances where we took in facts at one ear, kept them long enough to satisfy the examiner, and then let them out at the other ear.

Why did we fail to retain them? Generally because we were not interested. We all know the child who can't be persuaded to read a history book, but who will spend all his spare time and money in buying and reading books about aircraft identification. The discovery that children absorb instruction effectively only when they are interested has led to a revolution in methods of instruction during the last twenty years.

More and more ways of winning their interest are being discovered. The wireless is bringing the wider world into the schools. The gramophone can introduce a foreign language spoken by natives of the country. But many of us find it easier to learn through the eye than through the ear. Hence visual aids of all sorts—films, episcopes, lanterns, pictures, maps and diagrams—play an increasingly important part in the class room.

The first job of the teacher then, if his pupils are not to be the passive recipients of information, is to arouse their interest and curiosity so that they are active partners in their own education.

## 6. The Clay and Potter Method

We saw in the first chapter that education is concerned with the development of body, mind and character. Instruction is aimed chiefly at the mind. There is, however, a method which we might call the "clay and potter" method, which gives greater weight to the education of body and character.

The key words in this method are training and discipline. The child is regarded as something plastic and impressionable which can be moulded into the required shape by pressure from outside.

This method is more than 2,000 years old—it was followed in Sparta. We talk of "licking him into shape" or "making a man of him" and often hear the saying, "Spare the rod and spoil the child." But this moulding is not necessarily achieved by punishment. The power of example and public opinion to make children conform to a pattern is very strong and is used particularly in boarding schools.



Clay & Potter

FIGURE 36

### (i) Can It Be Done?

The "clay and potter" method has received strong support from a modern school of psychologists called Behaviourists who claim that our minds are unimportant, but that the behaviour of our bodies can be what they call "conditioned" in the same way as that, say, of a racehorse.

Thus the formation of character consists in training certain habits, and we have only to obtain sufficient knowledge of the process of conditioning to be able to mould people's character at will. The Nazis have shown that this method can be effective, since they have moulded a whole nation according to a pattern they have imposed. By means of ceaseless propaganda they have bludgeoned a whole people into unthinking obedience.

### (ii) Is It Right ?

The exponents of this method say that it is not the method that is at fault. Provided the pattern is good there is no harm in it. It is in fact the most direct way of "training a child in the way he should go." There are some things that children must learn whether they like it or not. Cleanliness, for example, and honesty and punctuality. We are creatures of habit. The job then of the teacher is to see that children are made to form good habits.

The critics of the method say that in denying the importance of our minds it destroys initiative. It cuts across the respect for personality which is an essential part of our democratic creed. It forgets that we are living beings with our own laws of growth. While it may be successful in affecting our outward behaviour, they claim that it takes no account of our instincts and emotions which, if suppressed, will find an outlet in unhealthy ways. How far are these charges justified? Is there any method we can put in its place which takes these criticisms into account?

## 7. The Plant and Gardener Method

The key words in this method are development and freedom. In contrast with the two positive methods described above, this has been called the "negative method."



**Plant & Gardener**

FIGURE 37

The child is regarded as a growing plant, with a sense of direction of its own, which needs nourishment, freedom to grow and suitable surroundings. It therefore becomes the first business of the teacher to provide these. As a gardener he watches. He prepares the soil. He hoes. He waters where necessary. He removes the pests that would kill his plant. In other words, he studies the child to discover what needs and interests and tendencies develop so that he can work with and not against them. How does he use these natural urges of a child as a means of education?

### (i) The Play Way

Play has been described as "Nature's mode of education." Cats learn how to catch mice while they are kittens by chasing anything that moves. Dogs learn how to fight by playing at fighting while they are puppies. Children's play is more varied. For example, boys play at soldiers or Red Indians or build Meccano; girls play at shop, or nurse dolls and dress them.

There is behind all they do a fund of natural energy that keeps them at it without any compulsion from outside, because they are satisfying some natural instinct. They play and make-believe and run about and construct things, and explore and fight because it is in their nature to do these things. To them play and work are the same thing.

### *The Montessori Method*

Dr. Montessori was one of the first people to recognise the importance of this in the education of young children. She found that if their school activities were based on their own play and they were provided with suitable surroundings and material for it, they chose their own tasks, they became self-reliant, they taught themselves and learnt to co-operate with one another. In other words, they learnt by doing things for themselves rather than through instruction.

### *Application to Older Children?*

The influence of what has been called the "Play Way" in education has spread far beyond nursery and infants' schools. It can be seen in the Scout Movement ; in the gradual introduction into schools of self-government in place of rigid rules ; in the emphasis on activity, and learning by experience and experiment rather than by class instruction ; in school journeys, and clubs and societies ; in what is called the Dalton Plan by which children are free within limits to choose the subjects they are most interested in.

### **(ii) Self-Instruction and Self-Discipline**

The "plant and gardener" method recognises that some instruction and some discipline are essential, but it tries as far as possible to make them self-instruction and self-discipline rather than to impose them on children from outside. In this way they grow up with a sense of responsibility rather than of blind obedience, they retain along with what they have learnt a desire to learn further for themselves, and they find it more natural to co-operate than to compete with their fellow-men. In other words, they are more likely to develop their full capacities and to grow up into responsible citizens of a free democracy.

### **(iii) Any Criticisms?**

This method has its critics too. They say that children not only like but need regular routine. They do not know what is good for them. Grown-ups do. To ask children all the time to make their own decisions places too great a responsibility on them. To let them choose their own subjects and activities means they will choose only what they find easy. They must have direction and discipline if they are to learn to face difficulties. The hard world that awaits them will not let them have it all their own way. No more should the school.

SECOND SEQUENCE: REPORT ON THE NATION

B.W.P. 12

## WHAT MORE IS NEEDED OF THE CITIZEN ?

By

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### Chapter I. ARE POLITICS AND ECONOMICS ENOUGH ?

#### 1. What Will Good Conditions Do for Us ?

We have in these last months been discussing how we are governed, how the work of the country is run, how we are housed, how our health is cared for, and how we are educated. We have reviewed the plans that have been made in the past to make possible a better life for us all, and looked at some of the plans we have for making things better in the future.

##### (i) Decent Conditions Encourage a Decent Life—

Now we all know that those plans are meant to cure evils which make it hard for men and women to live a decent life. Long unemployment often rots a man. If our boys and girls are badly taught, if they leave school too early and, when they leave, find only what are called "blind alley jobs," they often become wasters or sullen, helpless loafers. Slum conditions make it hard for a woman to bring up her children decently and give them a real family life.

There are indeed men and women who come through the worst conditions with heads high and courage in their hearts, but it is not easy and many go down who could have stood if they had had fewer evils to brave.

##### (ii) —But They Don't Automatically Produce It

Because these evils sometimes make it hard for men and women to live a decent life, because we can see that people have a better chance when living conditions are improved, we may sometimes think that good enough conditions will do all that is wanted, and give us all happy and contented lives without any trouble on our part.

This is being like the man who saw an advertisement which said "Buy one of our patent stoves and halve your coal bill." He immediately said to himself "If one patent stove saves half my coal bill, I'll buy two and have no coal bill at all."



Because suitable conditions lessen the struggle to live a decent life, which is like halving the coal bill, people persuade themselves that they might have such good conditions that the good life would come without anyone making any effort at all.

A bad stove makes it desperately difficult for the coal to warm the room—but even a good stove can't do without the energy coal gives. A supply of coal is still the one thing that really matters, though a good stove prevents heart-breaking waste of this absolutely necessary thing—coal.

### (iii) Not One or the Other but Both

So it is with men and women on the one hand and bad or good conditions on the other. Nobody is ever going to contrive social arrangements so marvellous that then we can do without courage and honesty and patience and imagination. At the same time there is no excuse for putting up with silly and wasteful and inefficient stoves, that is, with social conditions which waste and squander and make hopeless and ineffective the efforts of fine and decent men and women.

Those who say "Get good social conditions and the goodness of men and women doesn't matter," are silly. So are those who say "Get good men and women and don't worry about social conditions." But they are not so silly as the first lot of people.

A stove without coal will warm nobody, however patent a stove it is ; whereas coal, if it can be got to light, will give a man some warmth, however wastefully. But no sensible man will say—"It is so splendid, the way coal burns, that it doesn't matter how much of the warmth is wasted." So do not let us say "Men and women can be so splendid that it doesn't matter if they live in conditions that break the hearts of many people."

### (iv) An Army Analogy

So in the Army. You might have the best equipment and the most efficient staff work, and yet if morale was really bad, if men had no heart whatsoever in the job, it would all be of no good whatever. On the other hand, though troops with high morale can work wonders, they cannot fight the best modern equipment with no good equipment of their own, no good staff work and so on.

Besides, nothing is so fatal to morale as to be continuously asked to perform unnecessary miracles, to fight incredibly bravely with hopeless weapons, because men have been too lazy or too corrupt to see to such things properly. In the last war Russian soldiers were often treated like that till they could stand it no longer.

We may then sum up this part of the discussion thus. If a man asks "Do good conditions matter or do good men and women matter?", the obvious answer is "Both matter."

## 2. What Is Necessary for Getting Good Conditions?

Good living conditions then do not automatically make us live decent lives, but they help us to do so. Let us discuss next what are the real essentials for getting good conditions.

### (i) Are Good Plans the Main Thing ?—

No doubt some people would say that provided we get the right plans and organisation the goodness or badness of men and women doesn't matter very much.

For example, there have for a long time been people who thought that with good enough economic arrangements, everyone could be as selfish as they liked and yet all live happy and contented lives. People who thought like that have differed about what these arrangements should be.

Rather more than a hundred years ago, when men had been suffering from foolish and rather fussy orders from the State, they came to think that everything would be perfect if the State would only leave things alone. Each person would simply seek his own self-interest. Although there would, of course, be clashes between different interests, still the interest of the majority would prevail.

When leaving things alone didn't work, the other social patent medicine came into fashion. We are now sometimes told that if the State will do more, indeed almost everything, we needn't worry about our own conduct. We shall do just what the State tells us and it will turn out to be what everyone wants for themselves.

## (ii) —Or Good People ?

Let us look a bit more closely at this argument. We want planning and organisation that will provide decent conditions. We should probably differ widely in our views as to how much of that should be left to the State and how much to private enterprise. But that is not what we are discussing. However we mix the two, the same question applies to both. How far can we get effective plans and organisation, whether State or private, without the right kind of people to devise them and make them work ?

## (iii) The Example of State Action

For our example, let us take the plans made by the State. Most of us share the modern recognition that to provide a decent environment, which helps us to live decent lives, some measure of State control is required—whether this takes the form of establishing freedom of speech, or fixing minimum wages and maximum hours or clearing slums. And this control the State puts into effect through its laws.

What do good laws require then ? For example, we would agree that in war-time, the laws for the rationing of essential foods and the control of their prices are good. But does not the worth of such laws depend in the last resort on the goodness of men and women ?

### (a) *Devising and Passing the Law*

To plan and pass good laws like these, we need in power good politicians who believe in the fairness of everybody getting a share of the essential foods that are "in short supply". Moreover, who elects them ? Can we expect to find or make good politicians in a democracy, unless we are good ourselves ?

Probably many of us do. There are people—we probably all know some of them—who are always telling stories of the villainy of men in power. According to them, no one of any importance does anything except for what he can get out of it.

Observe the men who talk like that, and are always regaling you with stories of that kind, and ask if they show themselves to be remarkably unselfish and public-spirited in their own little jobs. Perhaps some of them do. Some of them certainly don't. They think they can be as selfish, lazy and mean-spirited as they like, and yet demand disinterested, unselfish conduct from other people, just because these other people have more power than they have.

That is silly. Is it not true that generally speaking we get the rulers we deserve ?

### (b) *Administering the Law*

Secondly, the rationing laws, like any other good laws, need good men to run them. From the highest official in the Ministry of Food to the most

junior clerk in the local Food Office, all the people who run the laws must have some power in their hands. And if enough of them were corrupt, or tried to do each other down instead of helping to run the show well and decently, or if they had ambition, uncontrolled by goodness, and fought for power, then they could wreck the best of schemes.

We can illustrate the necessity of a good Civil Service by looking at conditions in Germany. When the Nazis first came into power after the end of the Weimar Republic in Germany, they were telling stories of the corruption which had been allowed to creep into the German civil service during the Republic.

The old civil service of Germany was remarkably uncorrupt. It had a long and honourable tradition of honesty and public duty. Of course it had its faults, but corruption was not one of them. We need not ask whether there was anything in the accusations that the Weimar Republic had let down that tradition. It was part of the technique of the Nazis to spread distrust by stories of that kind, and Hitler never allowed the facts to cramp his style in abuse.

What is quite certain is that the Nazis proved themselves to be the worst enemies of that old tradition, and that the German civil service is now mostly so corrupt that money will buy anything. The old German order in the days before the last war had many faults, but the men who ran it were on the whole remarkably honest and sincere.

All Europe is now finding out that a "new order" run by gangsters is infinitely worse than an old order run by honest men.

(c) *Observing the Law*

Thirdly, there is the need for goodness in the citizens for whom and among whom the laws have to work. No doubt a few people could run or make use of a "black market" and the rationing laws would still be generally effective. But if enough of us were "black marketeers", then quite certainly the laws could never produce the good conditions at which they aim.

Nor need the evil-doers go so far as to break the law in order to make it ineffective. A little time ago, the newspapers reported that certain people escaped the taxes on whisky by evading rather than breaking the law. We can readily imagine what would happen, if such practices became general.

I think we must agree then that to get the good laws which we need to establish good conditions, we must have good people. "Lounging" citizens, who are neither intelligent nor informed nor good, are not likely to choose good politicians nor get good officials. If by accident they did, they would at best thwart the good laws by obeying only the letter of them.

The character of the body of citizens is the decisive thing. If it is bad, good laws won't work; if it is good, bad laws won't long be tolerated.

### 3. Will Social Conditions Always Need Improving ?

If a society is to go on being successful and happy, it must go on improving its social conditions and bettering its common life.

It is just not the case that we can contrive perfect plans for society once for all—a new order which is to last 1,000 years, as the Nazis said of theirs. That is not the way social progress works. What happens is rather that men and women see evils in society and plan to get rid of them. If they are successful and these evils are largely cured, men will then see new social evils which they never noticed before.

**(i) What Will Our Grandchildren Think of Us ?**

When we hear of all the terrible things which were happening a hundred years or so ago—the little children working long hours in the mines, the tiny boys who were made to climb up chimneys, the way in which workhouse children were treated—we are shocked and think what dreadful and callous people those early Victorians were. But you may be sure that when our grandchildren look back and hear about our time, they will be shocked at some of the things we allow to happen—all these children killed on the roads, the boys and girls wasted in “blind alley” employment. These are present-day evils we have begun to notice.

**(ii) Always New Evils to Conquer**

There are sure to be other evils we do not now notice at all, which those who come after us will notice. At least, they will be noticed if our society keeps alert and keen, if it contains men with imagination and pity and sympathy in their hearts and does not say “Now we have made a perfect society and need not trouble ourselves any more.”

As a man begins to go to the bad when he becomes complacent and pleased with himself, so it is with a society. If it does not go forward, it goes back. If we carry out all our plans for a better world after the war, then shall we settle down and be completely pleased with ourselves and gradually go rotten, or shall we see new things to grapple with, things we never noticed before—and grapple with them ?

We shall need lots of alert and courageous people to egg us on to do still better.

**4. Does Man Live By Bread Alone ?**

In Sections 2 and 3, we have talked as though the establishment of good living conditions were the end for which we exist and as if we had to have good men and women as a means to that end. But isn't it also true that goodness is an end in itself, that only in being good do we satisfy ourselves ?

This is best summed up by the Christian saying “Man does not live by bread alone.” Notice it does not say “Man does not live by bread.” Indeed the Christian prayer is “Give us each day our daily bread.”

**(i) We Need “Bread”**

Of course we can't live without bread and all that bread may be taken to stand for. We need a reasonable standard of life and reasonable security and all such material conditions of life, as they are sometimes called. And, thanks to the achievements of modern science, we have raised the standard of life for most people higher than it has ever been before.

**(ii) And We Can Provide It**

We have also seen that it is possible by sensible plans to do better. We could entirely abolish grinding poverty. That position is new. In earlier times, before the technical inventions of modern science, men just took for granted that many men and women have to live in “misery and privation.” It is a great thing that that is no longer taken for granted. We can abolish want if we really give our minds to it.

**(iii) But Is “Bread” Enough ?**

But if we really thought that that was absolutely all that mattered, we should be disappointed when we got it. Mr. Churchill rallied the nation as it had never been rallied before, by promising “blood, toil, tears and sweat.” Suppose

he had said, "Hold on and beat the Germans and you shall have a world where everyone shall have a nice little house, well fitted up, with a motor car and a refrigerator and a wireless, with a cinema just round the corner." Should we have been so thrilled, even if we had believed him?

It is a puzzling business. We do want a decent standard of life and a nice house and a bit of a holiday now and then with the wife and children. We don't want to have to be heroes all the time. So let no one despise plans for better material conditions. But let us remember that if most people think only of the material conditions, if they think that being rich and getting all the things which you can buy with money are the only things worth thinking about, we shan't ever be really satisfied.

#### (iv) "Brave New World"?

Mr. Aldous Huxley has written a brilliant novel, called "*Brave New World*," in which he pictures a society in which science has made everything easy for everybody. Read that and ask yourselves if you would really like it. Some people say they would. Mr. Huxley thought he was describing a nightmare. What do you think?

## Chapter II.

## IS JUSTICE ENOUGH?

### 1. What Do We Mean by Good People?

We have been talking in the last chapter about goodness, but what is goodness? We have seen that it takes goodness to run any organisation or Government properly. Is running a show as you are expected to do, or keeping the law, or doing your job properly—is that goodness?

Well, it is part of goodness, but not all of it. There is a distinction between doing what is expected of you and doing something more. Doing what is expected of you may be called justice. We often talk of "law and justice," assuming that justice has a close connection with law, and justice has mainly to do with rules. It is the goodness of fair rules, of doing your job or paying your debts and keeping your promises.

But there is also the goodness of doing more than is expected of you. It is some help to distinguish these as two kinds of goodness, both necessary but not the same.

### 2. How Would You Classify People?

It helps to think of this in terms of different kinds of men and women. In almost any group of people—in a platoon or company, in a trade union branch, in any sort of club or small society, even sometimes in a family—you can distinguish roughly three sorts of people.

#### (i) The Mean People

There is the mean man who takes all he can get and gives as little as he can; who is always on the spot when there is anything to be got and curiously absent when there is a job to be done; the grouser and the grumbler and the shirker.

The worst of them are the regular bad hats, the bullies and thieves. But even in a group of apparently decent men and women there are some who always take more than they give, who let the show down somehow, though it may be only a bit, and whom the rest have to carry.

**(ii) The Just People**

Then, secondly, there are the average respectable people, who take what is due to them and do their share, but do no more than their share. They are prepared to keep the rules and be just and play their part, but you won't find them doing more than their share.

Their motto is, "Do as you are done by." It is not "Do as you would like to be done by." There may be a deal of difference between these two things. Do you know the story which is told in this conversation?—"What sort of a man is he? Well, I'll tell you what sort of a man he is. He was pouring me out a drink, and when I said 'Stop,' he stopped. That is the kind of man he is."

That sort of a man is just and no more. He has some virtues. It does require some goodness even to play the game and no more. But when we find too many men saying, "I don't see why I should do more than other people," or "I don't see what claim So-and-So has on me," or "After all, I am only standing up for my lights," we feel that there is an unsatisfactory and even dangerous state of affairs.

**(iii) The Generous People**

Then there is the third kind of man who gives more than he takes; who, if there is something extra to be done, will willingly do it; who is the first to volunteer for a difficult job; who doesn't worry too much about whether it is his turn or not, but only about what urgently needs to be done. He doesn't worry about himself; he doesn't stand on his dignity; he doesn't take offence. Like the other fellow, he takes his turn and pays his shot and does all that justice or the rules require; but he does extra—more than the rules ask.

*We Need Them Specially*

We all know that a few men and women like that make all the difference to the way a group of people get on. Justice is satisfactory so far as it goes and it is very important. But when things go wrong and extra efforts are needed to get them right, it is hopeless if everyone stands on his rights and says, "Well, I'll do my share if others will do theirs, but otherwise not." Someone has to give a lead and take a risk and not worry about what is exactly his share, if great and urgent things are to be done.

*They May be People of Average Ability and Wits*

All groups and societies need men and women of this third kind in order to be prosperous and happy. These generous people may be leaders who think of others and not of themselves. They may be the very special men and women whom, when we meet them, we call saints. They are more often quite ordinary people, who may have only average ability and wits but who have, in addition, some of this special quality or grace about them.

**(iv) Most of Us Have a Bit of All Three**

Of course, these three lots of people are not as sharply distinguished as this description may perhaps suggest. Most men have something of each kind in them. Most of us do less than our duty and shirk sometimes; do our duty and claim our rights at others; and are occasionally moved to do more than is expected of us.

But we probably all of us know men and women in whom one or other of these ways of behaving is habitual. If the number grows of the first kind, the shirkers and the quitters, society begins to rot; if the number of the second and especially of the third grows, society will flourish and become happier and more splendid.

Now let us not worry further about the bad hats, but in this chapter confine ourselves to the just man, keeping till the next chapter the man who is more than just.

### 3. What Rules Has the Just Man to Observe?

The just man does his job, takes his turn, keeps the rules. Justice, as we said, has a good deal to do with rules. To understand the just man and what he does, we must stop and consider rules for a little.

There are, of course, rules which belong to a special job or a special time or to a particular society. These rules are often the ones we notice most just because they do and must vary from time to time and place to place, and we shall consider them later.

But let us consider first some rules which seem of importance everywhere and always. If a man thinks of these universal rules and respects them, he will act all the more soundly about the rules of his particular time and place.

#### (i) Universal Rules

We can probably think readily enough of some of the universal rules. The laws or the customs about telling the truth or respecting each other's personal property or not cheating or protecting women and children—they are not confined to any single group or country. They are human, universal, and they take us beyond loyalty to our own community. They form what have been called the laws of natural justice.

This principle of natural law came partly from the ideas of Greek philosophers but mainly from the practice of Roman lawyers. Christianity reinforced and enlarged these ideas.

#### *Some Modern Forms*

A modern form is the notion that there are certain natural rights which all governments should respect.

Thus the Atlantic Charter asserts the "right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." And President Roosevelt has stated that "we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms"—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. These are principles which are to be applied without limitation to any particular time and place.

You may also have seen proposals which Mr. H. G. Wells has been circulating lately. They suggest that we should demand of all governments, which are to be recognised as proper governments, that they should recognise certain "rights of man," like the right to free thought, discussion and worship, freedom to go about, etc. And these proposals are described as "fundamental law for all mankind, overriding all other laws whatsoever."

#### *Particular Rules Still Necessary*

Such universal rules don't, of course, cancel the need for patriotism, our obedience to the rules of our community, any more than patriotism makes loyalty to our family unnecessary. The nearer loyalties will always be required. But they do help to remove any of the blindness and narrowness there may be in our patriotism. They cut across all national and class distinctions and bind men as men.

Now let us consider a little the particular rules of particular jobs.

#### (ii) Particular Rules

Any active group of people engaged on a common job—whether it is fighting or building a house or making plans or just living together—must have rules, must arrange what different things different people have to do. We can see that clearly

enough, if we think of the rules allotting different activities in a searchlight crew or a cook-house squad or a major joint operation—and think what a mess would result if there were no rules.

(a) *Different Jobs—Different Rules*

The rules will naturally vary with the job the group has to do. There must, for example, be special safety precautions in mines.

Or think of the special job of the Army. It has to move masses of men at short notice, according to elaborate plans made by a few people who alone have the necessary knowledge. So it has an elaborate organisation and its rules are mostly orders. Our society at peace, on the other hand, wants plenty of freedom of choice; and power for men and women to carry out their own choices.

(b) *Different Times—Different Rules*

The rules vary again at different times. At present in this country we have a great many regulations, which are necessary in wartime; rules restricting the number of courses that restaurants may serve at any meal, or limiting our freedom to leave our job and seek another, or rules such as Regulation 18B under which, on suspicion alone, people can be detained without trial. Again, special rules are needed to deal with epidemics, isolation, inoculation and so on.

(c) *Different Societies—Different Rules*

Then, of course, different societies have different rules. For example, they may differ about the rule of the road. The Americans take the right, and we take the left—and the choice doesn't greatly matter. The main thing is that in each country one of them must be taken always in order to avoid chaos.

Some of the differences depend on local conditions. France, for instance, had the long-standing rule of military conscription in peacetime while we adopted it only shortly before this war. And France had this rule because, in her position in Europe, she was dependent for her safety on land-power, which required great numbers of trained men. We did not adopt this rule, partly because our security rested mainly on sea-power which required far fewer men.

At the back of many differences of rules there is, however, some idea about the kind of life we want to live. An Englishman's ideas of the kind of life he wants are not quite the same as a Frenchman's or a Russian's.

And even our own ideas have changed very much at different times in history. For example until 1870 the State made no provision for education. Now we are considering Government proposals to make full-time education compulsory until 15, and later 16, and part-time education compulsory until 18. Surely in that there is evidence of a pretty fundamental change of aim ?

#### 4. Can We Distinguish between Good and Bad Rules ?

If we think of all these differences in rules between different nations and at different times in our own history, the question comes up: Is there anything which distinguishes good rules from bad? When we change our own rules, how can we decide whether the change is for better or for worse? How can we define good rules, i.e. the ideal kind of justice? We can perhaps get this clearer if we think of the familiar example of games



**(i) What Makes a Just Game?**

You can't play a game without rules, but of course the rules vary, say, between cricket and football. Yet both provide a thoroughly satisfactory kind of justice. Why? Because in each game all playing have the chance of getting fun out of it.

There is an interesting difference in the way this happens in cricket and in football. Because most people feel that in cricket there is a difference between the fun of batting and the duller job of fielding, it would be unsatisfactory if everyone did not get a turn at both. In football, the different places on the field need different skills but they are all fun, so that there is no need to change men from playing back to playing forward.

What makes a good game, then, is that everybody is to share in its enjoyment, and that is secured by everyone having a part worth playing and by the players taking turns where there is a great difference in the fun involved in different parts. And that is a good description of what we mean by justice.

**(ii) Is the Justice of Society as Satisfactory?**

All societies, being organised arrangements by which men play different parts, are organised, partly at least, on the basis of justice. We each play our distinctive part, do our own job, assuming that other people will do theirs. There are rules saying which ways of behaving are allowed and which are not. If we are just, we do our job and keep the rules.

The justice of nations and tribes—of societies in the large sense—is only a shadow of the thoroughly satisfactory justice we find in some games. That is partly because you find in many societies men who are not regarded as members of the society at all. They are not like members of the team or players of the game. They serve the others, do the most unpleasant jobs and are not even supposed to share in the game. That is the way slaves have always been treated and slavery used to be found in almost all societies. Even today there are in many States men and women without full rights, who are not treated as properly belonging to the society—witness the treatment of the Jews in Germany.

Then most societies are so big that their members cannot possibly know one another as members of a team can. And powerful men may try to twist the rules and to some extent make the rules for their own advantage. The rules—the laws and moral standards—are a mixture of justice and injustice.

**5. Can We Always Recognise the Just Man?**

There are games with different rules and yet a man can show the same quality of goodness in observing the rules in them all. We call a man "a good sport" and say he knows how "to play the game." When we hear that, we don't say "What game? Cricket or Rugby or Soccer?" We mean the man behaves in the same way in all the games he plays.

So societies can have very different rules and yet a just man's quality will be seen to be the same in those very different societies. You can see that by reading with any sort of sympathy the Old Testament or an Icelandic Saga or any good book of tropical travel. In some of the historical books of the Old Testament, there are men who are obviously good, although they take for granted and practise the barbaric fierce customs of the time.

As we have already noted, the rules which prevail in societies depend largely on historical circumstances. A society which lives on wandering flocks and herds has different rules, for example, from a society which has settled down to live by farming and an industrial country has rules different from either. But the qualities of a just man can shine through the most different kinds of social customs.

## 6. What Are the Limitations of the Just Man?

This kind of goodness which shows itself only in keeping the rules has, however, certain great defects.

There is, for example, a nice story of a famous cricketer who found himself stranded for several hours at a remote railway junction with nothing to do. The staff consisted of the stationmaster and a porter. The stationmaster proposed a game of single wicket, took the bat, told the porter to field and asked the stranger to bowl. He bowled the stationmaster first ball. The porter seemed to go mad with delight, cheered and cheered and threw his hat in the air. The cricketer said "Well, that wasn't a bad ball, but it wasn't as good as all that." "It's not that," said the porter, "but the old devil has been in for six months."

To make a solemn remark about a funny story, that was a game of cricket perverted into something that wasn't cricket. The man who simply keeps the rules of society as he finds them, and takes all the advantages those rules give him, is like that stationmaster. He did give up the bat when he was bowled. He keeps the rules but he may be rather an unsatisfactory fellow.

### (i) Group Loyalty : The Motive-Power of the Just Man

No doubt to keep the rules, a man must be better than selfish. He may indeed be so devoted to his society and its rules that he is prepared to die for it. But the moving force of this kind of goodness is what is sometimes called group loyalty, sometimes nationalism.

This sort of emotion, though it makes men do noble things, may sometimes be entirely uncritical and it often involves hatred and contempt of people outside the society and leads to war. That is, of course, unless it is somehow countered and refined. We shall see in the next chapter that a universal religion may do this.

### (ii) Group Loyalty May Be Indiscriminating—

Undiluted group loyalty holds to the society as it is, with its faults as well as its virtues. Just as loyal old members of a school sometimes cannot bear reform and have this sentimental attachment to every detail of the school as they knew it, so unredeemed nationalism cannot bear criticism of the beloved nation. Because, as we saw, the actual rules of existing societies are a mixture of justice and injustice, keeping the rules of such a society simply because they are the rules of a society you love, makes a very mixed sort of justice.

### (iii) —And Intolerant

Secondly, this kind of emotion only attaches to the society and therefore not to the people outside. They are, as we say, "outsiders." They don't count—we have in this state of affairs no duties towards them. Hence, your duty is to love your friends and hate your enemies, and all outside your society are your enemies.

### (iv) The Example of Nazi Germany

Nazi Germany is a remarkable example of the evils of this kind of unredeemed mass emotion. The Nazis have deliberately rejected all principles of universal duty. That is why they hate the two great universal religions which teach it, Judaism and Christianity.

Nazis are to worship Germany. That is their highest duty. Justice is nothing but what serves Germany. Internationalism of any kind is a crime. Germans are what they call a "master people," and all other peoples are only fit for slavery of some kind or other. This is what the Nazis preach—not simply what they do. They have deliberately turned their back on those great principles which have made the civilisation of Europe something more than nation-worship, more than mere uncritical devotion to what rules there happen to be.

These great principles we shall discuss in the next chapter.

## Chapter III.

## BETTER THAN THE RULES

### 1. Our Christian Heritage

In one version of the Sermon on the Mount we are told :—

“ If you love them which love you what grace have you ? For sinners also love those that love them. And if you do good to them which do good to you, what grace have you ? ” “ But love your enemy and do good and lend, hoping for nothing again, and your reward shall be great and you shall be the children of the highest ; for he is kind unto the unthankful and the evil ”.

We have almost come to think of the Sermon on the Mount as preaching a kind of behaviour entirely unpractical and impossible for the world we are now living in. And, indeed, we think of the whole of Christianity as remote from the real life of today. But before we make that assumption let us look at the record more closely.

In the last chapter we considered the just man, who observed the rules, and in the end suggested that his virtues had certain limitations. On the whole the just man didn't look as if he would be any great inspirer of social improvement. Now let us look at Christianity whose distinctive demand is that men should be more than just, that they should do more than obey the laws of the land, the conventions of one's society and even the universal natural laws of which we spoke. And let us see whether these Christian teachings have had any effect on our ways of living.

### 2. What Does Christianity Teach ?

The main things which Jesus taught in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew, Chapter V) and which have changed our ways of living are these :—

(i) He taught that men are to be prepared to be better than the law, to do more than is expected or can be legally claimed from them.

(ii) He taught that we are to behave like this not only to those who are prepared to behave like that to us. “ Sinners also lend to sinners to receive as much again.” Goodness has not just to be a bargain.

(iii) It follows that our goodness is not to apply only to men and women who belong to our social group and share our laws. It is to apply to everybody.

(iv) He taught that all men are children of one father and that this common fact outweighs their differences and he therefore taught human equality.

(v) He taught that men are to be perfect as their Father in Heaven is perfect. That means that men are never to be satisfied with the moral progress they have made. They are to understand that there is always something better to aim at, which will open up to us as we move along.

(vi) He gave as the reason why men should behave like that to one another the fact that God behaves in the same way to men.

### 3. Does Christianity Do Away with Rules ?

In general, then, Jesus told men to be better than the rules and some people took this command to mean that men should not have rules at all, certainly not rules like laws which have force behind them. But most people agreed that what the new way of living meant was that you were to have rules but to be prepared, when the occasion arose, to be better than the rules.

### (i) An Example of Doing Better than the Rules

This willingness to do extra we sometimes call generosity. It is called in the New Testament grace or love or sometimes, as in the famous thirteenth chapter of I Corinthians, charity, and there is a good illustration of it in the Sermon on the Mount.

Matthew V, 41, says, "And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain." Scholars, who know the meaning of the curious word which is translated "compel," tell us that it refers to the Roman post service. The Romans arranged a post service along their great roads and they settled men on farms along it. Instead of taking rent, however, they made these men responsible for the post along a certain length of the road. And this verse means that though you are due to take the post only a mile of road, you ought to be prepared to go two.

A similar practice exists in parts of India. Men are set aside to guide travellers across the paths of the district. That is the form in which they pay their taxes. A traveller in those parts told a story that he was guided across a district by a guide of this kind. When they came to the end of this guide's district, the guide of the next district had not turned up. The first guide did not say, "Well, I can't help that. I've done all I am compelled to do." He said, "I will take you through the next district." That was going "two miles."

### (ii) We Need Rules : But We Must Do Better

But it would not have been good but unjust if the Government therefore gave up the rule. If it said that because the first man is willing we shall make him always do two miles, and because the second man is a lazy fellow we shall excuse him altogether, then everyone would think that most unjust. The upshot is that there must be rules. Life would be quite intolerable without them. But we must be prepared to do better than the rules when the occasion arises.

## 4. Have the Christian Principles Affected our Way of Living ?

As this Christian teaching about God and man was accepted by the peoples of Europe, it gradually changed their laws and social rules and some of the principles implied in it became generally accepted. They became taken for granted by these nations. Even though they were imperfectly put into action, their being acknowledged as principles, which ought to guide men's actions, made a great difference. How great a difference we began to realise when Nazi Germany denied them and revived the ancient paganism which Christianity had superseded.

Let us consider just how the acceptance of those principles has affected our social life.

### (i) A Christian Society Cannot Be Totalitarian

It is a Christian principle that the best kind of goodness lies in doing things you are not compelled by the laws to do. Therefore this goodness does not have room to have full effect, if all life is filled with laws telling us what to do. How dull the best kind of life would be, were there no room in it to do things you are not compelled to do.

Yet a totalitarian State does fill the lives of its members completely with such commands. It issues orders which direct all their activities, from voting at an election to getting together with the neighbours in a local club. And that is why no Christian society can possibly be totalitarian.

The idea behind the Nazi State is that a few clever people or one superior person should think out how everyone ought to behave and then clamp them down to that by law. Other States in the past, better than Nazi Germany, have had the same idea. But a Christian society encourages free goodness and will not make laws for everything.

We can see this within our own experience in this country. You are free to go to Church or Chapel or nowhere on Sunday morning. In connection with your job, you may give up some of your spare time to trade union activities. In your evenings you may help to run a football club or act as secretary of the local pigeon fanciers or attend a Women's Institute or you may be active in one of the political parties of the neighbourhood. Or you may prefer to stay at home and follow your own private hobbies. A list of the voluntary activities which you did take up or might have taken up in your neighbourhood in peacetime would show what a lot is left to our own initiative and choice.

#### (ii) **The Distinction between State and Church**

It follows from the same principle that there must be a distinction between the State, which enforces rules which must be binding on everyone, and the organisation which encourages and inspires free goodness—the Church. This distinction between Church and State, organisations with their distinctive jobs, has been of great importance in the history of freedom in Europe.

In England and America the distinction between the State and the Churches gave us our particular kind of democracy. That democracy believes that the associations which matter most and do the most important things are voluntary or free associations, like Churches, and that the State exists to serve and help them.

#### (iii) **Room for Progress**

The principle that we are never to be satisfied with the standard of conduct we have reached means that a Christian society must be organised to leave room for progress.

States have constantly behaved in the other way in the past, thinking it their business to get things up to the standard they saw and then fix and clamp them down as fast as could be. A democracy is a constitution which deliberately leaves room for peaceful changes and living development and we have begun to see also that an international settlement must leave room for change.

#### (iv) **All Men Are Equal**

We often say, and rightly, that the doctrine that all men are equal is at the basis of democracy. So it is, but it is a strange doctrine if you start thinking about it.

##### *(a) What about all the Obvious Inequalities?*

In most respects men are obviously not equal. They are not equally good or equally clever or equally brave or equally good-tempered or equally strong. This is true even of members of the same family. It seems even more obvious if we think of the great differences between different races—negroes, natives of the South Seas, Chinese, Indians, Europeans and all the rest of them. The obvious fact surely is men's inequality.

*(b) How, then, Can We Believe Men Are Equal ?*

This kind of inequality has continually in history been the justification for some men ruling in an arbitrary way over others, on the ground that they were abler and more efficient—as they quite likely were. The only counter to that attitude is the belief that there is something which all human beings have in common which is more important than their very obvious differences. And that belief had its origin in religion, in the teaching that all human beings are children of one father.

This idea is expressed in the parable in the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, in the words "In as much as you have done it to the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." It is expressed in the famous parable of the Good Samaritan, where the only test as to whether a man is our neighbour or not, is that he wants our help and we can give it.

Nietzsche, the German poet-philosopher of the last century, who did much to start the German revolt against Christianity, and against democracy which he thought was connected with Christianity, called ordinary people "the many too many." That is a good instance of the way of thinking about other people, less able or fortunate than yourself, into which men very naturally fall, unless some faith in man as man keeps them back.

**(v) No Discrimination against Other Nations and Races**

If all men are the children of God, all races and peoples are equally the concern of God and a Christian society is bound to be against any kind of race discrimination. Hence we can see why Christianity gave such emphatic support to the idea of universal natural laws which we discussed in the last chapter.

The notion that one's own people are peculiarly the concern of God is very persistent and dies very hard. The Nazis almost glory in this belief, but it is a belief to which we are all inclined. It is the remnant, as we shall see in the next chapter, of a primitive form of religion against which Christianity has still to struggle very hard. There is a fine statement of the Christian view in Mr. Wendell Wilkie's recent book "*One World*."

**5. Do these Principles Involve Religion ?**

We noted that Jesus taught that men should follow his new ways of behaving because God behaved like that to men. The force and drive behind those principles was to be faith in God and a belief as to God's dealing with man. Most of those principles go so much against the way in which men are inclined to behave that it needed a strong force like religion to make men pay attention to them.

But it must be allowed that there are now many men who would accept those principles but deny that they need have any connection with faith in God. They would say that those ways of behaving are so clearly right in themselves that they do not need the additional reason of religion. They would admit that these ways of behaving were originally connected with religion. They argue, however, that in earlier society everything was connected with religion, but that in the enlightened scientific age in which we are now living this is no longer necessary.

This question needs a chapter to itself and will take up the fourth chapter.

## Chapter IV. DOES IT MATTER WHAT WE BELIEVE?

### 1. Can We Be Good without Faith in God?

Where have we now reached in our discussion? The first argument was that people who believed that we could get social reform simply through fine schemes of organisation were drawing blue-prints of the machinery of improvement, without considering the need for good men and women to make the machinery and to get it to work.

#### (i) Obeying the Rules Is Not Enough

But what kind of goodness do we need in men and women? In the second chapter we considered the average decent fellow, the just man who toes the line, doing no less than the rules require—but no more. And it was suggested that he is apt to be unprogressive, and intolerant of others outside his own group or nation. The man who does no more than the rules require didn't seem a likely person to provide the spirit for getting society constantly to improve its rules.

#### (ii) Being Better than the Rules

We then considered the part played by men and women who do better than the rules, and we saw that this advanced kind of goodness can't develop and express itself in simply any sort of society. It needs a society which recognises that in worth and dignity all individuals are equal and which therefore is against any kind of race discrimination. It needs a society which gives the chance of progressing without destructive conflicts. And it needs a society which, even as it improves its rules, never attempts to make laws for everything but leaves scope for the free goodness of men and women.

All these conditions are excluded in a totalitarian regime—and all these conditions are to some extent present in a democracy. A democracy gives us the opportunity of improving our rules without wasteful upheavals and of using those members of the democracy who are always being better than the rules. The use of that opportunity depends on our goodness, on our growing-up morally.

And at that point a very big and very lively question began to loom up. Can this moral growing-up go far without religion?

#### (iii) Does It Require Faith in God?

We noted that in Christian teaching everything seemed to depend on a faith in God. Each person was to behave generously to all others, whatever their race or nation, *because* God behaved in that way to men.

Now we want to ask: Are these new ways of behaving really dependent on faith in God, as Jesus said they were? Many men nowadays approve of these ways of behaving and yet say they do not believe in God or in the Christian religion. Many often admit the historical connection between these principles and Christianity, but say it was only historical and accidental. Others say that our generation is really living on the spiritual capital built up by earlier generations who believed in God and that the vitality of these principles cannot be long maintained if the belief in God is given up.

In this short discussion we can't get anywhere near to answering the question, but we can look briefly at one or two considerations about it.

## 2. How Often Are the Good People Religious ?

One line of enquiry would be to ask : " From my own experience and evidence, would it be true to say that very often the best ways of behaving do seem to be inspired by religious faith ? "

### (i) In Your Own Acquaintances ?

Each of us must sometimes come across a person of whom we say " He (or she) never misses a chance of doing a good turn." How many of the people of whom we say that are people with a faith in God ?

### (ii) In the History of our Reform Movements ?

Or we might look at some of the great reform movements in this country. Each movement was an effort to improve our ways of behaving towards each other. How far did the motive-power for them come from people with a faith in God ?

We should find beyond any doubt that many of the reforms or public services we take for granted now were started by people who were moved by a strong religious conviction. The abolition of slavery was largely due to the work of Wilberforce and a group of Evangelicals. The Quakers played a leading part in pressing for the reform of our prison system. Today they are active in giving service to society all over the world. We need only think of their Ambulance Units in this war or their work in feeding the countries of Europe after the last war. The reform of working conditions in factories in the 19th century is associated with Lord Shaftesbury, a man of strong religious faith ; the development of the nursing services is associated with Florence Nightingale, another intensely religious character.

### (iii) In the Record of Resistance to the Nazis ?

Or we might look to Germany. We have seen that the Nazis have denied the virtue of what we consider the best ways of behaving. In denial of human equality, they have taught the principles of the all-powerful Fuehrer and of the master-race of Germans. In denial of the principle of no racial discrimination, they have maintained the most savage persecution of the Jews. In denial of the principle of leaving scope for individual goodness, they have imposed a totalitarian regime which dictates almost every activity of men and women.

What then is the significance of the fact that Germany does its utmost to detach children from the Churches ? Why does it hate and fear the Churches so much ? Or why are the Churches the only bodies in Germany that dare openly to condemn the worst excesses of these Nazi principles ? Similarly, why is it that in the occupied countries, such as Holland and Norway, where the Nazis have tried to extend their principles, the most courageous resistance has come from the Churches ?

It looks as if when men are faced with hopeless odds against them, it needs faith in something other than themselves to make them hold out. The desperate plight of the occupied countries has brought about a revival of their Churches. A Norwegian said the other day, " Before the war it was becoming the fashion among my countrymen to ignore spiritual reality. Now it is only that which supports them."

### (iv) What Conclusion Can We Draw ?

From such a survey we should certainly conclude that this religious conviction, this belief in God, has been and is a great stimulus to the kind of self-sacrificing, generous behaviour and principles that society needs. Such a record is not a proof that this religious conviction is the only motive that will produce such behaviour. But at the very least, if we are going to be fair-minded, it should make us sit up and take notice.



### 3. What Is Meant by God ?

So much for the argument from the people we know about. It is sometimes misleading because it has always been recognised that there are people nominally called Christians who have no real faith, and men and women who have real faith in God though they quarrel with organised religion and its terms. If we are to carry the argument deeper, therefore, we must ask what we mean by faith in God ; and that question means asking both what we mean by God and what we mean by faith.

The Christian teaching about God is based on the Jewish teaching, and that was first clearly and plainly taught by the Hebrew prophets. The Hebrew prophets gave a new answer to the question " What is meant by God ? " when their nation was forced into a desperate situation, very much like that with which these brave Churches in occupied Europe have been faced in the last three years.

There have been in the world two very different ways of thinking about God and two very different kinds of religion. We may call these the tribal and the universal religions. There are endless varieties of tribal religions. There have been only a few universal religions : Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism and Buddhism are conspicuous examples.

#### (i) The Tribal God

There are many signs in the Old Testament of a way of thinking about God as a mysterious powerful person who looks after his special people. The God of the tribe is thought of as belonging specially to that particular tribe of people. He looks after them and fights for them. He expresses men's devotion to their special social group. Other tribes, of course, have their Gods who look after them. And each God has his own ways, the things he likes and the conduct he demands of his people.

#### *An Example from the Old Testament*

There is a very striking example in the seventeenth chapter of II Kings, where the writer is describing the religion of the Samaritans.

The Assyrians, the Nazis of the day, had followed a long and unrelenting career of conquest from the Euphrates to Palestine. They had beaten, one after another, many small peoples in what is now Syria, till finally they conquered Northern Israel and took its capital Samaria. They then moved all the people of Samaria to Irak and settled in Samaria people from these little kingdoms in Syria. Like Hitler, the Assyrians went in for mass deportation.

When these peoples from Syria with their special Gods settled down in Samaria, they were troubled by lions and they concluded that Jehovah, the God of Samaria, had sent the lions. Samaria belonged to Jehovah, and though his people had been beaten and carried away, it looked as if he still had some power of giving trouble, if he wasn't treated as he expected. So these people complained to the Assyrian administration that they were troubled with lions because they did not know " the manner of the God of the land."

The Assyrian officials, looking into the matter, obviously saw that something had to be done about it. They got a priest from the departed people of Israel and sent him back to Samaria to teach these poor peoples " the manner of the God of the land," i.e. what sacrifices he liked. So, says the story, having got expert instruction in behaviour to Jehovah, they " feared the Lord and served their own Gods." They gave Jehovah the sacrifices he was supposed to like and went on passing their children through the fire to their own hideous Gods, Adrammelech and Anammelech.

The chapter ends with the writer denouncing this way of treating " the Lord " as one among a lot of other Gods with his special tastes.

### *The Example of "German Christianity"*

That is a strange story and a primitive odd way of thinking. But it is the same in principle as thinking there is a "German Christianity"—a God specially concerned with Germany and liking German ways. But all of us are sometimes inclined to think a little like that, as though God were a powerful person who looks specially after us.

### (ii) *What the Hebrew Prophets Taught about God*

Now contrast with that the discovery made about the same time by Isaiah the prophet, who was for about forty years something like the Foreign Minister of the little hill country of Judah, whose capital was Jerusalem. He watched the steady approach of the Assyrians as they swallowed up, one after another, the kingdoms to the north. Read in the nineteenth chapter of II Kings how Rab-Shakeh, the Assyrian Foreign Minister, speaks about them, so much in the manner of Ribbentrop, in the speech he made before the walls of Jerusalem.

Isaiah saw that sooner or later Jerusalem was bound to share the same fate. King Ahaz of Judah, when he had been beaten by Damascus, had said, "Rimmon, the God of Damascus, is stronger than Jehovah, so I shall worship Rimmon." But Isaiah would have nothing to do with that way out.

### *What Matters Is Justice*

He saw his own people devout, pious and yet wicked. The services were crowded, the feast days were observed and the rich oppressed the poor. "God can't stand such a mixture of wickedness and worship," said Isaiah. "The only thing he cares about is justice. He cares more about justice than he cares about the people of Judah, and nothing will be of any good to you except your being just."

The old notion of God as a superior person looking after the interests of his own little nation is left behind. What matters in the last is justice, not whether this or that nation survives. That is a hard lesson for a patriot to learn but Isaiah learnt it.

### *Did We Feel like That after Dunkirk?*

In June 1940 when this country was in imminent peril and many of our friends in other countries thought that we were done for, most of the people in this country felt, "This is a bad business, but anything is better than giving in to that fellow's villainy." Mr. Churchill gave clear and noble expression to this feeling of the country.

It amounted to saying, "It matters more that we should not give in to wickedness than that Britain and the British Empire should survive." I don't suppose that many of us thought it out so clearly as that, but that is what it amounted to. A man or a nation believes in God, in Isaiah's sense, whenever he or they say: "It matters more that justice should be defended, that wickedness should not be surrendered to, than that I or we should survive."

A great scholar, speaking during the last war, put the same thought in another way when he said, "No war is worth fighting which is not worth losing." If a cause is worth fighting for, it must matter more than the men who fight for it. Other people had thought that a man's own nation is worth dying for, but Isaiah saw in the face of Assyria, and we came to see in the face of Hitler, that there was something greater even than a nation.

### *Justice Is the Law of the Universe*

Isaiah's next step was to sweep away all that was left of the old way of thinking about God, where each nation had its own God. He said: "There are no other Gods. The Gods of the heathen are idols. They worship the work of their own

hands." The tremendous historical events he was seeing, which were to bring about, so far as he could see, the destruction of his own people, were the working out of the eternal laws of justice. Assyria was but an instrument of God's purpose for the universe in upholding justice. Therefore Assyria too would come under the same judgment.

Consider what a turn over in men's ways of thinking this is. Men begin by thinking of God or rather of Gods—for there are at this stage supposed to be many Gods, as superior persons who look after their special nations—like men, with their tastes and prejudices and peculiar ways. The Hebrew prophets taught that God was the active justice of the universe. Right and wrong are seen to be the working of permanent infinite principles, as real and active and infinite as the forces which govern the stars.

*Therefore Man Exists to Be Just—*

Notice this new teaching has two sides. It is teaching about justice and about the universe. Justice is no longer thought of as what pays, nor as what is socially useful. It is a law of nature, it is the way the universe is made. Justice does not exist for man. Man exists to be just.

*—And So Co-operates with the Purpose of the Universe*

And the universe is thought of, not as an unfriendly background to man's behaviour, but as the creation of that active principle of goodness which men find in their own hearts.

No one can doubt that that way of thinking about God makes a difference to men's conduct. It must and does matter if men think that in serving justice they are co-operating with the purpose of things.

And this teaching about God, which came from the Hebrew prophets, is the basis of the Christian way of thinking about God and is the great contribution which the Jews made to the history of the world. No wonder that Hitler, who stands for the destruction of this way of teaching and a reversal to the old tribal barbaric way of thinking, hates the Jews !

**(iii) What Jesus Taught about God**

Jesus told men to act in the new way he taught, "That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven : for he maketh the sun to rise on the evil and on the good and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust." He was assuming the teaching of the Hebrew prophets about God but he was adding something.

*The Law of the Universe Is Better than Justice*

He was giving emphasis to "better than the law," to doing more than justice—to mercy and pity and love. He was saying that these ways of acting are not simply extras we add on when we are feeling nice ; mercy and pity and love are as much laws of the universe as justice is. What is working in the world is not merely active justice ; it is something much more—active love and pity.

Because Jesus of Nazareth not only taught like this but gave a wonderful example of such ways of behaving all through his life and in his death, his followers came to think of him in his life and death as the great pattern of God, as showing the nature of the universe.

There is, of course, much more in Christianity than this. As men puzzled out the meaning of this new force, which had seemed to them to come into the world and changed men's ways of behaving, they worked out a great system of explanation. With that we are not concerned. We have been describing the historical facts of

our civilisation, to show that new ideas came into the world first with the Hebrew prophets and then with Jesus of Nazareth and how they have changed our civilisation. As we saw in the last chapter some of the things of which we are most proud, which we are most concerned to defend, are the direct result of Christian teaching.

#### 4. What Is Meant by Faith ?

Faith does not always mean believing that certain things are true. Its real nature is often better expressed by the word "trust." And we have only to think of it to see that we cannot act effectively without trusting and believing in other people.

##### (i) The Faith of Men in One Another

Almost all the things we do mean acting together, doing something ourselves in the confidence that other people will act as we hope they will. We do our job and other people do theirs, and we have faith that they will do their job and they have faith that we will do ours.

It is faith, not knowledge, because sometimes people let us down and sometimes we let them down. How often we use simple expressions about people like "I believe in him," "You can rely on him" or, in the opposite sense, "He is quite untrustworthy." No body of men or women can do anything much together without trusting and having faith in one another.

What has this faith of men in each other to do with religion ? Not much so far, except to show what the nature of faith is. We cannot act with effect when we have no faith and think that all we do will be undone by other men, when we think that they care nothing for what we try to do : and similarly men have found in the past that they cannot act with courage and effectiveness if they think all that they and their fellows do will come to nothing, and matters nothing in the world.

##### (ii) Do They Also Need Faith in Something beyond Themselves ?

Faith in God shows itself both in belief and in action. Because we believe that the cause of justice and goodness and mercy is not simply our cause, not something we happen to like, but the real nature of things—and that is to believe in God—because we believe that, we find strength and courage to devote ourselves to such a cause. And when we do so devote and sacrifice ourselves for the sake of justice and goodness, we are making an act of faith, though we may or may not have started with saying that we believe in anything like that.

When we feel prepared to give up anything in order that what is right may stand, when we are willing to refuse to give in to wickedness to save our own skin or even our nation, that is an act of faith. It is a practical declaration that goodness is something we can serve and the best and greatest thing we can serve.

It seems clear that man can't live without faith and devotion, without some cause to which he can give service and in which he can find some sense of significance. It is just not true that he mostly thinks of himself and what will pay him or keep him alive. Some men do but not the best.

Without that faith and devotion, man feels aimless and frustrated ; without it his efforts seem ineffective. How far do you think, for instance, that the feebleness of our collective efforts before the war were due to the lack of any such general vision of the purpose for which man existed ? How far did Germany's success depend on a dominating ideal which, however evil it might be, called for the complete devotion of the individual ?

**(iii) Men May Worship Bad Gods**

Men and women may devote themselves and give their lives to unworthy objects. You remember the poor people in Samaria mentioned above, who thought it their religious duty to their Gods, Adrammelech and Anammelech, to make their children walk through a burning fire.

Thousands of young Germans have given equal devotion to Hitler and the general purpose of world domination which he offers. And no matter how much we hate that purpose, we have to admit that it has been vital and dynamic enough to call forth their greatest efforts.

**(iv) What Are We Going to Worship and Serve?**

We want a faith that is as good as the Nazi faith is evil, without being in any way less dynamic. What is it to be?

Our argument has not and could not prove, as conclusively as a theorem in geometry, that the Christian faith is the only one possible. But at the very least it has stated the challenge of Christianity. It has shown that Christianity teaches a faith in God conceived as justice, and goodness, mercy and love ; that this faith has been powerful in our civilisation ; that it has, in fact, made this country what it is.

## THIRD SEQUENCE: TODAY AND TOMORROW

B.W.P. 13

# THE FAMILY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

December 1943

## Chapter I. RECENT CHANGES IN FAMILY LIFE

### 1. Have Families Become Smaller ?

In dealing with the family we have at least one advantage : it's not just playing with words to say that to every one of us the topic is familiar. Of all human institutions, the one we know best is the family. Our knowledge of the way Parliament works may be patchy and incomplete—what we have heard and read, half remembered and half forgotten ; perhaps with local government it's much the same. But the family is a different matter. As children we've all taken an active part in family life, and now some of us may have families of our own. The family is something we know about and have opinions about, based on our own experience.

#### (i) The General Trend

Fifty years ago most families were large : it was by no means exceptional for there to be as many as eight or ten children in one family, and five or six was a normal number. Today families have shrunk in size : many of them run to only two children, or even a single child, and an increasing number of modern marriages are childless.

The following family tree indicates the general trend :—

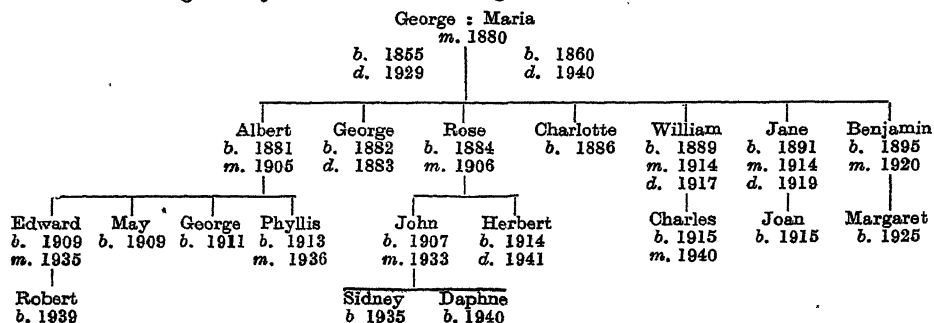


FIGURE 38

In the present chapter we don't have space to go into the reasons why families have become smaller, but that is dealt with in the next chapter.

### (ii) The Advantages of the Small Family

If the family income has to be spent on the care of a smaller number of dependants, more can be spent on each member of the family and the standard of living of the small family is higher than that of large families with the same income.

Contrasting the members of a small and a large family of about the same income, the former will have more and better food; they will have more money to spend on education, cultural activities and entertainments (school, college or technical training, wireless, gramophone, theatre, films, books, motor car, holidays, etc.) In short, they seem to have the possibility of a healthier and fuller life.



**VICTORIAN FAMILY**



**PRESENT DAY FAMILY**

FIGURE 39

### (iii) There Are Disadvantages, Too

Small families undoubtedly miss something that large families enjoy. Living amongst brothers and sisters is good for the child, and being one of a large family, with all the give and take that means, is a valuable social training. If there are only two children in a family, it is likely that much of their time at home will be spent in the company of adults; perhaps they may become tied to mother's apron-strings—the only child stands in particular danger of that.

Again, what about the marriage that is completely childless? Surely it is necessarily incomplete; it is a fact that there is most divorce amongst childless couples.

It is also true that some of the advantages of the small family, looked at from a wider angle, aren't so real as they may at first seem. If the small family system is generally adopted, a fall in population is unavoidable, and even before that an increase in the proportion of middle-aged and elderly persons. That means there would be fewer workers in the population—fewer people to produce the goods and services on which the standard of living of the whole population depends.

This question is more fully considered in the next chapter of the booklet.

## 2. Has the Family Circle Become Smaller Too?

Family groups of half a century ago generally included several aunts and uncles, possibly some cousins and even more distant connections too. In those days the family circle was wide and all-embracing, and there was some truth in the assurance given to the tearful mother of the Victorian bride that she hadn't lost a daughter but gained a son, for the married couple would in all probability maintain a close relationship with both families. In sum, if the Victorian unit was not quite the clan, at least the word "family" had a far wider sense than it has today.

Why have relations become less important?

**(i) Small Houses and Flats**

These have made it possible for many newly-married couples to have homes of their own, while their grandparents last century had often to be content to share a house with either the bride's or bridegroom's parents.

**(ii) People Marry Later**

Last century both men and women married young. Today most people marry rather older; they have more experience of life and are more capable of standing on their own feet.

**(iii) The Older Generation**

Old people, thanks to the growth of social services, are less dependent on their children than they used to be; for instance, for over thirty years old age pensions have to a considerable extent relieved many children from the complete responsibility of providing financial support to their parents in old age.

**(iv) Mobility of Labour**

Modern industry, with all the chances it gives of widely different jobs, often practised in places far apart, has broken the family circle, so that often the weekly visit of an aunt or cousin has become simply a letter at Christmas-time.

**3. Have Family Ties Weakened?**

It might be expected that, with the shrinkage in the size of families and the narrowing of the family circle, family ties would be strengthened. In practice, however, it hasn't quite worked out that way, for outside influences have affected the family and made it less self-contained than it was.

In what ways has the family become less the centre of our lives and activities?

**(i) The Jobs We Do**

Our work determines very largely the lives we lead, and there are normally so many jobs to choose from that every member of the family may be doing something different; the father may be a local government employee, the son work in a factory, the daughter be employed as a shop assistant. This is in marked contrast with Victorian times. It's true that even then the employment of members of the family in jobs actually carried on at home had largely died out, but many whole families were employed on the same, or at least closely related, work. The present diversity of jobs leads to a diversity of interests: there's no bond like a common "shop."

**(ii) Outside Interests and Hobbies**

These have been so widely developed that many people spend their leisure-time away from home. The motor car and motor cycle, cinemas, sporting and social clubs are examples of this tendency. Is a home just somewhere where you sleep?

**(iii) State Intervention**

The community has taken over many of the functions that used to belong to the family. Here are some examples:—

- (a) *Education*.—Parents are compelled by law to see that their children are educated between the ages of five and fourteen; the recent White Paper on Educational Reconstruction recommends the raising of the age, first to fifteen and later to sixteen.



- (b) *Sickness*.—At least in serious cases, home-nursing has been largely replaced by hospital treatment.
- (c) *Care of Old and Young*.—Nursery schools and, at the other end of the scale, old age pensions are examples of two kinds of State provision.

#### 4. How Have the Members of the Family Been Affected ?

So far we have considered the family as a unit ; but some of the lessons learnt can be driven home by looking for a few minutes at the ways in which the members of the family have been affected by these recent changes.

##### (i) The Father's Position

The modern father has generally a good deal less control over his family than his Victorian predecessor had. On the whole, parental authority has declined, and the dominant father is no longer a normal figure in family life. Several reasons may be suggested why this has happened.

##### (a) *Conditions of Work*

Nowadays his work often demands that a man shall be out of his home all day ; if he does not return for a mid-day meal, the father may scarcely see his children except at week-ends.

There is, moreover, the question of unemployment. Do you think that when the father is unemployed, and possibly dependent on the earnings of other members of the family, his position is weakened ?

##### (b) *State Intervention*

Community action has relieved the father of a good deal of the responsibility for the welfare of his children. But it has robbed him of a good deal of his authority too. Is it any longer true to say that the Englishman's home is his castle ?

##### (c) *Changed Outlook*

The notion that it is the father's duty to determine the destiny of his family is less widely held than it was. Perhaps the fact that we read the Old Testament less has something to do with it.

What then, do you think about the new position in which the father finds himself ? Should the father impose his wishes on the family dictatorially as he used to do ? Or does the new attitude seem saner and more reasonable ?

##### (ii) What about the Mother ?

The mother used to be the central, stable element in the family. Is she so today ?

Not necessarily, perhaps, for the emancipation of women has brought in its train the possibility of all sorts of work, both paid and voluntary, that may take her out of the home ; and the provision of nurseries and nursery schools, in the towns at least, lets her seize that possibility if she wants to.

Are these developments to be welcomed ? Do you approve of married women having independent careers ? Do you think that a woman who is mistress of her home and lives there with her children is necessarily "unemancipated" ?

##### (iii) And the Children ?

Obviously they have been affected by the changed status of both father and mother. Like their parents, they have found new interests outside the family—in school and in the various youth organisations, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, etc. They share a greater part of their lives with children of other families and spend less time in their own homes.

Some interesting questions come up in this connection. Are parents naturally the best qualified persons to bring up children and decide what is good for them? Do you consider that there is anything undesirable or dangerous in parents letting their children be brought up by other people, or by voluntary or State-controlled organisations? Will parents be content to go on having children if other people are going to bring them up?

## 5. Summary

In this short review, then, we have seen that the following changes have taken place in family life during recent years :—

- (i) Families are smaller.
- (ii) The family circle is very much less in evidence than it used to be.
- (iii) Families are less self-contained, and less closely-knit than they used to be.
- (iv) These changes have not only affected the family as a whole, but also the individuals (fathers, mothers and children) who together form the family.

About these changes certain general questions arise that are well worth our discussion :—

—Have these changes weakened the family?

—If they have, what is there for us to do about it?

—Is it true that a healthy family life is the foundation of a healthy community life?

## Chapter II.

## THE FAMILY AND THE POPULATION PROBLEM\*

### 1. What Is the Fall in the Size of Families?

In the last chapter we saw that families have been getting smaller. What exactly is the position?

#### (i) Size of Families Last Century?

Families with more than ten children were not exceptional and a family with six to eight children was considered as of average size.

#### (ii) At the End of the Century?

By about 1900 the typical size of family had fallen to about four children.

#### (iii) In the Last 40 Years?

Since 1900 the trend towards smaller families has made rapid progress and we can say, though no exact statistics are available, that a family with not more than two children has become the rule and that the number of single child or childless families has become large.

#### (iv) "Are We Dying Out?"

This is the kind of "scare" headline that some newspapers used to indulge in. But it is true that families nowadays are not large enough for the population to replace itself.

When parents have two children—and that is what, on the average, they are doing at present—they have obviously replaced themselves. But an average family of this size is not large enough to replace the whole community. It does not leave a wide enough margin to cover all those men and women who have no children, the parents who have only one child and the children who die before they reach maturity.

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\* See the footnote on the Royal Commission on Population on p. 204.

## 2. What Have Been the Effects?

How, then, has this trend in the size of families affected our population?

### (i) The Increase Last Century

Until about the beginning of last century our population in Great Britain was only a fraction of its present size and its increase was extremely slow. Thus in 1650, it was perhaps approximately 6,000,000 and by 1800 it was about 10,000,000. In the 19th century it grew more than three times as big and in 1900 was about 37,000,000.

Why did this increase take place? First, the Industrial Revolution so increased the nation's wealth that we were able to support a larger population. Secondly, an ever-growing proportion of the children born was able to survive, because of a tremendous improvement in the medical and health services.

### (ii) The Recent Trend

In spite of the recent decrease in the size of families, our population has not fallen and is still growing slightly. It is estimated that the population of Great Britain in 1942 was about 46,000,000. Notice however:—

- That the rate of increase has steadily slowed down until today the population has nearly ceased to expand.
- That the population has increased, in spite of the decline in the size of families, because people now live longer on the average as a result of further improvements in the medical and health services.

### (iii) What of the Future?

All speculation is risky and that should be stressed. We cannot yet, for instance, take into account the unknown number of war casualties. But various estimates have been made of what would happen to our population, if we allowed the present trend towards smaller families to continue, and they agree on certain general points.

The following diagram shows the age groups in our population in Great Britain for 1911 and 1931, and gives an estimate for 1971.

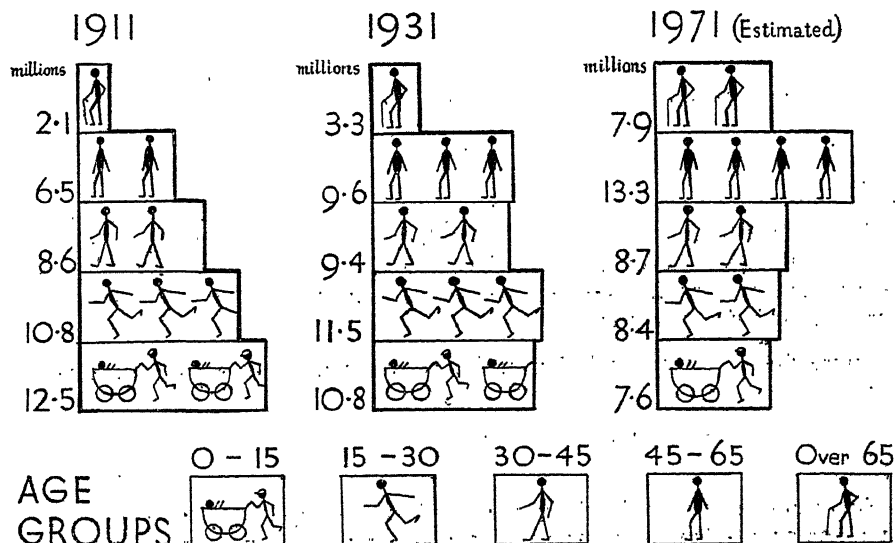


FIGURE 40

At the present time, the babies born in the days of large families have grown up and now form the adult section of our population. This section is, therefore, larger than previously and, in particular, there is an abnormally high proportion of men and women between 20 and 45 years, i.e. the age at which they might become parents. On the other hand there are fewer children and youths because of the trend towards the smaller families. What is going to happen in the future?

(a) *Until about 1971*

The present elderly and middle-aged people will have died.

Their places will be taken by the people who are now between 20 and 45 and who are abnormally numerous. The elderly and middle-aged section of the population therefore will be still larger.

The relatively few children and youths of today and the children born in the next few years will be the men and women of 20 to 45 and in all probability this section of the population will be proportionately smaller.

Finally, if the present tendencies do not change, this smaller number of parents, between the ages of 20 and 45, will produce a proportionately smaller number of babies.

It is estimated that by 1971, if the present tendencies do not change, the size of our total population will not change to any extent that matters. But the bulk of the population in 1971 will be middle-aged and elderly.

(b) *After 1971*

As we have seen, medical science has prolonged the life of human beings but it has not made them immortal. After 1971 the bulk of our population, which is middle-aged and elderly, will sooner or later die off and there won't be so many younger people to take their place.

Accordingly we should have a substantial fall in total numbers.

### 3. What Is Happening in Other Countries?

Most European nations show the same trend. It is most advanced in France. Already before the war, the French population had begun to lose in numbers and for a number of years heavy losses in population were avoided by admitting large numbers of immigrants from abroad. In the Scandinavian countries, Belgium and Switzerland, the situation is much the same as in Great Britain. For some time the situation in Germany seemed even worse than here but there was substantial improvement before the war.

Before the war, the population of Russia was considerably more than replacing itself.

The U.S.A. and most of our Dominions are at present just about replacing themselves.

No figures are available about the trend in the huge population of China. In Japan the population is still growing though not at the same rate as previously.

#### 4. What Are the Practical Consequences ?

What would be the practical results in Britain of this trend towards a population that is mostly middle-aged or elderly, and towards a substantial decline near the end of the century in our total numbers ? The following are only some of the consequences worth discussing :—

##### (i) Workers and Dependants

This diagram, which reinforces that given above, brings out clearly the situation with which we are faced, though it is, of course, only a general estimate.

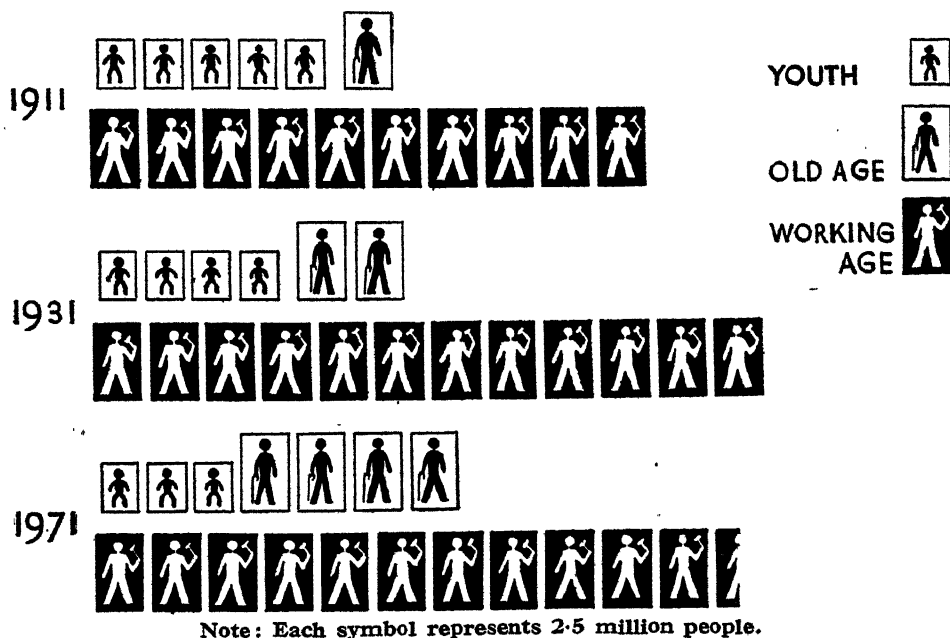


FIGURE 41

Observe that :—

- The number and proportion of children are declining throughout the century.
- The number and proportion of elderly people are increasing through the century.
- The number of workers is increasing to begin with. Then by 1971, owing to the smaller families of our time, this number begins to decline.

##### (ii) Our Standard of Living

There might be a decline in our standard of living. By 1971 there will be fewer people of working age to produce goods, and there will be more older people, who are past contributing much to the community, but who will have to be provided for. To what extent can we expect improvements in the efficiency of "the machine" to enable us to maintain and raise our standard of living under these conditions ?

##### (iii) Our Military Power

We should have difficulty in maintaining a large Navy, Army and Air Force with a population that is mostly middle-aged or elderly.

## 5. Why Have Families Become Smaller ?

No doubt in the past parents may have had larger families than they wanted, and no doubt deliberate restriction in the size is more widespread today. The question to be raised is why the small family is so popular. Parents who deliberately restrict the size of their families, do very often have some children. Why do they not have more ?

Some of the possible reasons have already been mentioned in the previous chapter, e.g. that before the days of compulsory education, children contributed to the family income from an early age and that before the development of old age pensions children might be considered the best provision against poverty in old age. The following other points are only some of those worth considering.

### (i) Social Insecurity

Yes, obviously in many instances. But is this true of all ? Some of the smallest families are to be found among those sections of the population which have complete social security, while many of the largest families are to be found among those which have little or no such security.

### (ii) International Insecurity

Yes, up to a point, perhaps. But many people who fear the unsettled state of the world have one or two children apiece. If they were logical, they would have none at all. Notice also that during this war, when the outlook has been very insecure, the proportion of babies born has actually risen.

### (iii) Pleasure

Many people do spend money on luxuries which were not available to our grandparents, whereas our grandparents spent their money on raising larger families. But does this consideration apply to everyone ?

### (iv) Quality not Quantity

Many people devote a lot of money to giving their children the best possible start in life. As they cannot afford an expensive education or upbringing for several children, they don't have more than one or two.

### (v) Emancipation of Women

Nowadays many women have alternative careers to marriage which did not exist in their grandmothers' day. This situation developed rapidly during the last war, when women had to do men's work, and continued after the war when nearly 1,000,000 casualties among the men had made marriage an impossibility for many women.

## 6. What Should We Do about It ?

Most people will agree that the trends towards an ageing and seriously declining population should be checked, though they may differ about what the ideal size of our population should be. What then can we do to stop the trend, apart from immigration which does not have much effect on our population ?

### (i) Reduce the Death-Rate of Infants and Mothers ?

This is already very low and a further reduction will hardly help at all. Even if no one in this country, man, woman or child, were to die before the age of 45, we still could not maintain our numbers at the present level.

**(ii) Have More People Marry ?**

A certain increase in population could be brought about if more people would marry, and we had fewer spinsters and bachelors among our population. Notice that during this war the marriage rate has increased. Notice too that in this war, as in the last, casualties will leave the population short of many potential husbands and fathers.

But more marriages can have little effect, as long as parents do not produce families sufficiently large to replace the population.

**(iii) Increase the Size of the Family ?**

The only way to avoid an ageing and declining population in the future is for the average size of family to be raised to at least three children.

The longer we delay in achieving the increase, the bigger the average family will have to be. As we have seen, our population at the moment has an abnormally large number of adults between 20 and 40 years, and therefore an abnormally large number of women who could be mothers. But this number is beginning to decline.

Those are the facts and this is the choice. Either we can let things go on as they are and take the consequences already seen, or we can make the extra effort involved in raising families of three or four instead of the popular one or two. What is your choice ?

**7. What Are the Remedies ?**

If we agree that larger families are necessary, how are they to be encouraged ? The Prime Minister said in his speech on 21st March, 1943 :—

“ If this country is to keep its high place in the leadership of the world and to survive as a Great Power that can hold its own against external pressures, our people must be encouraged by every means to have larger families.”

How would you carry out this policy ? Some of the following points are worth discussing :—

**(i) Jobs**

In a recent debate in the House of Commons, the Minister of Health stated :—

“ In actual fact, the birth-rate . . . ceased to fall in 1933 and has shown a small increase since that time, with the improvement in economic conditions after 1932. . . . The contours of the birth-curve follow those of the unemployment curve for the country with remarkable fidelity, showing that the economics of the matter have a very big effect.”

**(ii) Family Allowances\***

In its announcement on the Beveridge Report, the Government accepted the principle of children's allowances and a scheme is being worked out for its application. The Government has proposed that there shall be a weekly allowance of 5/- each for the second and later children.

All the proposals for social security made in the Report, most of which have been accepted by the Government, affect the future of the family.

**(iii) Other Possible Developments**

Many other measures of social development will suggest themselves :—equal educational opportunities for all ; school meals ; adequate housing ; better health services, especially maternity and child health services ; other measures to ease the burden of the mother, such as day nurseries and British Restaurants.

The work in this direction had already begun before the war and much headway has been made during the war.

\* See the summary of the White Paper on Social Insurance on pp. 563-7.

**(iv) And What More?**

Most of the measures so far mentioned have two characteristics.

First of all, they involve benefits to be got from the community. Should we not also emphasise duties to the community? If larger families are in the interest of the community, should not the individual be moved by that consideration?

Secondly, these measures deal largely with material conditions. Is something more than material improvements wanted? If so, what?

**8. Summary**

We have seen that :—

- (i) After increasing rapidly for over a century, our population is now almost stationary.
- (ii) So far this development, due to the prevalence of small families, has not seriously affected our position either at home or abroad.
- (iii) Unless recent tendencies undergo a marked change very soon and families increase in size, the situation will in our lifetime deteriorate. We shall become a nation of predominantly middle-aged and elderly persons and the total population will begin to decline.

So much for the figures of the family. In the next session we shall have a chance to examine and discuss the changes in family life that have occurred during the war.

**Chapter III.****FAMILY LIFE IN WARTIME****1. Introduction**

In the first session, we discussed changes in the family in the last fifty years or so and saw that :—

- (i) The family has, on the whole, grown steadily smaller.
- (ii) Family life has considerably changed and, in particular, the community has taken over many responsibilities that formerly belonged to parents.

In the second session we considered the first of these changes, the size of the family, and discussed the future dangers that threaten our population, if families do not grow larger.

Now we want to take our consideration of the changes in family life a stage further. We noticed, among other things, that the last war left its mark on family life. What effect has this war had so far on it?

**2. What Are the Main Disturbances of Family Life?**

Let us think of a typical family of parents and two young children and consider just what disturbances it may be subject to.

**(i) The Father Called Up**

To get men for the armed forces, apart from voluntary recruitment, conscription has been applied, by the end of 1943, to men over 18 and not yet 46, though from the age classes 41 to 46 only doctors and dentists have been called up.

Some men, because of their occupations, are still exempt, but the ages at which reservation is allowed have been successively raised and, instead of block reservations, cases are considered individually.



Thus age and occupation alone have been taken into account. It was not possible, as in the last war, to delay the call-up of husbands and fathers and, apart from a small number of compassionate cases, members of each age group have had to be called-up regardless of domestic circumstances.

(a) *Family Life in the Absence of the Father*

Social workers visiting homes report that, broadly speaking, the influence of the father on the family life had been underrated. He is missed for his moral support. The older children become more difficult to control and home discipline tends to become slack. The mother misses the companion with whom she could share the responsibilities, the satisfactions and worries connected with the home and with the rearing of children.

(b) *Financial Side*

With the mobilisation of the father—usually the only earner of the family—the family income comes mainly from the allowances paid by the Government which will be discussed later. This change may mean considerably lower income and require adjustments.

In families where the father was only earning a low wage before the war and has gone into the Army, the wife is often better off on the Army allowance than she was before. But the man who was in a good pre-war job and had taken heavy responsibilities (instalment for wireless set, motor car, etc.) is hardly placed. His wife may often have to live with relatives or go out to work herself.

(ii) *Mother on War Work*

By the end of 1943 only single women in the 19–25 age groups have been called up for the Forces.

Women in the age groups 19–45 have been registered for compulsory direction into employment in essential jobs, if they are not already employed to the best national advantage. Of the 9,600,000 women registered by the end of 1943, however, only 26,000 have been compulsorily directed to war work. Recently it was decided that the registration be extended to women up to the age of 50.

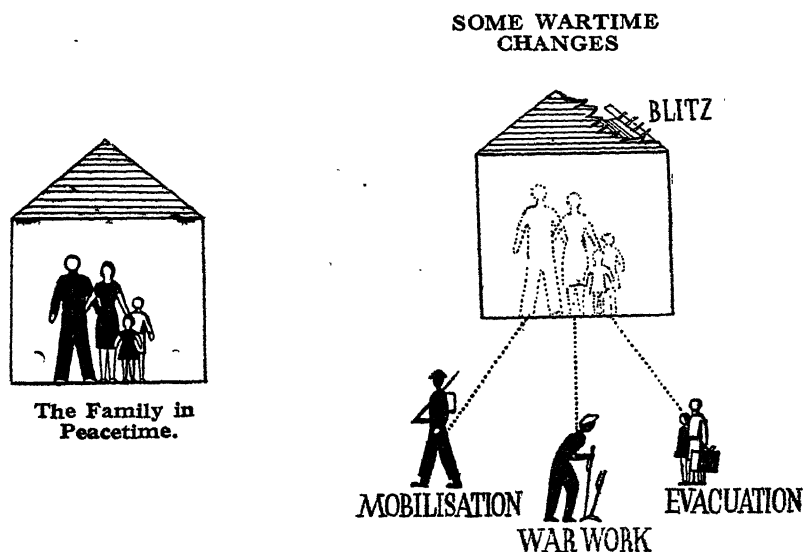


FIGURE 42

It is clear, therefore, that women with small children have not been affected at all by the conscription for the Forces and relatively little affected by compulsory direction into war jobs. A large number, however, have taken up part-time or full-time war work outside the home—out of patriotism, or to carry on their husbands' jobs if, for instance, he was a small shop-keeper, or for financial reasons.

And in the absence of adequate arrangements, all the children would be bound to suffer, the greatest burden falling on the eldest girl who would have to cope with shopping, preparing the meals and looking after the smaller children.

### (iii) **The Children Evacuated**

At the beginning of the war, 750,000 unaccompanied school children and more than 400,000 mothers with children were billeted in reception areas away from their homes. Although most of the children settled down very happily with foster parents in the new surroundings, many parents who had had to stay behind found home life unsatisfactory without them, and about 500,000 children returned unofficially. But after the Battle of Britain the reception areas were looking after half a million evacuated school children and half a million mothers with children. In the autumn of 1943 there were still 150,000 evacuated school children.

On the whole, the period of evacuation has shown the persisting importance of family ties. For a great number, evacuation meant the transfer from slum to more favourable conditions, but, generally speaking, these advantages could not make up for the loss of a home and for the breaking up of the family, especially as far as the mothers and the younger children were concerned.

### (iv) **Some Other Disturbances**

Many other disturbances will probably come to mind, including some of the following :—

#### (a) *Compulsory Direction into Civilian Jobs*

At present, men between 42 and 50 have been registered for compulsory direction into essential jobs, if they are not already employed to the best national advantage. And this may involve leaving home and the family for a job elsewhere.

#### (b) *Home Guard and Civil Defence*

Compulsory direction into these duties has been instituted. And by taking many fathers and mothers out of the home for long periods, they may add a further disturbance to family life.

#### (c) *Voluntary Work*

An immense part of the war effort is being borne by voluntary effort. Consider, for example, just some of the additional jobs which housewives have taken on. They are found among the million women in the Women's Voluntary Services; they have received evacuees and have provided homes for millions of workers and Service people billeted with them, often at serious inconvenience to themselves.

All these changes have placed new and heavy strains upon the continuity of family life, although they have been cheerfully borne. Recently the Minister of Health declared :—

“The hospitality, kindness, patience and patriotism of the housewives of Britain have been turned into munitions of war.”

*(d) Destruction of Homes*

Altogether about one-fifth of the homes in this country were destroyed or damaged in some way during the first four years of war. And the general experience was that the majority of families preferred to carry on in their bombed homes, even if better accommodation were offered to them.

In this way, the family as a unit often showed great powers of endurance and its high morale undoubtedly helped to defeat the efforts of the enemy to terrorise us into admission of defeat.

### 3. What Have We Done to Lessen These Disturbances ?

It is impossible to cover adequately all the measures we have taken, but the following should be noted.

#### (i) Keeping Families in Touch

This is provided for mainly in two ways :—

##### *(a) Army Leave*

If conditions permit, every serving member is given 48 hours and 7 days privilege leave once in three months, and compassionate leave when necessary. Four free return railway warrants a year and cheap travel rates at other times make it easier for the soldier or auxiliary to go home at a small cost.

Where possible, leave for women in the Services is arranged to coincide with the leave of husbands or children if they are also serving.

##### *(b) Postal Arrangements*

Letters and parcels mean a great deal to men overseas, who are unable to get home on leave, and the airgraph letter-service has been introduced specially to speed up the facilities for correspondence with men in the overseas armies.

The Red Cross sends parcels to prisoners of war and special arrangements are made to forward letters to them.

#### (ii) Providing for the Soldier's Family

In general, the civilian worker is paid the same wages for the work he does, whether he is a single man with no family responsibilities or has a wife and a number of children to support.

The Army allowances, which were started during the last war and have been extended in this war, work differently. They include a payment for each of the soldier's children as well as for his wife. The actual rates have been increased from time to time.

Cases of special financial hardship, due to the call-up of any members of a family, may receive help in the form of a War Service Grant. An Emergency Grant can be made in cases of long illness or a sudden death in the soldier's household. There are also, under certain conditions, Dependents' Allowances for those who have been dependent on persons now in the Army.

#### (iii) Fair Distribution of Goods

By the end of 1943, the cost of living has risen 28 per cent. since September 1939, a smaller rise than in any other country at war, and has been kept down by measures such as the following :—

##### *(a) Food*

Obviously, in wartime the supplies of food available are very restricted. Shipping space, labour, materials and plant are all needed for war purposes. To ensure that everybody can have a fair share of what is available two main steps have been taken—rationing and price control.

All the main foodstuffs, except bread and potatoes, have been rationed and commodities in short supply such as tinned goods, rice, dried fruits and biscuits are rationed on a flexible "points" system.

In order that everybody shall be able to buy the fair share reserved for them, a wide measure of price control has been enforced. 95 per cent. of all foods are kept at reasonable prices by food subsidies, paid by the Government, which will amount to about £180 million for the year 1943-44.

The needs of special groups, such as expectant mothers and infants, are met by special supplies of vitamins, fruit-juices, cod-liver oil, extra milk and eggs.

The provision of extra food for heavy workers and growing school children is done through workers' canteens, community feeding centres and school meals.

#### (b) *Housing*

Housing is inevitably a problem throughout the war. Mention has already been made of the destruction caused by the air-raids; those houses capable of use have been made at least wind and weather proof. But relatively little can be done in the way of new building. The Services and the various Ministries have taken over a great deal of accommodation all over the country. In addition, there have been great movements of population.

The Rent Restriction Acts aim at checking any exploitation of these difficulties. As regards unfurnished premises, they prevent landlords from turning people out without an order from a court, limit the rents that may be charged and prevent the charging of a premium or "key-money." As regards furnished premises, any person charging an extortionate rent is liable to conviction and a fine.

Local Authorities can prosecute—but they can't act unless the facts are reported to them.

#### (c) *"Utility" Goods*

In order to check the rise in prices and provide good, durable articles with all reasonable economy in raw materials and labour, the Government made plans to ensure that essential goods, really needed by the civilian population, should be available at reasonable prices. Hence the "utility" goods which are price-controlled at every stage of production and free from Purchase Tax.

### (iv) **Making House-keeping Less Difficult**

As we have seen previously, the housewife has many difficulties to contend with and certain arrangements have been made to help her :—

#### (a) *Care of Small Children*

If mothers were to be free for war-work, for instance, some way of looking after the small children had to be found. The Government have increasingly provided facilities for the proper care of children under 5, whose mothers have been unable to make any other arrangements.

This has been done in various ways. Wartime day nurseries have been opened all over the country. The Local Authorities run the nurseries, but the Ministry of Health pays for them. The usual charge to mothers using the nurseries is 1/- per day.

School nursery classes have accepted thousands of children under 5, and many new classes have been specially organised for them.

In addition, there are numbers of play centres and residential nurseries for small children and hundreds are cared for by Registered Guardians.

*(b) Feeding the Family*

Part of the food policy has been to provide arrangements for communal feeding.

By the end of 1943, over 2,000 British Restaurants have been opened, most of them run by Local Authorities, but others by voluntary agencies. In addition there has been a great extension of canteens—for instance, for factory workers, dock workers and miners.

The expansion of the milk and meals schemes in schools not only gives the children extra food, but saves a meal being cooked at home. Four million out of 5½ million children are now getting milk and nearly 2 million a mid-day meal at school, either free or at a low cost.

*(c) Advice on Household Problems*

The war has faced the housewife with many problems of rationing, fire-watching, billeting and other everyday activities. Over 1,000 Citizens' Advice Bureaux, staffed by voluntary workers, offer a service which includes help on these problems. Thus to a certain extent the C.A.B.'s have taken the place of the absent head of the family.

#### 4. Does the Good Outweigh the Bad ?

Clearly the war has had a marked effect on the family—though under very heavy stresses it has shown remarkable endurance. We have seen some of the changes wrought in it and some of the measures we have taken to lessen the disturbance. How would you strike the balance between the good and the bad—bearing in mind, say, the following developments and questions ?

- (i) The break-up of many families and households.
- (ii) The great increase in State intervention in many spheres of our lives.
- (iii) The breaking down of barriers between different sections of the population.
- (iv) The great extension of voluntary service.
- (v) The vast extension of the activities of women. Recently the Prime Minister said :—

“ The bounds of women's activities have been definitely, vastly and permanently enlarged.”

- (vi) The introduction of many measures of social reform—and the Government proposals for many more after the war.
- (vii) Have there been changes in moral standards and behaviour which affect family life ?

#### 5. What Measures Should We Continue after the War ?

The question offers a wide field for discussion, but the following points are worth bringing out :—

**(i) No Immediate Return to Normal Times**

Even if the war in Europe is finished first, we still have the war in the Far East. We shall have responsibilities for the relief and rehabilitation of the occupied countries and for the policing of Europe. Moreover, it will take time to switch our industry from war to peace production.

Under these conditions, when most goods will still be in short supply, it is almost certain that wartime restrictions and regulations will only be gradually lifted in the period immediately after the war, to avoid a sudden rush on the available goods and unwarranted price increases.

**(ii) Women at Work**

Will the women who have taken up jobs for the first time during the war prefer the financial independence and higher family income, connected with outside work, to resuming household work as their sole occupation?

If many do, the number of people for whom employment has to be found after the war will then be greater than before the war and all the services which aim at reconciling women's work with the rearing of children will have to be further developed.

**(iii) Nursery Schools and School Meals**

Should such services be developed, as the Government White Paper on Educational Reconstruction proposes?

**(iv) British Restaurants**

The catering industry considers these to be an unnecessary and unfair competition with private enterprise.

Is communal feeding as a substitute for home catering likely to become popular even though it may be more economical? If the British Restaurants are retained at all, should they be run municipally or commercially?

## **Chapter IV. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN WARTIME**

### **1. What about Your Neighbourhood?**

In the previous chapter we noticed that one result of the war was to assist the transfer of many activities and interests formerly associated with the family to the neighbourhood in which the family lives. Now we want to look more closely at what has been happening to the neighbourhood in wartime. First of all, what marks off and makes up a neighbourhood? A village is a neighbourhood; so too is many a street in East London. What characteristics do they share?

**(i) What It Is**

The neighbourhood is the district immediately surrounding our home over which our personal contact extends—the place “where people can learn to live as neighbours.”

**(ii) Its Physical Features**

Its boundaries may be formed by open spaces or railways or main roads or rivers or an industrial area.

The main public buildings, such as the church, school, shops, etc., may be grouped in such a way as to make them the focus of the neighbourhood.

The density and arrangement of the private dwelling houses will influence the feeling of neighbourhood.

**(iii) Its Sentiment**

This feeling of belonging to a neighbourhood arises from the association of neighbours in common activities and common purposes—in working together, in using the same shops, schools, clubs, pubs or in uniting for civil defence purposes.

And obviously the strength of this feeling will be affected by the length of time which families have stayed in the neighbourhood. A floating population is not likely to produce it. It is more difficult to get in new housing estates, where the people are initially strangers to one another.

#### (iv) **The Neighbourhood : Past and Present**

Many modern developments have had a big influence in lessening the importance of the neighbourhood in our lives—though we should note here, and all the way through, that in country life the neighbourhood has kept much more of its strength.

The development of transport has had the greatest effect. For example, everyone formerly worked either at home or in their neighbourhood. Now many people travel long distances to their work. Again, the cinema has removed the need for people to get together with the neighbours for their own entertainment. Or think of the village church which was, and may still be, the local centre of social life and mutual aid. This is largely lost in modern city conditions. But these conditions give the opportunity of selecting a church which is in accord with our personal wishes—and which can still give wide scope for neighbourhood service.

#### (v) **The Proper Balance**

On the whole, we can probably agree on the value of sharing in a vigorous neighbourhood life, without necessarily being confined exclusively to it.

If our lives are limited solely to the neighbourhood, we gain in a sense of local loyalty and neighbourliness but may suffer from a narrowing of interests—gossip-mongering is one form of it. On the other hand, if we do not belong to an active neighbourhood, then we may gain wider interests and greater freedom of activity but lose the strength of having a significant share in a local community.

## **2. Has the War Strengthened the Neighbourhood ?**

What have been the general effects of the impact of war on the neighbourhood ?

#### (i) **Breaking Up the Neighbourhood**

In many cases the war has broken up the neighbourhood, either by causing people to leave it or by overcrowding it with new arrivals for varying periods of time. In addition, many of its meeting places, such as village halls, have been taken over for various war purposes.

#### (ii) **Strengthening the Neighbourhood**

On the other hand, there has been an intensification of neighbourhood life. In the Home Guard, the Civil Defence Services, in the Women's Voluntary Services, in Savings Groups, in the Citizens' Advice Bureaux—in all these, to mention only some of the main instances, neighbours have got to know one another better and to co-operate in local service.

Should wartime neighbour co-operation continue after the war ? What use can we make of these wartime neighbourhood organisations ? Might the W.V.S., for instance, help with visiting the sick, the aged, the war orphans ? Will there still be a place for the Citizens' Advice Bureaux—perhaps in advising about family holidays ?

#### (iii) **An Example of a Wartime Development**

In Bermondsey and Rotherhithe a " Shelter Council " operated all through the blitz, organising community activities and services.

Now, out of the sense of community which developed and as a direct descendant of the "Shelter Council," a Council of Social Service has been set up, on which are represented the Borough Council, the churches, the local trade unions, the voluntary organisations and so on. And this Council has undertaken a wide range of activities in every sphere of the life of the community. It helps working mothers to look after their children, and tries to have one flat set aside in each block of buildings where the children can play, under a trained woman. Men and women discharged from the Forces, who wish to open small shops, are having their cases investigated by the Council. It has set up a committee to consider a new building scheme for the district. It is seeking to get a more informed public opinion by promoting discussion on such issues as educational reconstruction.

These are only examples of the Council's work. Is there scope for such an organisation in your neighbourhood?

### 3. What Other Effects Has the War Had?

How has the war affected some of the specific activities which we may carry on in our neighbourhoods? Consider a family with two children, one at school and one just a year old, and follow their activities during the day.

#### THE ACTIVITIES OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

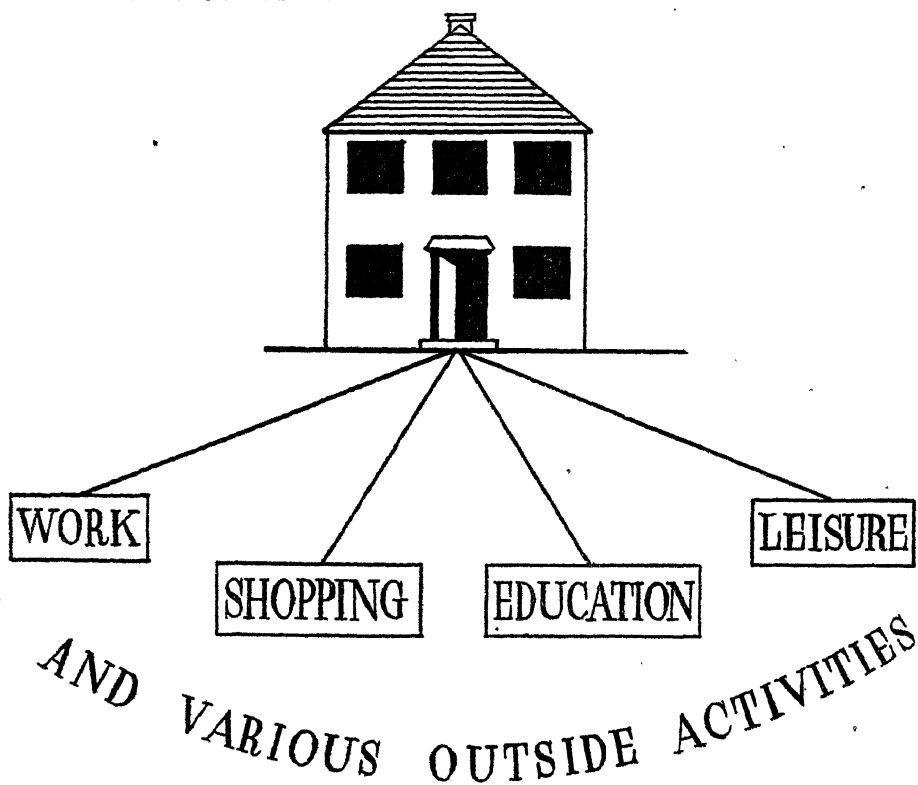


FIGURE 43

#### (i) Home

The replacing of destroyed houses and public buildings, the construction of entirely new homes, the clearance of slums and the reduction of overcrowding, which have been delayed by the war, will form a vast post-war programme.



In the twenty years between the wars, 4,000,000 homes were built. The Minister of Health has said that we shall need to build the same number in the first ten years or so after the war. There is, therefore, much scope for planning and re-planning. We cannot make the plans but we shall be asked to criticise them.

#### (ii) **Work**

Already we have considered the wage-earner's work, which was formerly in the home or neighbourhood, but is now frequently outside both. What about the housewife's work? Two of its main tasks are the preparation of food and the care of children, and in the last session we discussed some wartime developments which have a bearing on these—British Restaurants, works canteens and school meals on the one hand, and day nurseries and nursery schools on the other.

#### (iii) **Shopping**

Many small shopkeepers have had to give up their businesses during the war. Most of them will want to open up again after the war and it is very likely that many others, especially men discharged from the Forces, will want to start new shops.

Is the small independent shopkeeper an asset to the community which we should try to keep?

It has been suggested that it would be a good plan, in the interests of both the shopkeeper and the community, to restrict the opening of new shops by licensing. Who should decide whether licences should be granted? Some say the relevant trade associations. Would this be a good plan, using the experience of the men in the business, or would it lead to a restriction of the number of shops in the interests of the established traders?

#### (iv) **Education**

What have been the main effects of the war in this field?

##### (a) *In School*

In a previous chapter we have noted some of the wartime developments in our schools, such as the early disorganisation through evacuation and the development of school meals. In addition, many schools of all sorts have been blitzed out of existence and the call-up of many male teachers has thrown a great strain on our educational system, involving, for example, a growth in the size of classes.

##### (b) *Out of School*

The neighbourhood must also provide for young people out of school or working hours, for youth is a period when they are rightly venturing beyond the home. Yet in 1939 it was estimated that less than a third of all young people were members of any spare-time organisation.

Since the war, the blackout, the early disorganisation of education and of family life, the higher wages of some young people and the call for pre-service training have combined to bring the needs of youth even more to the fore.

Organisations, such as the Army Cadet Force, the A.T.C. and the Girls' Training Corps, have been started or reorganised to give pre-service training. Local Youth Committees have been set up in all parts of the country to bring together and assist the work of the pre-service organisations and other youth organisations, such as the Scouts, Y.M.C.A. and Boys' Brigade. Moreover, all young people have to register at 16 when they are interviewed and encouraged, but not compelled, to join one of these organisations.

What can we learn from all this that might be continued or extended after the war? Already in its White Paper on Educational Reconstruction the Government has made many proposals on this topic.\*

#### (v) Leisure

In wartime most of us in the Forces live less privately than in peacetime. We have more opportunities of meeting people and of doing things together. Some of us might put it differently—that we have no opportunity of avoiding people or of doing things privately. At any rate we may ask in what frame of mind wartime experience will send us back to our neighbourhood.

Are there opportunities in that neighbourhood for young people to get to know each other? How, for instance, did you meet your girl friend?—or young man?—or husband?—or wife? Have you got sports or rambling clubs, social clubs, dramatic clubs, etc., in your neighbourhood?

##### (a) *Community Centres*

Does your neighbourhood have a community centre? Would you like to see one there? Would you like something large and elaborate, which would mean catering for large numbers, or something more intimate, but necessarily simpler? Would you be willing to help support it financially?

##### (b) *The Pub*

There are many fewer pubs than there used to be, but in England and Wales, for example, there is still one to about every 550 persons, although they are very unevenly distributed. They are often an important centre of neighbourhood life. They are also the subject of much controversy.

Are pubs all right as they are? How might they be improved? Should they be places of family entertainment or do men go to pubs to get away from their families? Or are separate sections desirable? Is the usual separation of bars a sensible arrangement?

A recent book called "*Our Towns*" says:—

"(The public house) seems to offer great possibilities as the foundation of a real system of people's restaurants. Food and liquor should be made natural partners and the provision of food on a socially sound basis should be made the condition of selling liquor for consumption on the premises."

Do you think this would be a good idea?

##### (c) *E.N.S.A. and C.E.M.A.*

They have brought entertainments to hostels, villages and camps. Would you like your entertainments near home or do you prefer going to town for them?

### 4. Should We Try to Create Neighbourhoods?

Is the neighbourhood so important as an institution that it ought to be planned for? In the past we have worried very little about planning. Does that mean that planning is inconsistent with British character? Or do changes such as the growth of population, industrialisation and the growth of large cities, make it desirable today?

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\* See the summary of the Education Act of 1944 and of the White Paper on pp. 546-8.

### (i) Planning in Neighbourhood Units

For the reconstruction necessary after the war, many planners are thinking in terms of neighbourhood units. This possibility was often overlooked in our building programmes between the wars. Many people who moved into new housing estates can bear that out.

And to create neighbourhoods means establishing the conditions set out in Section 1—providing the necessary physical features and encouraging the sentiment of neighbourliness. This sentiment is largely a question of time, but its growth can be helped in various ways. It is sometimes possible to add new houses to an old neighbourhood so that the new is absorbed by the old. The inhabitants of a clearance area may be moved as a group to a new estate. And various sizes of dwelling can be provided in each neighbourhood, so that the inhabitants do not need to move away because they need larger or smaller houses.

### (ii) An Example of Neighbourhood Planning

Cities, notably London, are planning their reconstruction schemes in units of limited size, often divided from each other by a section of open space. The County of London Plan proposes neighbourhood units of 6,000–10,000 inhabitants each, the number that it calculates to be needed to support a junior school. Each neighbourhood unit would have its junior school, its local group of shops and its community centre.

Three, four or more neighbourhood units would be combined in a "community" which would be formally marked off from adjacent "communities" by open spaces, roads, or railways and which would each contain a civic centre, larger shopping centre and other community buildings common to the neighbourhood units within its boundaries.

## 5. What Can We Do about It?

The replanning of our neighbourhoods will demand patience, generosity and a willingness to compromise from every one of us. The neighbourhood, as we have seen, is not just a collection of bricks and mortar: it is composed essentially of human beings, who either do or do not co-operate. We have seen that many of the most notable advances in the development of the neighbourhood during this war have been made possible by the voluntary efforts of individual neighbours. That individual effort will have to be maintained if, in the years to come, we are going to build successfully on the foundations which we have laid during the war.

Parliament, which we as voters help to choose, may pass laws. Then, in the tradition of this country, our local Council will be left free as far as possible to administer the laws which closely affect the life of our neighbourhood—for example, our education, housing, and town planning. And whether Parliament passes the laws we want and how our local Council carries them out depends upon us, the individual citizens.

But over and above the written letter of the law, there should stand always the local patriotism, the civic pride and the willingness to make that voluntary effort in the interests of the community, without which our democracy cannot remain alive. We must speak not only of the services we expect of our neighbourhood, but also of the services we can give to it.

THIRD SEQUENCE: TODAY AND TOMORROW

B.W.P. 14

## PEOPLE AT WORK

By

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January 1944

### Chapter I.

### PLANNING THE WAR EFFORT

#### 1. The War of Machines

"An Army marches on its stomach," said Napoleon. He meant that you cannot fight a war successfully with men alone. You need communications and constant supplies of food, equipment and ammunition for your Forces. That is even more true today than it was in Napoleon's time.

It is a platitude that modern war is a war of machines. Like other nations at war, Britain has had to provide her fighting forces with enormous quantities of ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, ammunition, bombs and an almost endless list of other equipment. While the war lasts there can be no end to this process since the equipment is used up and destroyed or becomes obsolete.

#### 2. How to Pay for the Machines?

The Government can get the munitions it needs only by paying money to somebody to make them.

##### (i) Ways of Raising the Money

The Government has several ways of getting the money :—

- (a) By taking money from its citizens in the form of increased taxation.
- (b) By borrowing from its citizens (including the Joint Stock Banks) or from abroad.
- (c) By borrowing from its bankers. The British Government's banker is the Bank of England.

Having secured the money, the Government then uses it to pay the troops and buy the munitions.

## (ii) What Ways Have We Used ?

The Government has used (a) and (b) to raise money. During this war it has raised much less by foreign loans than it did last time. It has, however, received actual materials and munitions from the U.S.A. on Lend-Lease account.

The Government has borrowed practically nothing from the Bank of England under (c).

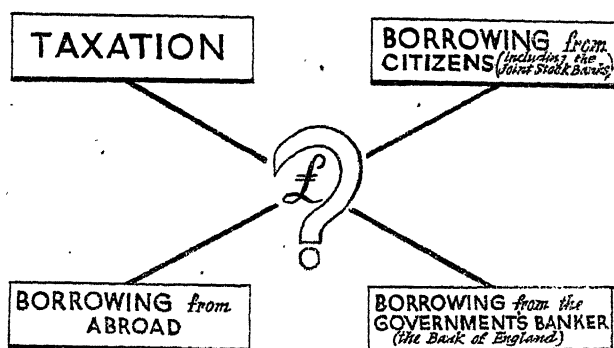


FIGURE 44

## (iii) Proportions of Taxation and Borrowing

How much has been raised by taxes and how much by borrowing ?

- (a) In 1929-30 the British Government raised £734 millions, of which £655 millions came from taxation.

In 1942-43 its total revenue was £2,820 millions, of which £2,483 millions came from taxation.

- (b) In 1942-43 the Government spent £5,637 millions. The difference of £2,817 millions represents borrowing both from the citizens and from the banks. There have been substantial savings, which are represented by a big increase in holdings of Savings Certificates, Savings Bank deposits, and War-loans. But expenditure has been larger than taxes plus savings, and the excess has been met in a variety of ways. These include the realisation of overseas investments, borrowing the balances held by overseas countries in this country, borrowing the surpluses of various official funds, and so on.

## 3. How to Produce the Machines ?

In order to provide the necessary munitions, does the Government simply have to raise the money to pay for them ? Certainly not. Spending money is much more difficult than raising it. The money is useless unless it can be turned into the right kinds of weapons and equipment, coming forward at the right times and in the right places.

Accordingly war production has to be planned—and plans made long before war breaks out. It would be silly to say that no mistakes have been made. It is also probably true to say that, just as in the last war, no one adequately foresaw the vast scale and complexity of the effort that would be needed to beat Germany. But that does not mean that no plans were made.

*The Assumptions We Planned On*

Two main assumptions had to be made :—

That France would be our ally, supplying the main body of resistance to Germany in the field, while we supplied the main effort at sea and a substantial part in the air.

That the U.S.A. would be neutral and that the Neutrality Act would prevent their Government from making loans to us.

It followed that while we had to plan for comparatively smaller armed forces than we had in the last war, we had to prepare for a very great programme of war production and for a great expansion of our export trade so as to pay, not only for our essential imports of food and raw materials, but also for weapons and war materials from America.

How then have we gone about this job ? In the next chapter, we shall consider in more detail how we have mobilised the resources that we have made available for ourselves. Here we want to consider in outline the plan we adopted to make sure that the resources were available.

**(i) Control of Investment**

We have seen that by borrowing and taxation the Government made sure of having the money to buy the weapons and equipment—for example, to buy aircraft. But it is no use having the money to buy aircraft, if you have no aircraft factories.

*Why—*

It is true, of course, that if the Government offers a good enough price for finished aircraft, investors will see the prospect of making good profits and will come forward and build the factories, but that method takes a long time and the Government cannot be sure that it will act quickly enough in wartime.

Moreover, if investors are given a free hand, they may build too many aircraft factories and not enough tank factories. In other words, the Government has to plan and balance investment in new factories so as to suit the needs of strategy, whereas private investors, if left to themselves, would direct investment where they would make the greatest profits. They might even build new cigar factories or new cinemas, which would be no help to the Government in making war.

*—And How*

To avoid this the Government, therefore, has to take complete control over all investment. This the British Government did as soon as war began. Nobody is now allowed, without express permission from the Treasury, to raise money by public loans, so that virtually the only outlet for savings is to buy Government securities. The money lent to banks and building societies, or paid to insurance companies, finds its way into Government loans in the end. The Government also prevents individuals and companies from turning their profits into new factories, machinery, etc., by taxing excess profits at the rate of 100 per cent. — and by controlling labour and materials, as we shall see below.

**(ii) Building and Expanding Factories**

Another essential part of the plan was the building of new arms factories and the expanding of those we had already. New Royal Ordnance Factories were built in many parts of the country. In these, guns, ammunition, and explosives were made, and some of them were used exclusively for filling shells, bombs, etc. Similarly, existing aircraft factories were expanded and new "shadow" factories built. An

immense amount of machines and tools was needed to equip these factories. Thousands were made at home, but thousands had to be brought in from abroad—especially from the U.S.A.

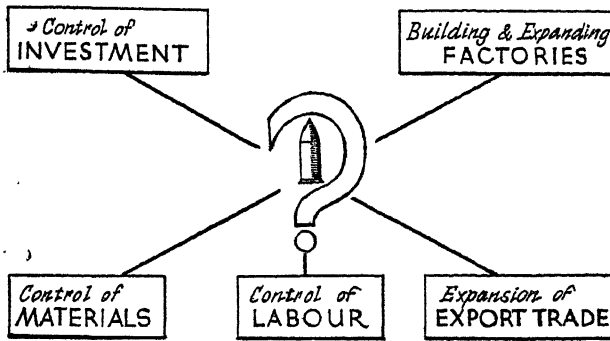


FIGURE 45

### (iii) Control of Materials

The Government prevents any surplus funds, which its citizens may still have, from being turned into means of production without its consent, by controlling all materials. You cannot buy any substantial quantity of steel, timber or cement without a licence from a Government Department; and without those materials you cannot build a factory.

Moreover, all sorts of other materials, without which you cannot make goods in your factory, are equally tightly controlled. Such materials, for example, are wool, cotton, copper, rubber, tin, aluminium, etc. Most of these commodities are brought under the authority of Controls appointed by and answerable to the Minister of Supply. Under the same authority is the Machine Tool Control, without the permission of which nobody may make or buy lathes, drills, presses, grinders and all the innumerable types of productive machinery which we call machine tools.

### (iv) Control of Labour

The same sort of considerations which applies to savings and investment applies to labour. If the Government were to offer good enough prices to munition makers for their products, they in turn would be able to offer high wages and attract labour away from less essential work into war factories. But this process again is neither rapid nor selective enough. To get to work quickly, the war factories need skilled and unskilled labour in the right proportions and of the right degree of skill. They need to be sure that their workers will stay with them and not be forever changing their jobs.

Moreover, an all-round bidding up of the price of labour would lead in the short run to an increased consumption of scarce goods. Wages would be high, workers would have plenty to spend and would want to spend it, so that in the long run the prices of scarce goods would rise. When this happened workers would demand more wages. If wages rose, costs of production would rise and so prices would go up again. This "vicious spiral" is called inflation.

### *Schedule of Reserved Occupations*

The only way round these difficulties of getting labour quickly to the right places is for the Government to control labour as well as materials, and to allocate it according to a master plan. The central document of the plan was the Schedule of Reserved

Occupations, issued as soon as war began. Reservists and Territorials, because of the value of their previous training, were called to the colours at once. But, with these exceptions, skilled men in almost every occupation were reserved at an early age and the numbers of skilled men too young to be reserved were called up in Service trades only.

The effects of this were :—

- (a) To minimise waste of skill in the Forces.
- (b) To provide a good reserve of skilled men for expanding industries.
- (c) To reserve skilled men for use in the export trades.
- (d) To reserve skilled men who could train other men and especially women, so that the latter would be ready to take the empty places when the time came to call up more men.

#### (v) Expansion of Export Trade

As we have already noted, we had to find ways and means of importing not only our food and raw materials, but also weapons and war materials from America. How were we to pay for these goods from other countries ?

#### *Getting the Money to Buy Abroad*

Part of the answer is that in order to buy goods in countries abroad you must get hold of money in the currencies of these countries. You can only do that by borrowing the foreign money or by selling goods for it. So we sell, for example, shoes or pictures to people in America who pay dollars for them. With these dollars we can buy 'planes.

#### PAYING FOR IMPORTS BY EXPORTS

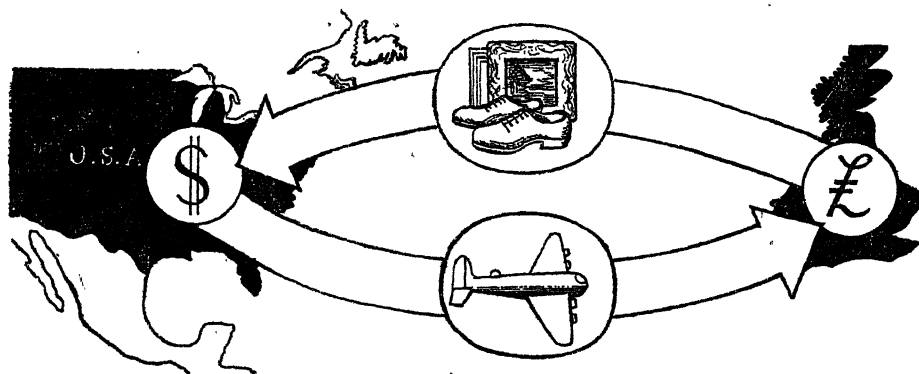


FIGURE 46

That leads to the second part of our answer. We must make sure that the dollars we do get are expended on goods essential to the war effort. To do that we called on people who had dollars, or dollar securities which could be sold on Wall Street, or who exported to America, to sell their dollars to the Bank of England for pounds. And we refused to let people have these dollars except for essential purposes, such as buying aeroplanes.

#### *Fewer Goods in our Shops*

In maintaining this essential flow of goods we have constantly had to fight the menace of the U-boats. Thus by the spring of 1940, they were making it more



difficult to import raw cotton, wool and other materials. The Armed Services needed more and more clothing. At the same time well-paid munition workers began to buy more and more clothes. Soon there would have been no textiles left to export. It was more profitable or easier for manufacturers to sell to the home consumer or the Government than to undergo the risks of export under war conditions.

Therefore, the Government ordered a restriction in home sales of cotton, rayon and linen. Apart from food rationing, this was the first deliberate restriction in the home trade in consumer goods, i.e. in the goods which we have for our own use or satisfaction. Its main objective was to maintain the export trade.

#### 4. How Has the Plan Been Altered ?

In the course of the war, have events involved altering this general plan in any substantial way? We noted that the plan was based on two assumptions: that France would supply the main body of resistance in the field and that the U.S.A. would be neutral. Both these assumptions have had to be changed.

##### (i) The Fall of France : 1940

How did the fall of France affect the plan ?

- (a) The German triumph showed us the scale on which it was necessary to prepare for mechanical war. Plans for a vast extension of production had to be made.
- (b) The loss of the French Army meant that we must plan and enrol large armed forces of our own.
- (c) The beginning of heavy air raids forced a dispersal of industry. Up to that time much of our increased production had been planned in specially built new factories, many of them very large. Now it was essential, not only to expand production, but to disperse it so as to minimise the effect of air attack.
- (d) Accordingly the restriction of home trade was extended to a wider range of goods and was made much more stringent. Some of the goods affected were razor blades (which use special steel), combs (which use plastics), pottery, hosiery, lace, kettles and saucepans. The object now was as much to release labour and factory space for war production as to preserve export trade. A Factory and Storage Space Control was instituted, to ensure that the necessary factory space was provided without injury to export trade.

##### (ii) Lend-Lease : March 1941

How did Lend-Lease affect our plan? Our exports by themselves were not sufficient to pay for the vital imports we needed to make. Therefore, ever since the war began the British Government had been buying up the stocks and shares that British citizens held in foreign countries, and had been selling them for dollars in America. After eighteen months of this, the realisation of these securities became more and more difficult. Lend-Lease came at just the right moment.

##### *The Meaning of Lend-Lease—*

No one desired to see the old system of war debts revived. To replace them the U.S.A. decided to adopt a new system of mutual aid. The President was empowered to send goods and commodities to other nations if he were satisfied that

he would thereby assist the defence of the U.S.A. Shortly before this, Britain had granted to the U.S.A. for 99 years the use of bases in her Western Atlantic possessions.

There was no strict accounting basis for the aid coming from America—it has been granted to other United Nations also—and it was understood that no payment had to be made in money. There remains, however, a clear obligation to repay in kind if called upon to do so; and Britain has since provided without charge considerable aid in kind for the use of American Forces in Europe.

The United States Government has itself bought for cash from its own citizens the food, ships, materials and munitions which it has sent to Russia, China and Britain under Lend-Lease. It has obtained the money to pay for the goods in exactly the same way as the British Government has obtained money to pay for munitions at home—by taxing its citizens and by borrowing from them.

#### —And the Results

- (a) As a result of Lend-Lease we were now able, not only to maintain, but greatly to increase our imports of war supplies from America, without the necessity of increasing our exports.
- (b) Some exports had still to be maintained in order to secure supplies of essential materials from certain neutral countries.
- (c) We were now in a position, however, to reduce our commercial exports to a minimum. This enabled us finally to “concentrate” the consumer goods industries. In hosiery, lace, pottery, and all similar industries the Government encouraged the formation of nucleus firms. This means that several firms in the same industry agree to run one or two factories between them. These factories are run full-time and all the other factories owned by the firms in the group are closed. Sometimes only part of a factory is kept running. The factory space and labour no longer used are switched over to war production or the storage of war supplies and materials.

### 5. A Summary of the Changes

Now let us see how we can analyse this basic pattern of our war effort.

(i) *Before the war*, the Government was gradually increasing the amount it spent, because it had to pay for building and equipping new factories and because it was placing orders for the laying down of new warships, etc. But the greater part of spending was still done by the mass of citizens.

*During the war*, war needs come first. The Government enormously increases its spending, and Government spending is supreme.

(ii) *Before the war*, by borrowing or increasing taxes the Government got the money it needed from its own citizens.

*During the war*, the State still further increases taxes. It also persuades its citizens to increase their savings. But it doesn't get enough money in these ways. It borrows from other sources at home and it either borrows abroad or it sells the property which its citizens own abroad.

(iii) *Before the war*, Government spending on war preparations tended to increase the number of people at work, even though the money it spent came from citizens who might have spent it themselves if the Government hadn't. These extra people came from the ranks of the unemployed.

*During the war*, nearly all the unemployed are quickly mopped up and millions more workers have to be provided for war work by calling up the unoccupied or those engaged on less essential work.

(iv) *Before the war*, the price that ordinary citizens were prepared to pay for goods determined the size of the profits that could be made by the manufacturers of those goods. The size of the profits determined the worth-whileness of investing in different kinds of production; investment was not controlled; so investment followed profits. But, as we have seen, profits followed spending by consumers. So in the long run the desires of consumers determined investment. If they decided to smoke more, more machines to manufacture cigarettes would have to be installed. Soon even new cigarette factories would be erected. If they were prepared to pay good prices for radio sets, then radio factories would spring up in many places. If they found the money for their radio sets by doing without domestic help, there would soon be fewer girls in service and more in factories. If women decided to cut their hair shorter, the hairpin factories would go bankrupt and hairdressers would flourish.

*During the war*, the Government's investing is supreme. The Government takes away freedom of investment from private citizens.

## 6. What Will Happen after the War?

Obviously, we haven't studied this subject thoroughly enough yet to be able to answer all the questions that arise in our minds. We shall go into some of these questions in the next chapter, and we shall try to suggest some of the answers—and some more questions—in the last chapter. But here is one big question to go on with:—

*Have we, by borrowing, piled up a huge debt which we shall have to repay when the war is over?*

### (i) Bill for Lend-Lease?

In so far as we have to repay, after the war, goods sent to us under Lend-Lease we shall have to pay some of the cost of the war after it is over.

### (ii) Loss of Investments Abroad

We have sold many of our foreign investments. Therefore we shall no longer receive the interest on those investments when the war is over. That will mean a loss of income for the nation. Either we shall have to do without a corresponding amount of imports or we shall have to increase our exports.

### (iii) Doing the Place Up

About 3,000,000 houses in Britain have been destroyed and damaged during the war and some have still to be restored or rebuilt. We have not built new houses to keep up with the natural increase in the number of families or to replace houses no longer fit to be used. We have failed to keep up and repair most of our roads. There are other instances of "living on capital." This will have to be made good after the war, and making it good will be part of the real cost of the war.

### (iv) Largely Paying as We Go

The bulk of the debt is owed by the State to its own citizens. Thus the *nation as a whole* is no worse off because of this debt, though, within the country, the cost of the debt will be a factor in settling the level of taxation.

The real cost of the war is largely met:—

- (a) By doing without things which we normally buy in peacetime.
- (b) By getting all sorts of people to go to war work who in peacetime do not do productive work.
- (c) By working harder and for longer hours.

## Chapter II.

## MOBILISING FOR WAR

### 1. What Does Mobilisation Mean ?

It means the same in industry as it does in the Army. When you mobilise an Army you assemble its men, equipment and supplies and you arrange its transport and signals in such a way that it can be thrown into battle when and where required. When you mobilise industry you have to arrange a system whereby productive resources and labour can be switched quickly, not only from peace to war production, but from one form of war production to another as the need arises. By resources we mean factories, the plant and equipment of factories, machine tools and raw materials, such as steel, copper, wool, cotton, rubber, etc.

#### Mobilisation in Stages

You cannot attain complete mobilisation at once, just as you cannot increase your armed forces overnight from some hundreds of thousands to millions. Obviously you cannot call up millions of men without first providing substitutes for some of them whose work is essential, nor would it be reasonable to call them up until you had provided uniforms and at least some weapons for them. Similarly, though you may know that eventually you will have to turn a stocking factory into an ammunition factory, there is no sense in doing it until you have the ammunition-making tools ready, for knitting machines will produce nothing but knitted goods. Therefore mobilisation must proceed in stages.

### 2. What Were the Stages ?

We can distinguish three main stages. At each of these three stages there was an appropriate method of mobilising (a) industry, (b) man-power for the Forces, and (c) labour for industry.

#### (i) Stage I : Creating New Resources

The first stage was that of creating new resources, i.e. building new factories and machines, and importing new machines.

##### (a) *Industry*

Absorbing the unemployed.

Working machinery longer—by means of double-shifts or three shifts.

Increasing daily and weekly work periods.

##### (b) *Man-Power for the Forces*

The first Schedule of Reserved Occupations, which instituted reservation by occupation, irrespective of industry.

##### (c) *Labour for Industry*

Placing the unemployed in jobs—either in the new factories or to replace men called up ; calling for volunteers for the new factories.

#### (ii) Stage II : Diverting Materials and Labour

The second stage was that of diverting materials and labour away from less essential to more essential production.

##### (a) *Industry*

By the time the second stage was reached, war industry had grown so much that it was getting short of materials. Moreover, many of our materials have to be imported and shipping space was becoming scarcer.

"Priorities" were given therefore for materials, such as steel, rubber, wool, cotton and so on, in the following way. Each of these materials was brought under a "Control" and the "Control" would grant supplies in accordance with the "priority" of the work for which the material was needed. Firms with Government orders got the first pick; then came the export firms; then the public utilities—railways, electricity and gas companies and the like. So "priority" went down the scale until manufacturers of luxury goods for home trade received no new materials at all.

### STAGES IN MOBILISING INDUSTRY

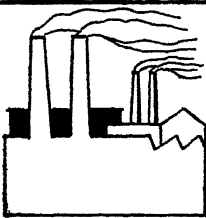
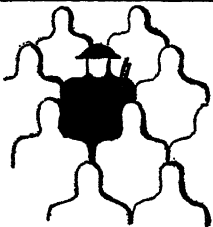

	Stage I.	Stage II.	Stage III.
 <b>INDUSTRY</b>	Absorbing the Unemployed. Working Machinery Longer. Increasing Work Periods.	Priorities for Materials.	Requisitioning and Converting Factories. Allocation of Materials.
 <b>MANPOWER FOR THE FORCES</b>	Schedule of Reserved Occupations.	System of "Protected" Firms.	Reservation by Individuals. Conscription of Young Women, with Option of War Work.
 <b>LABOUR FOR INDUSTRY</b>	Placing Unemployed in Jobs. Volunteers for New Factories.	Registration and Transfer of Men and Women up to 50. "Concentration" of Industry.	Allocation of Labour.

FIGURE 47

#### (b) *Man-Power for the Forces*

The system of reservation by occupation, irrespective of industry, was amended.

Firms doing 80 per cent. or more of their work for the Government and firms in basic industries like coal-mining or steel-making were called "protected" firms. Their men were reserved on easier terms than men working for non-protected firms.

#### (c) *Labour for Industry*

Registration of women and of men up to 50 years of age who were not liable to military service; transfer where possible of such men and women to war work.

"Concentration of industry" in pottery, hosiery, clothing, cotton and other "less essential" industries. Some of their labour was transferred to war work.

**(iii) Stage III : Switching Factories to War Products**

The third stage was that of taking over and adapting for war production factories that so far had carried on with their peacetime products.

**(a) Industry**

Whole factories were requisitioned. Some were converted. A stocking factory has been used to make radio valves. A sewing machine factory is making magnetos and starters. A roller-skate factory is making gun parts. Rationing of clothing and the prohibition of many kinds of manufacture except under licence reduced the production of textiles, footwear, and many other goods to the absolute minimum.

Materials were no longer distributed by means of "priorities," but allocated in definite quantities for specific purposes.

**(b) Man-Power for the Forces**

The system of "individual reservations" was instituted. The Man-Power Boards, or, where appropriate, the local offices of the Ministry of Labour, had to satisfy themselves that every man and woman up to 50 years of age was occupied to the best advantage. If not, the person concerned was either transferred to another job or called up.

Young women were compulsorily called up for the Forces, though given an option to go into war work instead.

**(c) Labour for Industry\***

Labour also is now allocated. A certain labour force is allocated at periodic intervals to each Government Department concerned with industry.

**3. What Were the Obstacles ?**

Two main obstacles to this mobilisation and the remedies introduced for them are particularly worth noting.

**(i) Changing Jobs**

We had to have hundreds of thousands more machine operators, machine fitters and setters, foremen and supervisors and so on. We had to have hundreds of thousands fewer parlour maids, insurance canvassers, commercial travellers, shop assistants, etc. Hundreds of thousands of women had to take men's jobs.

What did we do to meet these needs ?

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\* Immediately after the fall of France in May 1940 the Defence Regulations were amended to give the Minister of Labour and National Service power to direct any person to perform any service in the United Kingdom (which that person was, in the opinion of the Minister, capable of performing) "at the rate for the job". These Defence Regulations have formed the basis of various kinds of control over the supply and distribution of labour which have been imposed in order to secure the maximum war effort. Among these are :—

- (a) The **Essential Work Orders** to restrain workers in "scheduled undertakings" from leaving their employment and employers from dismissing them without permission ;
- (b) The **Control of Engagement** and similar Orders which require that persons covered shall be engaged for employment only through a local office of the Ministry of Labour and National Service or in some other manner approved by the Minister, and
- (c) The **Control of Employment** (Notice of Termination of Employment) Order, which requires an employer to notify a local office of the Ministry when employment has been terminated.

*(a) Training*

Government training centres, technical colleges, even universities were used to train for various types of jobs, from filing and grinding to labour management. These supplement the training given by employers in their own workshops.

*(b) Up-Grading and Dilution*

Turning fitters' mates into fitters; turning operators into setters; allowing men and women to do skilled jobs without having served an apprenticeship. Trade union agreement was essential here.

**(ii) Changing Workplaces**

Some of the new factories were in country districts where there were few skilled workers and not large numbers of unskilled. Much of war production is in the engineering industry and many of the jobs can be done only by the established factories in the Midlands, Lancashire and other engineering centres.

Many of the closed-down factories were not in the same places as the growing factories and the new factories, while the domestic servants, shop assistants, and girls living at home, who had to be recruited for war work, were widely scattered all over the country.

What did we do to overcome this obstacle?

- (a) Transferring labour. Billeting workers or placing them in hostels. Those transferred are called "mobile"; they are usually men of military age, and women without family responsibilities.
- (b) Building new factories, when possible, in areas like parts of Wales and Scotland, where there are big populations, mostly in mining districts, but not many engineering factories.
- (c) Switching whole factories with their labour to war production.
- (d) Prohibiting the placing of new Government contracts in certain areas in which labour is very scarce and transport and housing are badly strained.
- (e) In difficult areas, arranging for work to be given out from the factories and done by housewives at home. Lots of camouflage netting, for example, is "garnished" in this way.

**4. A Summary of the Changes**

Looking over that record of our mobilisation of industry, can we pick out some of the main changes brought about during the war?

**(i) Increase in State Manufacture**

*Before the war*, the State manufacture of war goods was confined to a very few places like Woolwich Arsenal and a few Royal Dockyards.

*Now* there are many more factories owned and run by the State. These are mainly Royal Ordnance Factories. In addition, the State has built numbers of factories of all types which are managed for it by business firms.

**(ii) State Control of Materials**

*Before the war*, raw materials were freely bought and sold. The industries which made the biggest profits were best able to buy the materials.

*Now* raw materials are absolutely under State control. So are machine tools and factory space.

**(iii) State Control of the Building of Factories**

*Before the war*, business men made what they liked where they liked.

*Now* nobody can make a new investment or build a new factory without Government permission. Government contractors are not allowed, without special permission, to place sub-contracts in certain areas.

**(iv) Revival of Older Industries**

*Before the war*, because of new inventions and foreign competition, some of the older industries, like coal-mining and cotton, were declining, while newer industries like radio, automobiles, or rayon were doing well. Areas like South Wales and Durham, which were mainly engaged in coal-mining, were depressed areas and the new industries were scarcely to be found in those areas. Some labour—mainly younger people—was being transferred from the depressed areas to London, the Midlands and other more prosperous areas. Transfer was voluntary.

*Now* the products of the older industries are greatly in demand again. Coal is scarce. So are textiles. Men and women who had found jobs in new industries have actually been sent back to coal and cotton.

**(v) New Factories in Depressed Areas**

*Before the war*, the Commissioners for Special Areas offered certain inducements, such as some relief from local rates, and capital and sites on easy terms, to businesses which would start new industries in these areas.

*Now* the Government has built many new factories in the former depressed areas, and it is still diverting as much industry as possible to them since they still have female labour available.

## **5. What Will Happen after the War?\***

Clearly, there will have to be another redistribution of labour and capital. We shall want many more people than we now have in industries like clothing, housing, furniture, even in entertainment and amusement. We shall need many fewer in engineering, chemicals, ship-building and so on. We shall also have to bring back men and women from the Forces.

**(i) Directing People into Jobs?**

Shall we leave labour to reshuffle itself? Or must we continue to direct it to employment? We should bear in mind two important facts in trying to answer this question. First, for a very long time to come many raw materials will still be scarce; therefore we shall not be able all at once to make all the clothes or build all the houses we need, even if we have the labour available. Second, the experience of the war has shown that training makes the shifting of labour among industries much easier.

**(ii) Use of the War Factories?**

Can we turn the war factories to peace uses? Some of them—the filling factories, for example—are not likely to be of much use. But the experience of the war has

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\* See the summary of the White Paper on Employment Policy on pp. 554-7, and of the White Paper on Social Insurance on pp. 563-7.



shown that paper factories can be used for motor car assembly, or shirt factories for making cartridges. Much of the machinery used in war industry is fairly easily adapted to peace industry, and the difficulties are not likely to be great.

### (iii) The Depressed Areas ?

Need there be depressed areas again? In discussing this question we should remember that most of the new factories all over the country have been built by the State. Evidently the State can to some extent determine where the centres of industry will be, by means of the terms on which it is prepared to offer these factories on rent or for sale.

## Chapter III.

## WORKERS IN WARTIME

### 1. The Men behind the Machines

So far we have been considering the ways in which it was possible to procure the necessary means for equipping our Forces. We had to provide (a) materials, many of them imported from abroad; (b) factories, machinery and transport; (c) labour with which to effect the transport and manufacture. But these means of production would be useless without managers to organise their efforts. How has this complex of management, labour, resources and machinery functioned during wartime?

### 2. What Has Happened to Management?

Management operates under control. Just consider some of the more important ways in which a manager's freedom to make his own decisions is limited:—

- (i) He cannot buy materials or machinery in an open market. He has to ask for an allocation.
- (ii) He cannot extend his factory buildings without a licence.
- (iii) He cannot import or export without a licence.
- (iv) He cannot allocate labour to various jobs just as he pleases. The Inspector of Labour Supply comes round from time to time, to suggest breaking jobs down, bringing in "dilutees" or women, calling up certain men. The Government's Technical Cost Branch comes along to suggest performing certain jobs in a new way with a new distribution of the labour force, so as to do the job more cheaply or more efficiently.
- (v) He is often ordered to take on new work for a Government Department. He is sometimes ordered to give up work he has been doing for a long time.
- (vi) The Essential Work Orders require him to pay a guaranteed weekly wage to every worker. He must obtain the permission of a National Service Officer, appointed by the Ministry of Labour and National Service, before he dismisses any worker, except for gross misconduct.
- (vii) If he is in the munitions industries, he has regular orders for years. If he is in one of the "concentrated" industries, he may have had to give up his business altogether.



### 3. What Has Happened to the Worker?

What changes can we note in the position of the worker?

- (i) He has had more continuous employment and therefore better earnings than he has had in most industries for years.
- (ii) He has a guaranteed working week if he is engaged on "essential work."
- (iii) In most places he has a works canteen and generally improved welfare.
- (iv) If engaged on "essential work," he is free from fear of "the sack" except for gross misconduct. Even in the latter case he has the right of appeal.
- (v) He may not leave his job, if it is on essential work, without permission from the National Service Officer.
- (vi) He may not join with his fellow workers in a strike unless all processes of negotiation have been exhausted and 21 days' notice given. His trade unions are pledged not to strike, but to take all disputes to arbitration.
- (vii) His trade unions have many more members than they had before the war.
- (viii) He is nearly everywhere working longer hours than before the war.



### 4. And to Employers' Associations and Trade Unions?

The Government always finds it easier to deal with organised groups rather than with individuals.

- (i) It consults individual unions about new proposals affecting their trade. It has used manufacturers' or traders' associations to plan new forms of production.
- (ii) Both the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Production have regular consultations with representatives of organised labour and organised employers. Such representatives also sit on the Government's Regional Boards. One of these Boards sits in each region of the country. On it are represented the chief Ministries concerned with munitions production. Its job is to see to the best allocation of the labour and resources of the region, in accordance with the policies laid down by the Ministries in London.

### 5. What Are Joint Production Committees?

The Minister of Supply has established at each Royal Ordnance Factory a joint production committee, composed of representatives of the management and the workpeople. The Government has encouraged the setting-up of similar committees in privately owned industry.

#### (i) Management and Workers Together

A J.P.C. is a committee at a particular factory consisting of representatives of the management together with elected representatives of the workers. Usually there is at least one representative from each shop or department. In very big factories it may be necessary to have one worker to represent several shops. No committee is good if it is very large, and so it is generally advised that a J.P.C. should not have more than twenty members.

## (ii) What the J.P.Cs. Do

These committees do not deal with wages or other matters which are usually dealt with by bargains between employers and trade unions. They usually confine themselves to special questions arising at the particular factory. Broadly, these tend to be either (a) welfare, or (b) production problems.

(a) *Welfare Problems*

Examples of welfare problems which might be considered are:—

*Time lost by late arrival has been increasing.* What causes this? Is it due to the increase in the number of married women employed, who find it difficult to complete essential household tasks before coming to work? If so, what is the remedy? Should the management approach the local bus company for a change in the service, or should it approach the Local Authority to ask for the establishment of a wartime nursery? Is the time lost due to some other cause? If so, what is the remedy?

*There is congestion in the works canteen at certain times of the day.* Could not meal-time breaks be "staggered," so as to enable every worker to get his meal with comfort?

(b) *Production Problems*

Examples of a production problem which a committee might tackle are:—

*A certain job is at present performed standing.* Could not a special chair be designed which would support the worker, while still giving the necessary freedom to the limbs? Would not output be increased if this were done?

The management representatives on the J.P.C. explain that *the design of a certain component made at the factory has been considerably modified.* They ask the committee to consider and make suggestions how the necessary rearrangement of the work in certain shops can best be effected.

## (iii) Are the J.P.Cs. Successful?

- (a) *Their numbers are steadily increasing.* There are now more than 4,000 of them in the engineering and allied industries. There are pit committees at nearly every colliery in the country.
- (b) *There are sometimes "teething troubles."* The attitude of the management may be grudging. They may regard one or two of the most active worker representatives as mere trouble-makers. On the other hand some of the elected representatives may be suspicious of the management without good reason, or they may think that they will be popular with the workers if they adopt a truculent manner towards "the boss." Committees don't work well in such an atmosphere. But in most cases, after the two sides have met around the table, this sort of suspiciousness disappears.
- (c) *A great deal depends upon the breadth of view of the representatives elected.* If the management insist too rigidly on their authority and do not give full explanations of production changes, the workers will lose interest. If the workers overload the agenda with grievances and never make constructive suggestions, the management will regard the committees as a hindrance rather than a help. If the committees are considered as a means of helping management and workpeople to live together in a commonsense way while doing a job, they can be very successful.

- (d) *One of the greatest obstacles to success is the lack of interest of the majority of workpeople.* Numbers of people can become very interested when a committee is elected, but they cease to care what the committee does once it has been elected.

## 6. What Have Been the Effects of Women in Industry ?

As we have already seen, large numbers of women have been introduced into industry. What have been the main effects of this on industry ?

### (i) More Attention to Welfare

Much more attention has been paid to welfare. That covers canteens, rest-rooms, first-aid and medical service, recreation, special transport to and from work, good lighting, cleanliness, special attention to sanitation and so on. The Ministry of Labour will not schedule a factory under the Essential Work Orders unless it has satisfactory provision for welfare, and it insists on the appointment of welfare officers where numbers of women are employed.



### (ii) More Attention to Personal Problems

More and more the man who used to be called the Labour Manager is called the Personnel Manager. This is a sign that the job is looked on as more important and as covering a wider field.

The Labour Manager used to be in charge of hiring and firing and of the work of rate-fixers. Now the Personnel Manager will cover welfare as described above. He will have special interviewing officers, who will take an interest in the personal troubles of workpeople and try to allot men and women to the jobs that suit them best. He will study fatigue, causes of absence, shopping problems and a hundred and one matters in which the majority of factory managements took no interest before the war.

### (iii) Development of Other Incentives to Work

The majority of women in industry do not have to maintain families. Moreover, they normally spend only a small proportion of their lives in paid work. Consequently, women workers are not so interested in the size of the pay packet as men. The fear of "the sack" doesn't influence them as much as it does the average man. These are some of the main reasons why it has not been so easy to interest them in trade unions as it is to interest men.

Employers such as manufacturers of chocolates or fancy goods or big department stores, who employ large numbers of young women, had therefore been paying attention for many years before the war to work-incentives other than pay. Industrial psychologists have more and more been studying the "whole man" rather than the "economic man." Payment by results, bonus schemes and so on do not guarantee good production. The general contentment of the worker and, if possible, interest in the job are just as important. Praise is often found to be a better incentive than blame.

This type of study and attitude to workers is now spreading much more widely through industry, first, because more women than ever are in employment, and, secondly, because the Essential Work Orders have lessened the power of dismissal as a means of discipline.

**(iv) What Do You Think ?**

All these developments throw up many questions worth our discussion.

- Is it possible to be interested in repetitive work ?
- What are the effects on output of (a) long hours, (b) short hours ?
- Will contentment with a job make the worker less interested or more interested in public affairs ?
- Should an employer try to take an interest, through a welfare officer, in the worker's personal troubles or should he " mind his own business " ?
- Are the majority of workers really interested in the way a business is run—costs of materials and power, selling price, cost of production, etc. ?

**7. Is Industry as Efficient in Wartime ?**

This is a very important question. Some people say that State control and high taxes make for carelessness and waste. It is very important to know whether our industry will be able to do a good job when the war is over and whether it has been made less efficient by the effects of the war. There seems to be something to be said on both sides.

**(i) Making for More Efficiency**

Here are some of the developments which have made for greater efficiency :—

- (a) Scarcity of labour is a great incentive to efficiency. Engineers and scientists think out new ways to save labour, and, generally speaking, trade unions raise no objection to the introduction of these devices.
- (b) Invention is greatly stimulated by the mobilisation of scientific and technical personnel and the general desire to beat the enemy by thinking of new devices first.
- (c) There is a general pooling of information, patents, etc. Great Britain has a regular system for exchanging such information with U.S.A. and the Government at home forms groups of manufacturers of similar products, making the latest ideas available to all.

**(ii) Making for Less Efficiency**

- (a) Skilled and experienced men are continually being called up. New labour has to be trained and cannot for a long time become as efficient as the old. Industry has to make do with infirm and elderly substitutes for younger people.
- (b) Technical and managerial staffs become very scarce. Men with a capacity for leadership and organisation are always scarce. When large numbers of them are absorbed into the Forces a very heavy burden falls upon the older managers and employees in industry.
- (c) Designs of weapons and aircraft are continually changing. Consequently, there are continual dislocations, changes of programme and interruptions in the smooth flow of production.
- (d) Enemy air-raids sometimes reduce or interfere with output.
- (e) Making returns and filling up forms about labour, materials, etc., is absolutely essential if Government is to plan the war effort. But this sort of thing takes up a lot of the time of managers.

## 8. A Summary of the Changes

Looking over this outline of wartime developments, what are some of the main changes we can pick out ?

### (i) Standardised Demand

*Before the war*, the demand for goods fluctuated. Now one type, now another, was bought by consumers. Managements had to change types and methods to meet these changes. Now one, now another was successful. There was a growing tendency, especially since 1931, to minimise these fluctuations by price-fixing agreements, marketing boards, combining with other manufacturers, controlling imports by taxation or by quotas.

*Now*, the demands of the State determine production. The only fluctuations are those which are due to changes in the design of aircraft and weapons or those which come from a change in strategic plans.

### (ii) No Unemployment

*Before the war*, to meet the fluctuations in demand that were inevitable in peacetime, manufacturers had to take on and dismiss labour according to their success or failure in satisfying demand.

*Now*, all movements of labour into, out of and between jobs are controlled by the State. There is no unemployment.

### (iii) Co-operation of Employers and Workers

*Before the war*, co-operation was already increasing. There was less time lost through strikes between 1931 and 1939 than in any similar period of British history. Trade unions and employers' organisations had established very smoothly working arrangements about wages and grievances.

*Now*, trade unions have enormously increased their membership. There are fewer strikes than ever. Trade union leaders and officials of the employers' associations join together to advise the Government regularly about production problems.

### (iv) Workers' Interest in Production

*During the war*, joint production committees and pit production committees have been established in large numbers. There is a growing interest among workers in increasing production. The trade unions have agreed to permit dilution of labour.

## 9. What Will Happen after the War?\*

In considering what will happen, we can do little more than raise some further questions. But they are questions that will demand our discussion and decision :—

- (i) Private demand for goods must largely take the place of State demand. Will private demand fluctuate as it did before the war ? Will employment fluctuate in consequence ?
- (ii) Should the right of the worker to change his job at short notice be restored ? If so, must we restore the right of the employer to discharge at equally short notice ?

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\* See the Summary of the White Paper on Employment Policy on pp. 554-7.

- (iii) If fluctuating private demand determines the extent of profitable production and if there is freedom for workers to leave and for employers to dismiss, is there not bound to be some unemployment ?

If, on the other hand, there is to be some control of demand, i.e. some planning of production, that means giving the consumer what the planners think is good for him.

- (iv) What about trade union action ? Shall complete freedom be restored ? Would such freedom interfere with the working of a planned economy ?
- (v) During the last war there was a great development of activity by shop stewards and many works committees were set up. When the war was over, there was a vocal demand for participation by worker representatives on such bodies in peacetime. But the whole movement collapsed. Will it collapse in the same way after this war ?

## Chapter IV.

## FROM WAR TO PEACE

### 1. Will the Problems be the Same This Time ?

The problems which industry has had to deal with, during this war, have been similar to those which arose in the last war. In the last war we had to call up millions of men, to bring women into their places, to train and dilute labour, to keep up with the enemy in new weapons, to ration and allocate scarce goods, to cut down imports and so on. The only substantial difference this time is that it requires even more labour than it did then to keep a fighting man equipped.

But what will be the position at the end of the war ? Will the problems arising then be the same as those that arose after 1918 ?

#### (i) Probably End by Stages

In one very important respect the problem will be different. It is reasonable to expect that this war will end in stages. One stage—the collapse of Italy—has already been reached. The next stage may be the defeat of Germany's other allies in Europe, and the next the defeat of Germany herself. Even if these two stages should be reached at once, there would still remain a final stage, the war against Japan alone.

#### (ii) Gradual Transition to Peace

Last time, there was a complete stop in the demand for war goods and a demobilisation of very substantial numbers of our armed forces within a few months. This time, that cannot be. The transition from war to peace must be easier than in 1918 because it will be more gradual.

#### (iii) Repairing the War Damage

For quite a long time after the war with Germany is over, there will be a big demand for labour in the work of repairing war damage. Even if we compel the Germans to do much of this repair work in Europe, there will be a great deal for us to do in our own island. We shall have to make good all the loss of buildings, clothing, household goods and other essentials which our people have lost in raids

or have worn out during the war. If we allow for the following, it seems fairly clear that for a time we shall be short of labour for our own needs rather than have to fear unemployment.

- (a) Keeping fairly big Forces for use in Europe and the Far East.
- (b) The return to home life of many women and elderly persons.
- (c) The need to provide food and raw materials to get France, the Low Countries, Greece, Czechoslovakia, etc., going again.
- (d) The need to start our export trade again so as to pay for imports of materials, etc.

All the above considerations do not alter the fact that at some time we must switch back from war production to peace production and find jobs for our demobilised forces. The remainder of this chapter will be occupied mainly with those problems of final transition after Japan has been defeated.

## 2. Shall We Be Poorer after the War?

Let us look at some of the considerations on each side of the balance sheet.

### (i) Losses and Liabilities

- (a) As we have already seen, we have had to sell many overseas investments, which brought us a large net income in the years before the war. We shall have to meet the loss of a large part of that income when the war is over, partly by doing without some import of luxuries, partly by exporting a greater quantity of goods than we used to export.
- (b) We do not know how far we may be called upon to repay in kind some of the goods we have received under Lend-Lease.
- (c) Some of the equipment of our peacetime industries has become obsolete or has been destroyed and will have to be replaced.
- (d) We shall have to devote a good deal of labour and resources to repairing and modernising our roads.
- (e) We shall have to make good with our own labour much of the war damage we have suffered.

### (ii) Some Gains

- (a) On the other hand, people are accustomed to work in industry and have adjusted home life to enable them to continue their work. If we can arrange to keep them in work, there will be some millions more pairs of hands available to produce wealth than there were before the war.
- (b) In some directions we have learnt to produce more efficiently than we did before. Aircraft are the best example perhaps, but there are numerous new inventions waiting to lighten the load of toil or to raise the standard of living when the war is over. We have a better equipment of machinery in coal mining, agriculture, motor car manufacture and many other industries than we had before the war.

Provided we can maintain reasonably full employment we should overcome the real losses due to the war within a few years. If we can really secure peace, we may then resume the upward trend in the standard of living which prevailed before the war.



### 3. What Are the Problems of Transferring Industry to a Peace Footing?

The problems are essentially the same as those involved in transferring industry from peace to war.

#### (i) Raw Materials

First is the problem of raw materials. We shall have to continue to allocate imported materials, such as rubber, oil, bauxite, copper, etc., for some time to

#### PROBLEMS OF THE CHANGE-OVER FROM WAR TO PEACE

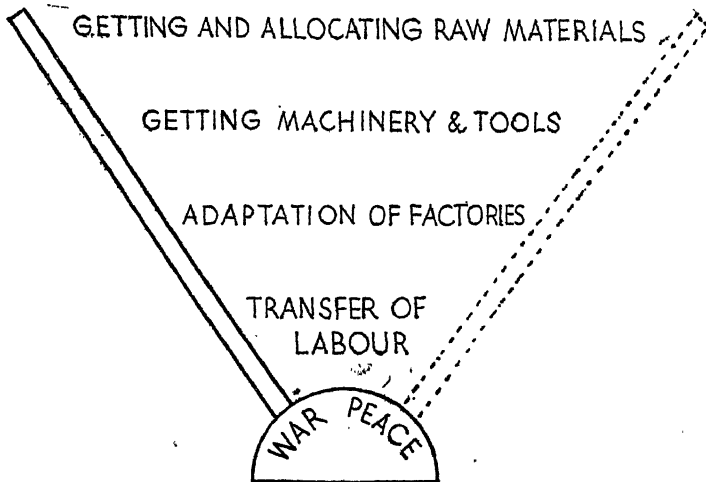


FIGURE 48

come. Because we shall have to pay for such materials, restoration of export industries will have to be one of our first priorities in the early years of peace.

#### (ii) Machinery and Tools

Second is the problem of machinery and tools. Some of the machinery and equipment taken out of the peacetime factories and stored away may be the worse for wear, and it will take some time to re-install it.

#### (iii) Factories

Third is the problem of factories. Fortunately, many of these will be adaptable. Wartime experience has shown that well-built factories with most of their space on the ground floor can easily be converted to different uses. Some very specialised factories may have to be abandoned.

#### (iv) Labour

Fourth is the problem of labour. Training, as we have seen in wartime, can provide workers for new industries much more quickly than was thought possible in peacetime. The training of war-workers to do peacetime work should be much easier than the training of "green" labour to do war work. But there are several difficult problems peculiar to peace. Among them are :—

##### (a) Restoring Pre-War Practices

Government and employers have undertaken that peacetime practices will be restored. Such practices are the rules that certain work shall be done only by fully skilled men, that there shall be a fixed proportion

between journeymen and apprentices (usually four to one), that particular jobs belong to particular crafts (e.g. a carpenter may not do a plasterer's work) and so on. In many trades "dilutees" have been registered, and it is expected that their jobs will go back to skilled men after the war.

The more strictly such pre-war practices are enforced, the more difficult will it be to move labour from one industry to another or to expand certain industries rapidly. Obviously, the extent to which the trade unions will insist upon strict restoration of pre-war practice will depend upon the extent to which they fear unemployment.

(b) *Excluding Women*

How far will there be attempts to exclude women from jobs which they have done in war, but which they did not do in peacetime?

(c) *Returning to Work at Home*

How far will transferred workers be prepared to remain in the areas they now live in? How far will they wish to return to the districts where they worked before the war?

(d) *Workers in the Older Industries*

There is the special problem of industries like coal-mining and cotton, where employment was declining before the war but labour has had to be transferred back during the war. If such industries shrink again after the war, there will again be unemployment in many areas.

## 4. What Is Necessary to Get Full Employment?\*

By "full employment" we mean maximum employment. There must always be some unemployment—seasonal unemployment and the unemployment for short periods of workers who are transferring from one job to another, either because employment capacity in their old industry as a whole is declining or because they want a change.

### (i) How to Eliminate Booms and Slumps

Unemployment is largely a problem of fluctuations. At the very worst times before the war there were never more than about 25 per cent. of insured workers unemployed. Three out of four workers were in jobs on any given working day. Even in South Wales two out of three on the average were in work—though, of course, in some mining villages only one out of three or even one out of four might be in a job. Therefore the real problem of unemployment is the problem of eliminating booms and slumps.

### (ii) Importance of Investment

This problem of unemployment is a highly complicated one. Not only are there many theories to account for it, but it is most unlikely that any one explanation by itself is sufficient. It seems to be generally agreed, however, that booms and slumps in trade are connected with the ratio of saving to spending and the rate at which saving may become real investment.

We are stating here in a few sentences some complicated ideas which it would require a whole book to expound. But at least it will be clear that when people spend their incomes they create an effective demand for goods and services: so

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\* See the Summary of the White Paper on Employment Policy on pp. 554-7.

long as they go on spending, some sellers of the goods will be willing to pay others to make the goods. But what happens when, instead of spending, people save part of their money?

### *How Savings Become Investment*

Generally, when they save, they lend the money to someone else who in turn spends it, usually upon what we call "capital" goods, i.e. on equipment, such as machines and buildings, which do not satisfy our wants directly but serve to produce the goods we want to use. Thus, if they lend their savings to a building society, the building society may use the money to build houses. If they lend it to a new manufacturing company by buying stocks or shares, then that company will use the money to buy materials, machines or factories. The savings have become investment.

### *How Investment Might Go Wrong*

Investment, therefore, means the spending of money on buying factories, machinery, tools, etc., with a view to earning a return by selling the goods made with the machinery. Buying these things gives employment to others, just as buying goods across the shop counter does. But it is fairly clear that if the savings don't become investment quickly, or if they are bad investments so that people will not buy the goods eventually made in the new factories, trouble will come. Clearly also there may be difficulty if savings are hoarded and not expended upon capital goods at all. Somewhere in the working of these complex arrangements the key to unemployment probably lies.

### (iii) What Policy of Investment?

As we have already seen, in wartime the State is the chief spender and controls all investment, but it has no difficulty in disposing of its products because it does not have to sell them. When the war is over, it cannot continue to make goods for destruction in this way. It will be arranging for an increased production of goods for sale by industry. Evidently it will have to have a policy about investment.

### (iv) Can We Do It Alone?

There are many theories about investment policy, but there is no space to give an adequate account of them here. No Government in Britain, France or the U.S.A. has succeeded yet in preventing booms and slumps in times of peace. Hitler seemed to succeed for a time, but he did it only by establishing a war economy in time of peace. Evidently there are no easy solutions to the problem. It is unlikely that Great Britain can solve it by herself, since her industry is so closely connected by foreign trade with the industries of other countries.

## **5. What about our Foreign Trade?**

Must Britain continue to engage heavily in foreign trade after the war?

### (i) Many Essentials from Abroad

We must have some foreign trade because we cannot produce within our own boundaries many essential raw materials and many desirable foods. Where should we be without rubber, petrol, copper, bauxite, nickel—to say nothing of coffee, cocoa, oranges and lemons? We must give value for these, i.e. we must export goods which the producers of these things want.

## (ii) It Pays Us to Specialise

More important than that, we must have foreign trade because it pays us well. Nobody imports or exports goods unless it pays, and it follows that if our exporting and importing traders each makes a profit the nation as a whole is making a profit. It is no more sensible for us to make all our matches or cameras or motor cars at home than it is for the manager of a great business to be his own secretary, works manager, tailor and hairdresser. Just as it pays him to specialise on managing the business, so it pays a nation to specialise in producing those goods she can most economically produce.

### *Special Cases*

Of course, if the Government of a nation decides to subsidise its exports—i.e. to sell goods to foreigners for less than they cost to produce and to make up the difference to its manufacturers—then the profit of the exporting trade is not a profit for the nation: it is a profit at the expense of his fellow taxpayers. Similarly, when a Government levies a tax on imports it may benefit home producers of the imported articles, but it is doing so at the expense of home consumers who could otherwise have obtained the goods more cheaply. Such subsidies or taxes on imports may be paid or imposed by States for political rather than economic reasons, e.g. to encourage industries which are of special importance in wartime. They have the effect of diverting to some extent labour and capital away from the industries on which it would pay the nation best, in a strict economic sense, to specialise.

## (iii) We Act as Middlemen

It is further to our interest that there shall be extensive world trade, because we make considerable profits out of acting as middlemen for the trade of other nations. To some extent we are wholesale merchants for the world. Thus we usually re-export in good years about £100,000,000 worth of our imports. We are like shopkeepers who buy and sell again. Then our shipping brought us in a net income of £130,000,000 in 1937, while our banks and insurance companies earn something like £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 net a year from the service they render to foreign traders.

## (iv) If We Reduce our Foreign Trade?

Of course we could greatly reduce our dependence on foreign trade, and confine our imports only to essential materials which we cannot produce at home. But if we did that, then the reduction of imports would mean in turn a reduction in the use of shipping (or of air transport). If our ship-owners (or air-liner companies) could bring into our own ports only a greatly reduced quantity of imports, then clearly they would find it more difficult to maintain their world-carrying trade and to make up full cargoes, which they must have if they are to pay their way.

Moreover, as we have already seen, imports and exports tend to balance. If we greatly reduce our imports, we should in the long run have either to reduce the volume of our exports or to sell them very much more cheaply. If both exports and imports were reduced, then our exporting industries would be in difficulty and port cities like London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Cardiff would rapidly become much less important than they used to be. There would be unemployment of seamen, dockers and railwaymen until we were able to transfer them to work on the land or other forms of home industry.

## 6. How Does This Affect our Post-War Plans ?

How does our position as a trading nation affect our post-war plans for industry ? Certainly we should try to secure a peace settlement which restores a large measure of international trade.

### (i) Money Must Not Fluctuate

Successful international trade, like successful home trade, depends upon having money which does not fluctuate greatly in value. You cannot trade easily with France, for example, if the number of francs you can buy with a pound changes sharply at frequent intervals.

At the same time, the amounts which the pound is worth in the moneys of other countries may have a profound influence on our ability to ensure maximum employment and maximum social security at home. For example, if the pound is too dear in terms of foreign currencies, other countries will not be able to buy our goods. That will not only cause unemployment but also mean a lower standard of living, because we shall be unable to import as much food and other goods as before.

#### *What We Must Aim At*

The ideal to be aimed at is such a measure of international agreement as will, on the one hand, prevent unnecessary fluctuations in rates of exchange and, on the other hand, leave us with sufficient freedom to adjust those rates to the needs of our own economic position. In default of such agreement, we shall have to shape our policy for ourselves in the light of those two main considerations.

### (ii) The Gold Standard

Before 1914 and again between 1925 and 1929, practically every nation in the world maintained by law or by central banking policy a fixed price for one commodity—gold. Thus, because one ounce of gold could always be exchanged for a certain number of dollars, francs, pounds and so on, it followed that the dollars would exchange for pounds or francs at a steady rate. This system is called the Gold Standard. It is a means of measuring the value of one money against another, just as a yard is a measure for comparing the length of one object with the length of another.

#### *How It Worked*

This Gold Standard gave us a stable international money, but, because it required us to keep a fixed price for gold, it restricted our freedom to regulate the price level as a whole, i.e. to regulate the prices of all other commodities. As our money was tied in a fixed relationship to the moneys of other countries, the prices of goods and services within Great Britain were always greatly influenced by fluctuations in trade and prices in other countries.

We struggled hard to restore the Gold Standard after the last war and finally succeeded in 1925. By 1931 we were obliged to abandon it again. Now it remains to be seen whether, after this war is over, we can devise an arrangement which will give reasonable stability of exchange with foreign moneys and yet allow us to keep stability of prices within the country. The British and U.S.A. Governments are discussing these problems at present.\*

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\* See the White Paper containing the recommendations of the United Nations Conference at Bretton Woods; "United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference—Final Act" (Cmd. 6546); H.M.S.O. ; 1944; 1/-.

## **THIRD SEQUENCE : TODAY AND TOMORROW**

**B.W.P. 15**

# **BRITAIN IN EUROPE**

**February 1944**

## **Chapter I. THE TROUBLE WITH EUROPE**

### **1. Why Do our World Wars Break Out in Europe ?**

Our generation has seen two world wars. Both of them broke out in Europe and spread from there over most of the world. How could this have happened ? Why should Europe, the most civilised of the continents, be a seed-bed of war ?

#### **(i) Too Many Independent States ?**

Is it because Europe is divided into a number of independent States ? Clearly not. There are almost as many independent States in Central and South America as in Europe ; but no general war has ever broken out there.

Again, the British Commonwealth consists today of six practically independent States, but no one regards this as a possible cause of war between them. They behave themselves as good neighbours.

#### **(ii) Why No War between U.S.A. and Us ?**

The "good neighbour" relationship—to use an American expression—between the Governments of the British Commonwealth also exists between the United States and Canada and indeed between the United States and the Commonwealth as a whole. The independent Governments and the independent military forces are there. The peoples could fight one another if they wished to.

Indeed they could fight one another even if they formed a federation and no longer had organised military forces, as the Northern and Southern States of the U.S.A. did in their Civil War, and as the Spaniards, in spite of their neutrality in both the world wars, did from 1936–1939.

The reason why the British and Americans live peacefully side by side without fighting is not because they lack the armies or the weapons to fight with if they wished. It is simply because none of them feels that any good purpose would be served by doing so.

**(iii) Why Do European States Go to War?**

The question, then, that we have to ask is why the European peoples have not developed the same kind of "good neighbour" relationship as the British Empire and the United States. What good purpose have the European peoples, or their rulers, felt was served by resort to war?

**2. What Gain Do They Expect from War?**

To answer that question we have to make a distinction between conditions as they are today and conditions as they were when the States formed their habits of behaviour some centuries ago.

**(i) In the Old Days of Scarcity?**

Europe, as we know it, consists, as we have said, of a considerable number of independent States. Almost every one of these States has acquired its independence and formed its central government after a struggle against adverse forces both without and within—against the overlordship of the Pope and the Roman Emperor, against grasping neighbours and against feudal barons and other forms of internal opposition. Thus the European States came to birth and fixed their policies under conditions of severe competition—competition for power.

*War for Power and Profit*

Every ruler of a State tried to increase his power at the expense of his neighbours. The natural way of doing this, under the conditions of those days, was to extend his boundaries; for the larger the population under his sway, the more taxes he could levy and the more troops he could muster.

The final object of this competition was to secure the overlordship of the whole continent as a first step to the mastery of the whole world. And the attempt has been twice renewed by Germany in our own time.

*The Balance of Power to Keep the Peace*

To counter this standing danger of a bid for supremacy, European diplomacy resorted to the device of forming a counter-weight so as to maintain an equilibrium, or what came to be called a "balance of power." States who felt threatened by the increasing power of another State combined to offset the danger. You can probably think of examples of this even in our own time.

In this way the successive attempts at supremacy were defeated, but without any change in the general character or spirit of the system. The threatened States simply submerged their jealousies and rivalries for the time being, renewing their competition when the danger had passed.

Thus the idea of a "good neighbour" relationship was slow to take root on the European continent. Indeed, previous to 1914, it had only taken root amongst a few of the smaller democratic states of North-Western Europe and they counted for little in the scales of power.

**(ii) Now in this Age of Abundance?**

So the reason why Europe has been a seed-bed of war is because of the survival, over the greater part of the continent, of habits and attitudes dating back to a time when living conditions were very different from what they are today, either in the New World or the Old.

*We Don't Have to Fight to Prosper*

The rulers of the States which elbowed their way to power, when the European political system was in process of formation, had some justification for believing that war and the threat of war could be used with advantage to themselves and, indirectly, to their peoples. Before the discoveries of science had given mankind the possibility of freedom from want, the simplest way of increasing the wealth of a country was by conquest and spoliation. And, as we shall see, this crude, old-fashioned method can still yield results today, when organised on systematic modern lines and on a gigantic scale, as it has been by the Germans.

*We Can Do It by Co-operation*

But with the immense development of the world's resources, the cheapening of production and the great improvement in communications, such methods are now utterly out-of-date. In plunging the world into two major wars the rulers of Germany have revealed a state of mind quite out of tune with the conditions of an age of abundance.

### 3. Why Did the Germans Not Stop their Rulers?

How is it that the Germans, who often seem to us rather likeable as individuals, have been so united behind their rulers in support of these barbarous and antiquated policies?

#### (i) They Are Docile—

Psychologists have their own answer to this question, which it would take too long to explain. But there is no doubt that there is a streak in the German make-up which makes them willing to obey orders which no self-respecting Britisher, whether soldier or civilian, would execute—even supposing that any Britisher in authority were brutal enough to hand them down.

And there is no doubt also that the Germans are particularly susceptible to mass-appeals of a highly emotional type. Accordingly, a skilful propagandist can play fast and loose with them, as Hitler has explained in his book "*Mein Kampf*."

#### (ii) —And Irresponsible

But this provides only part of the explanation of the Germans' support of aggressive and brutal policies on the part of their rulers. Other peoples have dangerous streaks in their character and succeed in keeping them under in their public dealings. The chief reason why the Germans have supported their rulers is because they have never been through the school of responsible self-government.

Their idea of citizenship is to obey "the authorities," who lay down the law. They do not feel, as we do, that the Government is theirs to control, and to change when they wish. They do not feel that the laws are their own laws and embody their own standards of conduct and fair dealing. So the Government does not have to reckon with an outcry of public opinion when it embarks on lawless policies towards other peoples.

*Take the Plunder and Refuse the Blame*

When these policies succeed, the German people cheerfully pocket the profits derived from them; private houses throughout Germany today are filled with loot of all sorts from the conquered territories—from furniture and pictures to bedding and silk stockings. But when things go badly, they change their tune and hasten to disclaim any responsibility for the acts of the Government, and to declare that they meant no harm to their neighbours.



**(iii) Will They Change Quickly?**

Here we come up against the close inner connection between democracy at home and a decent policy towards other nations.

A "good neighbour" policy is not something that can be improvised as a last-minute device by a defeated people trying to escape from the consequences of its own actions. It is the natural outcome of a "good neighbour" policy at home—that is to say, of a system under which you feel responsible for the welfare of your fellows and for the laws by which this is either helped or hindered. Our own self-government has been a slow growth and even now, as we all know, it is very far from perfect.

It is easy enough to say that the rule of law must be made to prevail in Germany as it does in this country. But it will take a long time before the Germans come to feel something of the same sense of responsibility as we do for the way in which their public affairs are carried on. Only when they reach that point will they be a modern people, and no longer tempted to revert to the methods of bygone ages.

**4. Why Did We Not Stop Them?**

On 11th November, 1918, the Allies of that day—the chief of whom were Britain, France and the United States—had Germany at their mercy. The German armies had been decisively defeated in the field and the Germans had signed an armistice which gave us all the powers we needed to prevent them from ever making mischief again.

Yet within twenty years they had already embarked on a new career of aggression. How could this have come about?

**(i) Was the Peace Treaty Too Severe?**

One of the favourite German arguments is the excessive severity of the Peace Treaty. We now realise that so far from being too severe, the Treaty was not severe enough—or at least not severe enough in the all-important matter of preventing Germany from making trouble again. Very few people who listened to the German criticisms of the Treaty had read it, for it is a very long document. And on this, of course, the Germans relied.

*A Good Effort—with Two Omissions*

It was not a perfect Treaty, but it was a real attempt to meet the wishes of the vast majority of the peoples of Europe. If it had been observed, it would have left the peoples of Europe far better satisfied than they were in 1914—or had ever been before.

The chief thing that was wrong about the Treaty was not anything that was contained in any of its 440 clauses. It was what was left out.

Two all-important matters were left out.

**(a) Danger from Germany Not Removed**

One has been already mentioned—namely, that the Treaty provided no proper machinery for keeping Germany disarmed or for dealing with her if she began to rearm. This meant that Germany's neighbours—all of them smaller and weaker than herself—were left in a constant state of anxiety. Thus Europe was never able to settle down between the two wars. Real confidence that peace would be maintained was never restored. The problem of European security remained unsolved.

*(b) Neglect of Living Conditions*

The second great omission in the Peace Treaty was its neglect of the "bread-and-butter" issues arising out of the war. In this the members of the Peace Conference were old-fashioned in outlook, if not so old-fashioned as the Germans. They paid more attention to drawing frontiers than to providing good living conditions for the peoples living within them.

They gave the peoples of Europe—especially the smaller peoples—the national freedom for which many of them had been fighting. But they did little or nothing to help them to solve the problems of their living conditions, or to benefit by the possibilities of abundance opened out by modern science.

It was these two great faults of omission which were chiefly responsible for the unrest of Europe during the inter-war years and for the downfall of democracy in so many European countries.

*(ii) The Germans Undermined the Settlement*

In addition there was an extraordinary combination of cunning and persistence on the part of the old ruling forces in Germany. They remained a controlling influence behind the façade of democratic government from 1919 up to Hitler's accession to power in 1933. And they began planning another bid for world power within a few weeks of the armistice and soon afterwards engaged Hitler as a stump-ordinator in their campaign.

*They Made Excuses for the Defeat*

Thus they persuaded their own people that they did not lose the war on the battlefield, but had been forced to surrender owing to an unpatriotic conspiracy at home.

Meanwhile, by falsifying the evidence and dragging in all sorts of extraneous issues, they persuaded the greater part of the rest of the world that they were not to blame—or not more to blame than the other side—for the outbreak of the war in 1914. The fact is, of course, that German policy had been the chief trouble-maker in Europe throughout the twenty-five years of the Kaiser's reign.

*They Evaded Disarmament*

The Peace Treaty had certain arrangements for the disarmament of Germany but these were never carried out.

As one of the members of the British Control Commission revealed, "Germany had never disarmed, had never had the intention of disarming, and for several years had done everything in her power to hinder, deceive and 'counter-control' the Commission appointed to control her disarmament". Yet British and French statesmen decided to shelve the report in which the Commission made this clear.

They also succeeded in evading payment for the damage they had done in the war and even in persuading British and American financial circles to invest money in Germany which was of no small help to them in their rearmament.

*(iii) Are We to Blame Too?*

But all this would have been of no avail but for a combination of bad judgment, weakness and blindness on the part of the victorious Allies.

Broadly speaking, we can put the bad judgment and the weakness to the account of the Governments principally concerned. The blindness goes to the account of the peoples.

Let us begin with the peoples and then go to the Governments. The Governments could not go very far beyond public opinion, though admittedly they could have done more than they did to guide it and keep it reasonably well informed.

### *British Public Opinion Was Blind*

In 1918 the British people began for the first time to occupy themselves with foreign affairs. So we faced the problems of the post-war period without the general knowledge which enables us to "get the hang" of our domestic problems, and so apply to them the common sense which is the saving salt of British democracy.

As a result, public opinion, instead of facing the facts of the European situation, was in a romantic and dreamy mood. It fell an easy prey to theorists of all sorts, from the pacifists who said that the world could be run without force, to some of the believers in the League of Nations, who thought that we could hand over our foreign responsibilities to some force at Geneva and then sleep quietly in our beds.

But they all had this in common that they strengthened the temptation to be blind to what was actually going on in the world—not least in Germany.

### *The Allies Did Not Hang Together*

With public opinion in this mood the Governments had not an easy task. But they made matters worse by their own bad handling.

Above all, they did not remain united. In 1918 Russia was in the throes of revolution and, so to speak, out of the picture. Britain, France and the United States were left as the leading Powers at the Peace Conference and after. There was all the more reason why they should try to work as closely as possible together. But this is just what they did not do.

#### *(a) The U.S.A. Dropped Out*

Very soon after the Peace Conference it became clear that the United States would not approve the Peace Treaty and was going to divert her attention from Europe. This left Britain and France with increased responsibilities. But instead of agreeing, they proceeded to wrangle about a wide variety of subjects of which the chief, unfortunately, was the policy to be adopted towards Germany.

#### *(b) Britain and France Differed over Germany*

Broadly speaking, Britain wanted to be lenient towards Germany and France wanted to be severe. In point of fact neither was right. The wise policy, as we realise now, would have been to be severe on some matters, such as any attempt at rearmament, and, if not exactly lenient, reasonably accommodating on others, such as economic policy.

But the prime necessity was that, whatever the policy, it should be a single policy, leaving Germany no chance of driving a wedge between Britain and France. As it turned out, the Germans were kept well supplied with such wedges during the whole inter-war period, and very skilful use they made of them.

## Chapter II.

## DURING THE WAR

### 1. Germany over Europe

In the early winter of 1942, before the tide turned at Stalingrad, German power extended over practically the whole of Europe from the Spanish border to the Volga. Within twenty-four years of her crushing defeat in the first world war, she was able to revive her ambitions with sensational success.

#### *In Twelve Moves*

She succeeded because she made her most important gains without fighting. The second world war did not begin in September 1939, but many years before. Its opening stages were fought out, not in the field, but round the diplomatic table in the presence of the representatives of Great Britain. And on the map on pp. 436-7, these twelve stages are clearly marked out.

Ask yourself, as you go through that record, so far back as you can remember the events, what your own reaction was to each of these happenings.

#### *What Would She Do with Europe?*

At any rate Germany had made herself mistress of the continent, having attained the goal for which Spain, France and the Kaiser had vainly striven in earlier days. All that remained for her was to consolidate her conquests. Now we want to examine the means that she employed for this.

### 2. Had Germany Anything to Offer Europe?

Germany got the whole of continental Europe within her grip by a combination of diplomatic cunning and military power. It seems as simple as A B C in looking over it. Nothing in life—and still more in politics—is simple, and you will naturally ask, "Why did the peoples of Europe allow all this to happen?"

So far as the German people themselves are concerned, the answer has been given in the preceding chapter. They were carried along by their rulers and were quite ready to reap the fruits of German success, whilst doing without liberty at home—a liberty which, in our sense of the word, they have never known.

#### *Britain and France Acted Too Late*

As for Great Britain and France, they refused to face up to the danger until it was too late to take preventive measures. By that time a section of the French people had become thoroughly discouraged and ready to listen to what the rulers of Germany had to offer.

#### *What about the Other Peoples?*

Many of the smaller peoples were equally blind and some, such as the Dutch and Norwegians, remained so until they were actually attacked; others, such as the Poles and the Czechs, saw the danger but were powerless by themselves to arrest it.

There were, however, others—in particular those who consented to become junior partners, or rather puppets, in the German scheme—who were attracted by the prospects which it held out to them. Let us see what these prospects were:

#### (i) Why Did Some Listen?

Germany had two things to offer to the European peoples. The first was *peace*, and the second was *unity*. What she did not, and could not, offer was *liberty*.

What attraction could a programme of peace and unity, without liberty, have for continental Europeans? In discussing this, we must not forget that, unlike the British and American peoples, they had, most of them, been living under conditions of "bad neighbourliness" which they had come to regard as chronic.

### *Tired of Wars and the Threat of Wars*

It was not merely that they had experienced one war after another since 1860, not merely that they had to put up with constant changes of Governments and systems of government, of frontiers and sometimes even of State membership. It was that for most of them the possibility of being citizens of a country, which was not caught in the system of competition for power, seemed no longer to be open.

Escape from this system had been held out to them as a golden dream, when the League of Nations started on its career immediately after the last war. But they had seen this dream vanish into thin air and by now they were thoroughly disillusioned.

### *Little Prospect of Freedom Anyhow*

They knew that, as things were and seemed likely to remain, they could never figure as completely free and responsible agents on the world's political stage side by side with the Great Powers—the United States, Soviet Russia and the British Empire—whose territories lay outside, or extended far beyond, the European continent. That being so, they asked themselves what was the value of liberty at home—liberty, that is, within the limited range in which their voters and Parliaments were still free to make decisions.

Thus it was that many of them were ready to listen to the message of what the Germans called the "New Order."

### (ii) **The Germans Offered Peace**

The Germans offered peace—peace under the protection of German arms. The non-German countries would become entirely dependent on Germany, who would organise their defence in her own way.

No doubt that would mean that these countries, which had hitherto been proud and independent, would be reduced to a position resembling that of colonies. But at least they would be relieved from the prospect of a fresh European war in every generation.

### (iii) **The Germans Offered Unity**

The Germans offered unity—unity inside the German political and economic system, which would be extended to embrace the whole of non-German Europe.

This would mean the breaking down of the barriers—many of them only dating from the Peace Treaties after the last war—which were so hampering to trade and mutual intercourse.

It would mean the improvement of means of communication—railways, canals, air-routes, wireless—and, in many other ways, the introduction of modern and up-to-date methods into stagnant and backward regions.

It would mean the possibility of careers in the great world for the younger generations, whether in business or in politics. It would mean that they and their countries would be moving forward with the "wave of the future"; for that wave seemed only too evidently not to be rolling towards democracy.

## FURTHEST EXTENT OF GER THE TWELVE MOVES

1. 1925. Locarno Treaty :  
French and British  
statesmen turn blind eye  
on German re-armament.

2. 1930. Evacuation of  
the Rhineland by  
French : Done as ap-  
peasement ; resulted in  
strengthening the Nazi  
Party.

3. 1933. Hitler as Chan-  
cellor : Intensive re-  
armament begins ; Ger-  
many still in "danger-  
zone," so professes peace.

4. 1935. Germany Repu-  
diates Military Clauses  
of the Peace Treaty :  
Re-introduces conscrip-  
tion ; feels strong enough  
to challenge the world.

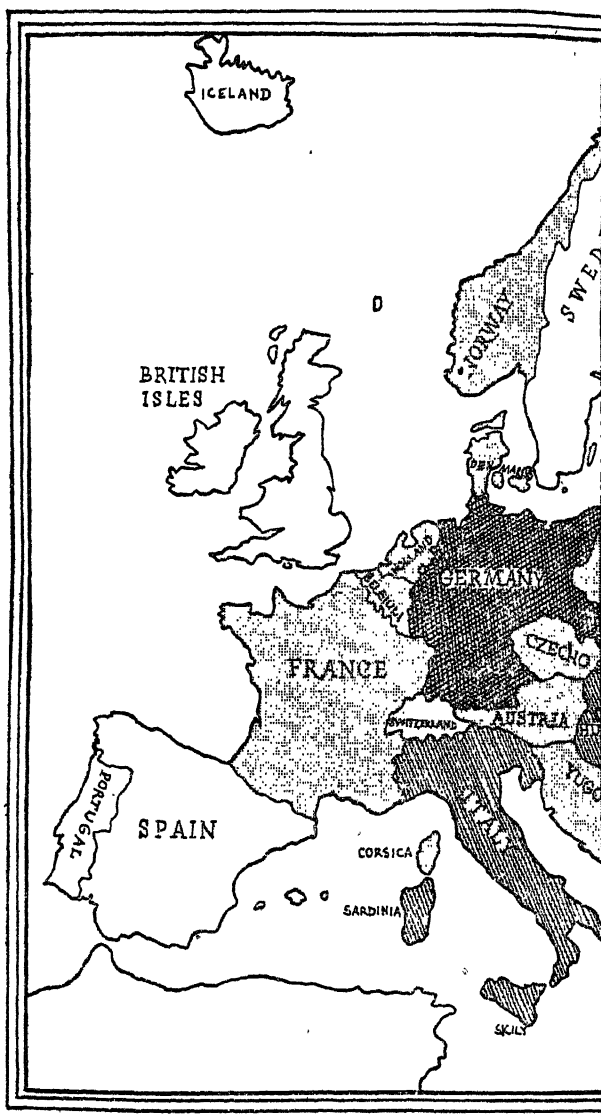


FIGURE 49

5. 1936. Re-occupies the Rhine-  
land : "Balance of Power" now in  
Germany's favour ; can discard  
diplomacy ; ready to use force to  
conquer "one by one."

6. 1938. Marches into Austria :  
Czechoslovakia now in "pincer-  
grip."



*'Unity—at a Price*

Of course there was a price to be paid. Inside an economic system organised round Germany, the Germans would reserve the most profitable share for themselves. They would be the predominant industrial and manufacturing power. The other countries would be, as it were, hewers of wood and drawers of water, supplying food and raw materials at rates fixed by the Germans.

But this seemed in some eyes better than a continuance of the way in which the European States were living. Each State was barricaded into a stuffy little space of its own, aiming at what was called economic self-sufficiency, which in fact meant reducing what the ordinary citizen could buy with his own income.

Besides, the German policy made a special appeal to certain groups within each country who would act as agents for the Germans and reap fat commissions.

### 3. What Have the Germans Done?

The Germans hoped to carry through this programme of exploitation by a simple process of intimidation, without provoking a general war. In that case they would, no doubt, have moulded Europe to the shape they desired within a generation or so. Then, having the resources of the greater part of the Old World at their disposal, they would have gone on to impose their will on the New.

But, as it was, Britain and France called a halt to their proceedings before they were half through and they were forced to resort to the military weapon. As a result, most of Europe today, apart from neutral countries such as Switzerland, whose position places them more or less at Germany's mercy, consists of two sets of countries\* :—(i) Germany's allies ; and (ii) the countries under German military occupation.

#### (i) Germany and her Allies

How have the Germans dealt with these countries in wartime?

With their own allies, they have continued the policy of exploitation which they had planned. But wartime conditions have compelled them to tighten the screw, so that these peoples have come to experience, earlier than the Germans intended, the rough side of German rule.

#### *What Has Germany Taken?*

A horde of German agents has descended on them, including, of course, the Gestapo or secret police, imposing all sorts of demands for supplies, transport facilities and so-called business arrangements, gagging their Press, poisoning their public life and making existence intolerable for anyone suspected of sentiments unfriendly to Germany.

When the Germans found that they were getting short of man-power, several allies were induced to supply contingents for the Russian campaign, though this proved to be a risky proceeding\* in some cases.

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\* The set-up in Europe in February 1944 :—

United Nations		Axis Partners	Neutrals
Belgium	Norway	Germany,	Portugal
Czechoslovakia	Poland	Bulgaria	Spain
Greece	United Kingdom	Finland	Sweden
Luxembourg	U.S.S.R.	Hungary	Switzerland
Netherlands	Yugoslavia	Roumania	Turkey

The French Committee of National Liberation is identified with the United Nations ; Italy is co-belligerent with the United Kingdom, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. ; and Denmark is enemy-occupied.



*What Has Germany Given?*

The Germans sometimes tried to make up for these unpleasant features of their control by offering their allies special advantages—for instance, by allowing them to annex some adjoining territory belonging to an enemy. This has happened in the case of Bulgaria and Greece, of Hungary and Yugoslavia, and of Finland and Soviet Russia.

But when, as in the case of Roumania, Hungary and Slovakia, three of Germany's allies were neighbours and already on bad terms with one another, this method was not easy to apply. Old enemies do not become good neighbours by serving together under the orders of a gangster.

**(ii) Germany and the Conquered Countries**

In the conquered territories their methods have necessarily been different. Here they have been divided between two motives—rage against their victims for daring to offer them resistance and the desire to make the greatest possible use of them for carrying on the war.

If they simply adopted methods of wholesale punishment, as the cruel streak in their nature inclined them to do, they would not be able to draw on the supplies and labour-power that they needed. Moreover, they would stir up bitter resistance and would have to employ a correspondingly large occupying force.

*Why Has She Set Up Quisling Governments?*

So, after the first overwhelming display of power, they tried to avoid having to govern the conquered countries directly and proceeded instead to set up, or maintain, Governments of local politicians who were prepared to co-operate with them for the purpose of the war.

Such Governments have come to be known as "Quisling Governments," from a Norwegian of that name who formed a Government after the German occupation of Norway. But the wide use of that term is, first of all, unfair. It is unfair to the Norwegians whose magnificent resistance and unflinching loyalty to their King and legal Government should not be put into the shade because a single mentally unbalanced Norwegian, who happened to have a rather distinctive name, was used as a tool by the Germans.

*Are They All Quislings?*

The term is also misleading, because the Governments in the various conquered territories differed a great deal from one another. Sometimes they had thrown in their lot entirely with the Germans and were working might and main for a German victory. Sometimes they were carrying on because they felt it to be their patriotic duty, "stonewalling" the Germans to the best of their ability.

The true facts about these various Governments will only become known when their countries have been liberated.

**(iii) The Example of Poland**

There was one country, however, where the Germans, in spite of all their efforts, never succeeded in persuading any local politician to carry on. That country is Poland.

So Poland suffered from the first from the brutal methods which the Germans were increasingly driven to adopt in one conquered country after another, as their exploitation proceeded and encountered growing resistance. The story of the German "New Order" in Poland contains the concentrated essence of what the

Germans have done in various degrees in all the other Allied countries—in Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece and in Occupied Russia and Italy.

### *The "Atrocity Stories" Are True*

These things are not pleasant to describe and it is not proposed to harrow your feelings with accounts of cruelty and suffering. This booklet is intended to enlighten your mind, not to stir up your emotions.

But just for that reason it is a duty to let you know that the widespread scepticism about "atrocity stories" is quite unjustified, so far as German rule in the conquered territories is concerned. Those who have studied the evidence are unanimous in the opinion that such accounts as have been made public are understatements rather than exaggerations.

### *It Could Have Happened Here*

Let us take a brief glimpse at the German record in Poland, remembering as we do so, that it applies, in greater or lesser degree, to all our other European Allies and that relatives and friends of those who have been treated in this way are living in our own midst and joining in our war effort.

What follows is simply a skeleton outline taken from the headings in an official publication where the verified details are given under each head. As the reader runs his eye down the items, let him try to imagine that these things had happened in our own country and consider what his own thoughts and feelings would be, now and at the end of the war, if he had gone through the experience of our continental Allies.

Here is the list :

Massacres and Executions.	Prisons and Tortures Inflicted on Prisoners.
Concentration Camps.	Hostages.
Round-ups and Mass Arrests.	The Treatment of Women.
Forcible Transfer of Population.	Wholesale Expropriations.
Suppression of the Press.	Closing of Universities and Schools.
Ban on the Publication of Books.	Destruction of National Monuments.
Humiliating Administrative Regulations (such as being forbidden to walk on the pavement).	

The physical and moral suffering involved by the measures thus briefly outlined is, of course, beyond all calculation. As for the loss of life, it extends in Poland alone to many millions, including practically the entire Jewish community, which numbered over three million at the last census.

## **4. How Has Europe Reacted ?**

The peoples in the occupied countries have reacted against their German oppressors in a movement which is spreading increasingly to all classes of the population and is becoming more and more organised. The form of the organisation and the nature of the methods used vary from country to country. The aim, however, is everywhere the same—to weaken the German war effort, to disrupt the German morale and to keep alive the spirit of independence among the people.

The following are some of the ways in which resistance is being carried on :—

- (i) *Open Warfare by Guerillas*.—This has never ceased in Eastern Europe and the curtain has lately been lifted on the activities of the "Partisans," with British assistance, in Yugoslavia.
- (ii) *Civil Resistance Organisations*.—These have been active in Western Europe and the French Organisations have been able to nominate delegates to the Fighting French Assembly in Algiers.
- (iii) *The Clandestine Press*.—This provides the population with true news in place of the German-controlled Press. It also issues instructions to resisters and reports on successes attained.
- (iv) *Resistance to Labour Conscription and to Deportation to Germany*.—All sections of the community take part in this form of opposition, e.g. doctors, by refusing to examine workers called up for service; officials, by mislaying documents; farmers and peasants, by hiding those forced to leave their homes, etc.
- (v) *Transport Sabotage*.—This is very widespread and probably causes more dislocation to the German war effort than anything else.
- (vi) *Agricultural Sabotage*.—This takes two main forms: the destruction of crops, forests, agricultural machinery and farm buildings; and the farmers' refusal to surrender their crops, livestock and dairy produce to the Nazi requisitioning authorities.
- (vii) *Industrial Sabotage*.—This ranges from the destruction of factories working for Germany to the delivery of faulty goods, executing orders to out-of-date specifications, etc.
- (viii) *Mass Strikes*.—These have been increasingly resorted to and have been used both as a weapon of resistance and as a means of demonstrating against the shooting of hostages, etc.

Finally, there is the open resistance by all sections of the community against attempts by the Germans and the local quislings to "Nazify" their organisation and their way of life. The workers, the Churches, the teachers, the doctors, the lawyers and others have all played their part in this.

## Chapter III.

## JUST AFTER THE WAR\*

### 1. What Would You Do with the War Criminals ?

We are now coming to the constructive part of our subject.

We are out not only to beat the Germans but to make a better Europe and a better world. So far as Europe is concerned, this means not simply a Europe better than when it was under the Germans but better than it was in 1939 or in 1914 or ever before.

But before we tackle the problem of making a real, and not a sham, New Order in Europe, there is a necessary piece of cleaning up to be done. We have to deal with those who were responsible for the crimes that have just been described.

This is not so easy a matter as it seems at first sight. "Off with their heads!" said the Queen in *Alice in Wonderland*. But *whose* head? And on what charge? And who is to give the orders?

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\* For reference in connection with this chapter, see the documents of international reconstruction in Appendix B, pp. 570-8.

**(i) What about the Subordinate Official ?**

The B.B.C. recently broadcast a dramatic sketch about the German station-master at a small station in Poland. It was his duty to despatch the trains into which each night hundreds of Jews were herded so tightly that they died for lack of air. The man was represented as being perfectly aware of what he was doing but as thinking only of keeping his job and of his family and his comfort.

Should he be tried and punished as a murderer? Not an easy question to answer.

*He Was Only Obeying Orders ?*

If he refused to obey orders, he risked being sent to a concentration camp and tortured. Should not those who drew up the orders be punished, rather than a subordinate, a mere cog in the wheel of German officialdom?

On the other hand, we can feel pretty sure that it would be very hard to find anyone on our side who would knowingly carry out such an order, whatever might be coming to him if he disobeyed.

**(ii) What about the Generals ?**

But whether or not we think the subordinate should be punished in such a case, most people would agree that the "higher-ups" should not escape. Let us see where this carries us.

It takes us to the German High Command. But they will have a ready defence. They are waging war and war nowadays is "total war." There is no place in it for humanitarian sentiment, for tender feelings towards individuals. They would turn round on us and bring up the bombing of German cities. Do we regard the head of Bomber Command as a war criminal?

There is a retort to be made to the generals; for we cannot allow them to get away so easily with their excuses.

*Does "Total War" Justify Brutality ?*

It is quite true, as they plead, that this war is different from any previous war in its relation to the civil population. It is quite true that wars are no longer waged by soldiers alone but with the aid of all the workers and all the resources of the combatant countries. It is also true that these new conditions of warfare have driven a cart and horse through the rules drawn up in older days for the proper conduct of war.

But this does not alter the fact that such rules exist and ought to be observed so far as military needs permit—first in the letter, then in the spirit. We ourselves have been most scrupulous in this respect.

*The Answer*

The answer to the generals is that "total war" does *not* excuse deliberate brutality. If the rules do not fit the new conditions, it is their duty, as it is ours also, not to sink to a bestial level but to maintain a sense of decency and to apply it to present circumstances. It is only in this way that new and more up-to-date rules can ever be drawn up.

**(iii) What about Hitler ?**

The generals might have added another argument—that they were acting on direct orders from Hitler and were not responsible for the political side of the war, or indeed for being at war at all. If anyone is to be punished, should it not be the statesmen rather than the soldiers?

Let us follow up this trail and ask whether Hitler is to be tried and punished, and if so, how it is to be done.

Two separate charges can be brought against Hitler. One is that he caused the war. The other is that, having made war, he waged it with unexampled brutality.

(a) *The Charge of Brutality*

The second charge is the same as that brought against the generals. The right way to deal with it would seem to be to draw up a list of military practices which decent opinion, both civilian and military, would agree in regarding as unjustifiable under any circumstances; the taking of hostages or the shooting of women and children are obvious examples.

Lawyers on the Allied side have drawn up a list and the Allied Governments have collected a mass of information that will enable a large number of Germans, both soldiers and civilians, to be brought to trial under these heads.

(b) *The Charge of Causing the War*

Now we come to the charge against Hitler as a war-maker. About this there are two difficulties.

One is that after the last war the same charge was brought against the Kaiser and that nothing was done about it. This tends to make people sceptical as to whether anything more will be done this time.

However, this is not a very serious difficulty, if the peoples are really in earnest. If Hitler dies in his bed in high old age in a neutral country, as the Kaiser did, it will not be the fault of the Allied statesmen, but of the Allied peoples.

But there is a more serious difficulty—namely, that to cause a war is not, in the lawyers' sense of the word, a crime. It is not a crime according to the laws of any country—reasonably enough, because such laws do not deal with matters of international politics. And it is not, in the ordinary sense of the word, a crime according to international law.

There is indeed an International Court at the Hague but it has never had powers to deal with criminal cases.

Thus, there are two gaps in the world's judicial arrangements. We need both a Code and a Court to deal with cases such as Hitler's.

*Wanted—a Code and a Court*

What is the way out of this difficulty? It is easy enough—to fill in the two gaps in the simplest possible way. We do not need an elaborate code. We only need a form of words which will apply to persons in high office who have been international mischief-makers.

The last Peace Treaty coined the phrase "a high offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties." It also provided for a Tribunal, which was to be composed of one judge from each of the Great Powers of that day.

(iv) *What Was Decided at Moscow?*

The Great Powers of today have not yet decided on the exact procedure to be adopted. But they announced after the recent Moscow Conference that major political criminals, or, as they put it, "major criminals whose offences have no particular geographical location," would "be punished by a joint decision of the Governments of the Allies."

*The Victims Will Be the Judges*

As for the lesser fry, whether military or civilian, the Moscow Conference decided (and note how broad the form of words is)—

that "German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done, in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free Governments which will be erected therein. Lists will be compiled in all possible detail from all these countries. . . ."

## 2. How Can We Save Europe from Famine?

The first stage in creating a real New Order for Europe must be one of relief.

It is almost impossible to imagine the condition in which the Germans will have left the territories which they have been exploiting.

### (i) What Shall We Find in Europe?

Here is the picture as drawn by the American Director-General of Relief and Rehabilitation. Weigh the meaning of the words as you read them through.

#### *Disease*

"Official reports from Europe leave no doubt that hunger is the general rule, that starvation is common-place and that the area enslaved by the Axis is a breeding place for all diseases of the body and of the spirit that are born of starvation, suffering and death."

#### *Starvation*

"Agricultural production in Europe has dropped substantially, despite the desperate efforts of Germany to make Axis-dominated Europe self-sufficing. As the months roll on, the man-power shortage, the wastage and deterioration of machinery, the neglect of the soil and the increasing disorganisation of the economy will cut even deeper into total food production."

#### *Despoliation*

"The once matchless flocks and herds of Europe have declined to figures in some cases a third below pre-war levels. Horses are disappearing at a rate that indicates that a shortage of draft animals may be a problem even more acute than the shortage of man-power in the first harvest of peace."

"The occupied countries have been systematically drained of their resources, raw materials, and commercial goods, to serve a vicious new order. Never before has the world witnessed so ruthless a despoliation of the many in so short a time."

### (ii) Should We Bother with Relief?

To meet this situation the Allies have set up an organisation known as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration—U.N.R.R.A. for short. This was formally established by treaty in November last, with forty-four nations participating. Its activities will extend to the Far East as well as to Europe and North Africa.

*The First Problems of U.N.R.R.A.*

When the operations of U.N.R.R.A. do begin, it is only too likely to find the inhabitants of the territory prostrate and quite unable at first to help themselves. There is bound to be an emergency period, which may last many months, during which the main thing will be to relieve urgent needs.

Food, clothing and shelter will have to be provided immediately for the starving, the naked and the homeless, and transport and other facilities will have to be put in order.

*What Are the Dangers of Charity?*

How will U.N.R.R.A. set about its work?

Ask yourself how you would wish such work to be carried on, if it were a case of bringing help to Great Britain or to your family. No self-respecting person likes receiving charity or being patronised. Neither do nations. They rightly value their independence and know only too well that if they allow themselves to depend on doles from some richer country, they will no longer either feel or be their own masters.

It is true that U.N.R.R.A. will start in a strong financial position, based on a levy of 1 per cent. of the income of each participating State. Its object, however, is to make the distressed peoples self-supporting at the earliest possible moment, or, in its Director-General's words, "*to help people to help themselves*" (the italics are his own) "and thereby to help ourselves by making possible a world in which the four freedoms can have a chance of realisation."

*Encouragement for Self-Help*

One way in which the principle of self-help will be applied is by sending in the instruments of production, such as seeds, basic tools and fertilisers, almost at the same time as the first shiploads of food. One shipload of fertiliser may make several shiploads of food unnecessary later on.

The same idea of self-help will be carried through in the machinery set up for the work. It will be kept as simple as possible. U.N.R.R.A. will concentrate on doing those things which could not be done without it, leaving it to others to do the rest.

How does this work out in practice? It means that, generally speaking, U.N.R.R.A. will look after problems of supply, leaving distribution to be carried out through responsible local agencies in the different countries.

*(iii) Dress Rehearsal in North Africa*

The invasion of North Africa provided an opportunity for trying out the relief and rehabilitation programme and showing the inhabitants of other occupied territories that the United Nations were able to redeem their pledges.

*They Pay if They Can*

The first shipment of consumer goods arrived in North Africa five days after the British and Americans. Food and clothing were given to the destitute, but in most cases people had the money to pay for the supplies and normal commercial channels could be used for distribution. As a result of the reappearance of supplies in the shops, hoarded stocks of food were put on the market and this encouraged the local population to work for the occupying forces.

*It Helped the War*

The supply of goods for civilians was in fact a valuable military asset, for, to quote General Eisenhower's own words, it enabled him "to obtain labour sufficiently well fed to work on the docks, roads and railroads; to minimise the danger of famine and food-riots that would require the assignment of troops to maintain order; to prevent the spread of disease and to feed the large army that was being mobilised by the French authorities."

*Mostly Through Local Agencies*

The official overseas staffs of the United States Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations which dealt with these supplies (for this was before the days of U.N.R.R.A.) never exceeded 20 and the Office worked largely through local authorities, French and Arab leaders and the American Red Cross.

*(iv) Shall We Have to Go Short?*

Unfortunately supplies are going to be very short for a good while to come. That means, as the Government has warned us, that we shall not be able to let out our belts as much as we would wish, if we want to do our duty to our neighbours in the war-stricken countries.

*The Prospect Was Good in 1940*

The world food situation has changed very greatly—and for the worse—since the early period of the war.

In 1940 there was every prospect of a surplus of cereals, sugar and oils and fats at the end of the war, since the Nazi occupation of Europe had prevented overseas producers of these commodities from disposing of them in Europe and they were piling up.

*Why Is It Worse Now?*

Why has the situation changed since then? For two reasons:—

*First*, because of the Japanese conquests in the Far East, which have deprived the Allies of large quantities of oils and fats and particularly rice and sugar.

*Secondly*, because of the entry of the United States into the war. Mobilisation there has had the double effect of making it difficult to find labour for agriculture and of increasing home consumption, since soldiers eat more than civilians. So, although there has actually been an increase in food production in the United States, that country will not have much food to export to the rest of the world.

*A Shortage for a Time*

It is true that there has been rationing of foodstuffs in Great Britain and many other non-Axis countries. Moreover Great Britain is now growing two-thirds of her own food, a great deal more than before the war. And great efforts have been made to expand production in the British Dominions, South America, West Africa and the Middle East.

Despite all that, we have to face the prospect of a shortage of food until European agriculture is restored, the Far East liberated, and the interchange of goods between countries restored.



### 3. Who Will Take Over in the Liberated Countries ?

Let us now come back to a question we previously left aside. Who is to be responsible in a liberated country for receiving and distributing the relief supplies ? This has been much discussed in connection with the French in North Africa and with the Italians.

Obviously the agencies which are made responsible will hold a very powerful position. This question, therefore, raises the whole subject of how the liberated countries are to be governed.

#### (i) Should the Countries "Wait and See" ?

The general policy of the Allies in this matter is clear. It was laid down in the Atlantic Charter, drawn up by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, which has since been accepted by all the other Allied nations. But, as everyone knows, in everyday life as in politics it is much easier to make general statements than to apply them to particular cases.

The Charter states the "right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." Few people would dispute that as a matter of principle. But it is quite another matter to arrange for the exercise of this right during the emergency period. You cannot hold an election, or draft a constitution, during an earthquake. Moreover there are many peoples who may not wish to exercise this right by making a fresh choice. We have not made such a choice since our constitutional life was last interrupted over 250 years ago—in 1688.

The commonsense course would seem to be to let this question—of substituting one *form* of government for another—stand over till the end of the emergency period. Then conditions and tempers will have become more normal and the kind of world in which the government will be functioning will have become more clearly defined.

#### (ii) The Problems of East Central Europe

A "wait and see" policy of this kind, while immediate needs are being met, seems particularly applicable to East Central Europe.

There has been much talk of knitting the small countries of that area together into one or more federations. But some of the people who talk in this way do not seem to realise how very difficult it is to work a federal system and how much mutual goodwill and give-and-take are required to make a success of it. The United States, Switzerland, Canada and Australia have indeed succeeded in working the system, but it cost the two former a Civil War before they learnt to do so.

No sensible person can imagine that within a few months of the end of hostilities, peoples on opposite sides in the war would succeed in forming common Parliaments, common Cabinets and common defence forces. Common institutions cannot be imposed upon nations in order to simplify the map. They can only be the result of the discovery of common needs and common purposes.

#### (iii) Learning Co-operation by Practising It

The best chance of developing such a sense of common needs and common purposes is through the activities of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

It may surely be hoped that the "responsible agencies", which will carry through the local programme of U.N.R.R.A. in the different countries, will be composed of men and women who will not be thinking of party politics or competition for power, either for themselves or their countries. They will be thinking of the welfare of their own neighbourhood and region. They will be looking forward, not backwards, and they will have been closely associated with experienced statesmen and administrators from the New World, where the possibilities of abundance have been so much more fully developed than in Europe. At any rate that might be a possible development.

#### (iv) Who Will Govern in the Meantime?

To discuss what Governments will be installed in the various countries would take us into too much detail. The conditions in each country are different. It already seems clear, however, that a healthy public opinion has developed in the occupied territories. Leadership may be expected from those who have borne the brunt of the resistance movement and thus won the confidence of their fellow-citizens.

There should be no difficulty in the head of each State, whether Monarch or President, forming a Government in which those elements find a place. This is likely to happen in most cases since the existing Governments are expected to resign when the task of liberation is completed.

### 4. Who Will Take Over in Germany?

So far we have been thinking of conditions in the German-occupied countries after their liberation. But what of Germany herself? What is to take the place of the Nazi government machine when it has been destroyed?

#### (i) The German High Command?

The only organised power which will be left standing in Germany after the destruction of the Nazi machine, will be the Army, and its leaders will no doubt be willing to take over the government of the country after the armistice. But as we are pledged to destroy the German military, root and branch, there are obvious objections to using the German High Command in this way.

#### (ii) Leaders from the Exiles?

Another possibility is to entrust power to a group among the German exiles from Nazi rule. But these exiles are very much divided among themselves. Even if they succeeded in agreeing among themselves, it is doubtful how much support they could command in Germany since they would necessarily be out of touch with the changed conditions there.

#### (iii) Should We Take Over?

Another possibility would be to leave the question of a central Government for Germany in suspense for a certain time and to place the Allied authorities in supreme control, with the central and local government authorities working under them.

**Chapter IV.****TO END WARS?\*****1. How Can Europe Avoid Further Wars?**

We saw in the first chapter what is the root of the trouble in Europe. It is the absence of a tradition of good neighbourliness between its various peoples and the persistence of a system of competition for power which is quite out-of-date in a world of abundance.

What can be done to make the European peoples good neighbours?

**(i) The Need for Freedom from Fear**

The first thing to do is to allay their fears. The European peoples have every reason to be afraid of sudden attack. Some of them, like the Norwegians and the Danes, who used to be loud in rebuking the majority for being obsessed with the fear of war, have had a rude awakening and are now as security-conscious as the rest.

The European peoples need guarantees, as strong and as solidly based as statesmanship can make them, against an outbreak of war anywhere on the continent; for they all know by experience that a conflagration started in one part of Europe is liable to spread and involve the whole continent.

**(ii) What Does Security Mean?**

Let us be quite clear what is meant by the assurance of security throughout Europe. There were many hazy ideas on this subject in the period between the wars. It means that ordinary people in every part of Europe will be living in a state of reasonable confidence that there will not be another war, because they know that there is an authority which will step in and prevent it.

*Just What It Means to You at Home*

This is the state of mind of the ordinary citizen in every civilised country in peacetime, so far as internal peace is concerned. He is fully aware that the authorities cannot give him a watertight assurance that there will never be what the police call "a breach of the peace" in his neighbourhood, since there is a fringe of criminals and lunatics in every community. But he knows that the forces of law and order are always there in reserve, organised and ready to assert themselves if needed—and that is sufficient for his peace of mind.

It is just this that is needed to give the peoples of Europe a similar peace of mind. They must know that the authorities are maintaining, organised and ready to enter into action, forces adequate to preserve, or to restore, law and order. They must feel sure that these authorities will give the necessary orders to their agents in case of need.

**(iii) Who Will Do it?**

How in practice is this security to be achieved? Through the determination of the European Great Powers to regard the assurance of security throughout the continent as their major interest and to make it the principal object of their foreign policy.

This may sound to some rather brutal language—as though the peoples of Europe were to be handed over to the tender mercies of certain big policemen. What about the League of Nations and collective security?

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\* For reference in connection with this chapter, see the documents of international reconstruction in Appendix B, pp. 570-8.

The answer is that these have their place in the picture, but that it is best to face up to the hard facts. It was because hard facts were ignored that Europe never settled down after the last war.

### *The Responsibility of Britain and Russia*

The hard fact is that the keeping of the peace in Europe depends upon the Great Powers. If they agree their policy will prevail. If they disagree, there will be confusion, intrigue, competition for power and eventually war.

Before 1914 the Great Powers in Europe were Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia. After this war there will be, for practical purposes, only two—Great Britain and Russia. France, Italy and Germany may all eventually resume their places, but that will take some time.

The all-important thing, therefore, is that Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. should be in the closest agreement in their foreign policies, and that they should give a lead in assuring security throughout Europe.

### (iv) What Steps Should We Take?

How in practice is this policy to be carried out?

In the first place, we must disarm Germany and have a vigilant common control to prevent her from beginning to rearm. Preventive action is much less costly, both in blood and money, than repressive action.

### *A Scheme of European Defence*

In the second place, we must work out a joint scheme of European defence, in much the same way as the different Governments of the British Commonwealth, with their General Staffs, have worked out plans for imperial defence.

To go into the details of such a scheme would carry us too far. You can study the map for yourself and form your own judgment on such matters as key-points and bases, the relative contributions of land, air and sea-power, the need for co-ordination on the industrial side of defence, arrangements for access to essential raw materials and so on. All these things follow when the highest authorities and their peoples behind them are agreed on the main line of policy.

### *What Was Decided at Moscow?*

Such an agreement was arrived at by the Moscow Conference of last October. That is why that Conference was so important for the prospects of a real European settlement.

The United States and China associated themselves with Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. in proclaiming a policy of security for the world as a whole. Their co-operation in applying such a policy to Europe will always be welcomed—particularly that of the United States, coming from a continent with a "good neighbour" tradition.

But the absolutely essential need for Europe is co-operation between Britain and Russia.

## **2. What about the Small Nations?**

We have been speaking of the Great Powers, but the term is not a happy one and we only used it because it is still common form.

### (i) Great Powers as Great Responsibilities

To convey the right meaning of the task that lies before Great Britain and Russia in Europe, and before the British Commonwealth, the U.S.S.R., the United States

and China throughout the world, we ought really to speak, not of the Great Powers, but of the *Great Responsibles*. It is not by their power alone that they will be trusted to keep the peace, but by their sense of responsibility—responsibility for the common welfare as well as that of their own peoples.

*Power—Responsibility=Trouble*

A Great Power that has no sense of responsibility towards other peoples is not likely to go on exercising its world-power for long. Why not? Because it will stick out its elbows right and left and its neighbours, in self-defence or out of irritation, will combine against it and humble it.

One of the things of which we, as British citizens, have the most reason to be proud is that between 1815 and the end of the nineteenth century, when we had unchallenged power over a large part of the world through our naval supremacy, we so conducted our policy that no coalition was ever formed against us.

(ii) **Responsible to Whom?**

If the Great Powers are actuated by a sense of responsibility, *to whom* do they feel responsible? To the peoples of the world—or at least to all the peoples who value the maintenance of peace and recognise that the Great Powers are acting on their behalf in assuring its maintenance.

*An International Organisation*

That being so, it seems only natural that this sense of responsibility should find a means of expression in some body representing the peace-loving peoples. This is exactly what has been foreshadowed at the Moscow Conference. There the British, Russian, United States and Chinese Governments recognised the need for the establishment of a general international organisation, open to the membership of all peace-loving states, great or small, for the maintenance of peace and security.

This will enable the Great Powers periodically to give an account of their stewardship to the peoples on whose behalf they have been acting, and to be influenced by such comments and criticisms as they may have to offer.

(iii) **Any Share for the Smaller States?**

But, it may be asked, are there only *Great Responsibles*? Are there no *Lesser Responsibles*? Cannot the smaller States share part of the responsibility and the burden of the maintenance of peace?

There is no reason whatever why they should not.

*The Example of the British Dominions*

You may have noticed that, in speaking of the future European system, the term "Great Britain" was used. The term "British Commonwealth" was reserved for the world-system. The reason for this was that Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand are not European States. Therefore, they do not automatically form part of a European system.

It is for them to decide whether they will undertake responsibilities in Europe or not. If they wish to do so, there is nothing to prevent them. But in any case they will play their part, as members of the British Commonwealth, in the world-system. Nobody imagines, for instance, that the problems of the Pacific will be settled without Australia, New Zealand and Canada having a voice in them.

*At Once Great and Small Powers*

Are the British Dominions Great Powers or Small Powers? The answer is that they are both. They are independent small States. But they are also elements in the Great Power unit which has come to be called the British Commonwealth.

How can they be that, and at the same time independent? Because their respective foreign policies, though conducted by independent Governments, are so closely aligned with those of the other parts of the Commonwealth that they form, so far as the outside world is concerned, a single Power. The example of Eire is the exception which proves the rule.

Thus Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, though not in themselves Great Powers, can justly claim to be "Great Responsibilities." Their sense of responsibility has been shown, in two wars and in their general conduct of foreign policy, to be no less than that of Great Britain. They are not just "small States." They are within the circle of Great Power responsibility.

*Can the Smaller Nations Follow this Example?*

Why this long digression about the British Commonwealth?

It was necessary in order to show the possibilities that are open to lesser States in a "good neighbour" system. There is no reason whatever why the lesser European States should not also become Great Responsibilities, like the Dominions. General Smuts has made a suggestion along these lines which has opened up the subject for discussion.

Of course, it is for the people of those States to decide whether they wish to throw in their lot with us. But it is also for us to prepare ourselves to receive them should they wish to join us, and to consider what adjustments in our own system and way of thinking this would require.

### **3. What Can Be Done about the "Bread and Butter" Problems?**

With law and order firmly established throughout the continent, the European peoples could feel able to plan for their common welfare. The era of violence could become a memory of a bad past and with it could pass away the struggle for economic self-sufficiency which sprang from the system of competitive armaments.

**(i) Any Gains from the War?**

We saw in the second chapter how, in its own one-sided way, the German "New Order" had swept away many of the old barriers between the European States, improved their communications and modernised their equipment.

The latter phase of the war has intensified this development owing to the Allied bombing attacks on Western Germany. These have led to the transference of important industrial establishments to non-German areas in the East and South-east.

*Don't Let the Barriers Rise Again*

There has, therefore, been some economic unification—for the benefit of the Germans. May it not also be of assistance to U.N.R.R.A. in its task of relief and rehabilitation? Perhaps we ought not to be in a hurry to re-establish the old barriers in the first cleaning-up period.

By the time that period has passed, the peoples will have had the opportunity of considering the new situation and thinking out the type of economic set-up best suited to the conditions of post-war Europe. We cannot, at this distance, paint the picture in detail. But certain things are already clear.

## (ii) Controlling Investment in Europe

The first need is that international control, in some form or another, should be continued, at least for some time to come. This is necessary in order to ensure that the capital resources of the world should be wisely used. "The alternative to control," as Mr. Herbert Morrison has picturesquely put it, "is that the man with the long purse will bring home the bacon."

### *Especially Investment from Abroad*

None of the continental peoples, with the exception of the Swiss and the Swedes, are likely to have capital resources available for some time to come. The problem, therefore, will not call for a decision on their part, so much as on that of the leading Powers outside Europe, in particular the United States.

There is likely to be much controversy in the U.S.A. on this question of the control of foreign investment. One section of opinion, of which the Vice-President, Mr. Henry Wallace, has made himself the spokesman, has advocated the use of American resources for very far-reaching schemes of social reconstruction in Europe and elsewhere.

### *"A T.V.A. for the Danube Valley"?*

The slogan of "a T.V.A. scheme for the Danube Valley" has been put into circulation. This refers to the far-reaching powers given by the U.S. Government to a non-profit-making public corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority.

This Authority owns and operates a large number of hydro-electric power plants and sells the power directly to industry, to farmers and to plants owned by the authorities of different towns who distribute the power in their towns. Because it has been able to make power available widely and cheaply, the Authority has not only made possible a great industrial expansion but has helped in the work of flood control, soil conservation, the improvement of farming methods and the resettlement of farmers on better land.

Since the Authority carries on its operations in many different states, the U.S. Government has given it authority to override, in important ways, the Governments of these states.

### *Can Countries Co-operate in this Way?*

The theory of the Americans who support Mr. Wallace is that a similar public corporation for the Danube Valley should override the local Governments in that area. But the difficulty is that these States, unlike Tennessee and its neighbours, are not inside a federation like the United States, and therefore not subject to the laws of a central Government. Their consent would therefore be needed for this and similar projects.

But this is not an insuperable difficulty. If these projects were obviously to the benefit of the populations concerned—and this is the sole intention of their sponsors—public opinion in the area would probably give them a ready welcome, on condition, of course, that local co-operation was invoked in working out the details.

Another section of opinion in the United States fights shy of public corporations and would allow more scope to private enterprise. But both sides admit the need for some form of government control over foreign investment.

### (iii) Controlling the Value of Money

Much thought is being devoted to the need for control over the rates at which the money of one country is exchanged for the money of another, both in Europe and elsewhere. If this is not done, Europe may tend to drift back into a condition of economic warfare, with all the ill-will that is created by it.

Why? Because a country may think that it can increase its exports and so—temporarily, at least—restore its financial position by reducing the value of its money. That means, for instance, that our pound in Britain will exchange for more of that country's money. Therefore its goods become relatively cheaper for us to buy.

This device of *competitive devaluation*, as it was used in the inter-war period, proved a potent cause of mischief. It is generally recognised that it must be stopped by international agreement.

### (iv) Can Trade Barriers Be Kept Down?

A third matter to which attention is being devoted is that of some form of international machinery required to deal with tariffs, quotas, embargos and other trade barriers.

#### *Why Can't They All Be Removed?*

This does not mean that all such barriers should be swept away and a free trade system set up, either for the world as a whole or for Europe. That would not be practicable. In Europe, for instance, it would lead to widespread dislocation and ruin, involving a revolution in the social system of many countries. Consider France, for example, with her tariff on foodstuffs from abroad, for the protection of her peasantry.

It is no more possible to make Europe a single free trade area than it is to turn it into a federation. The nations of Europe have developed policies to suit their particular needs and they do not want a steamroller to be passed over these systems from outside.

#### *A Beginning Can Be Made*

What can be done, however, is to prevent the policies of one country from having harmful effects on other countries: for instance, it might be agreed that countries should communicate with one another before making tariff changes. An international, or European, Commerce Commission, armed with no more than powers of advising or making recommendations, could do much to prevent countries from behaving in an unneighbourly way, as, in the past, they have often done out of sheer ignorance.

### (v) Organising Communications

Another point that is already clear is that European communications need some form of permanent organisation, covering railways, waterways and air-traffic. But whether this should be limited to Europe or extended over the rest of the Old World, or over the whole world, is a matter for consideration.

One must never forget, in considering the organisation of European welfare, that Europe has no sharply defined land frontiers. The two most easterly European States, Russia and Turkey, are both European and Asiatic. There are many matters in which Europe, this "promontory of Asia," does not lend itself to separate organisation.

After all, the prime consideration is not that Europe should be tidied up as a continent, but that by some means or other, whether systematic or not, the competitive tradition should not hinder good neighbourliness and the standard of life of the peoples be raised—so far as the eastern half of the continent is concerned, *substantially* raised.



## 4. How Will Germany Fit In?

What about Germany? Has she not been left out of the picture? Will she not remain a permanent problem for us in Europe? Does she not need to be re-educated?

The problem of Germany has been left to the last for a very good reason. Though it has been much discussed, it is possibly only of secondary importance politically. As things have developed, it is possible that Germany may never be again a first-class Power. In a sense she has been dwarfed by the dimensions of the U.S.S.R., the United States and the British Commonwealth.

### (i) On Probation for a Time

That being so, it is very possible that the German people will not wish to renew their bid for European and world supremacy and will accept their second defeat as final. If so, there will, in due course, be a place for them in the community of European nations. But they would need to pass through a period of probation; for they have a great deal both to unlearn and to learn.

For instance, almost the entire German people has a distorted view of the history of Europe from the beginning of the century. Accordingly, discussion between Germans and non-Germans on the origin of the two wars cannot be carried out on an agreed basis of historical facts, though these are now available to scholars, and, through them, to the general public throughout the world.

### (ii) Can She Be Re-educated?

How are the Germans to be re-educated? Is it for the United Nations, or for Great Britain in particular, to take a hand in doing so? Turn the question round and imagine some foreign country devoting its efforts to the re-education of Britain. No better way could be imagined for delaying the process of our re-education, supposing that we needed it.

Germany can only be re-educated by her own efforts. It may be kindest for her, as well as for her late victims, to leave her alone in her humiliation, her bitterness and, it may be eventually, her remorse and repentance.

### (iii) How to Treat Her in the Meantime

Meanwhile, our policy towards her will be that set forth in the Atlantic Charter. On the one hand her disarmament will be vigilantly controlled and, if need be, enforced. On the other hand, after just allowance has been made for the demands of our Allies for reparation, she will have the "fullest collaboration in the economic field" and "access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world."

## 5. Do We Belong to Europe?

We have seen that Europe is entering on an entirely new period of its history, when it will no longer be the power-centre of the world as it was for so long. The problem of power will be outside Europe, centring in the relations between the United States, the U.S.S.R. and the British Commonwealth.

Nevertheless, though Europe will be, relatively speaking, a vacuum of power, it will continue to concern us very closely; for all sorts of trouble can arise in a vacuum. Therefore, it is of the highest importance for us to maintain the closest relations with the European peoples—particularly with those who have learnt, during the war period, to know us at first hand and to admire our institutions.

**(i) Can We Lead Europe ?**

The real question before us, in our relations with Europe in peacetime, is whether we can live up to the reputation which we have won, or confirmed, during the war.

Great Britain and Northern Ireland consist of one small island and a small part of another off the north-western shores of a promontory of Asia. It would take a lot of explaining to a visitor from another planet how it is that this realm of well under fifty millions is recognised as an equal with the United States and the U.S.S.R. who have vast populations and great natural resources.

*Mainly Influence by Example*

Fifty years ago our place would have been justified by our wealth and our commercial and industrial supremacy. Today it can only be justified by factors that cannot be measured in statistics, by factors of *quality* rather than of *quantity*.

If we are to keep the place which we have won for ourselves, it will be by the exercise of *influence* rather than simply of *power*. We must run true to form in all those affairs—and they extend far beyond what is commonly called “politics”—in which we have won the world’s respect and in which it looks to us to set an example.

**(ii) What Do Europeans Think of Us ?**

It would not be fitting to close this booklet with a hymn of self-praise. Nevertheless, the nature of our relationship to Europe and of our responsibility towards the European peoples cannot be made clear without some indication of what Europeans think of us and expect from us. On this matter neither our Allies, who are under obligations to us, nor our present enemies, are free to speak their mind. So neutral testimony is perhaps the best.

*A Swiss Looks at Britain*

Here is a statement from a Swiss public man who has known us and worked with us over a long period of years and has not been backward in criticism of us on occasion. It appeared in a Geneva paper on 25th October, 1943 :—

“If the Swiss should be invited to hate or despise England, all the Swiss people worthy of the name and conscious of the traditions of their country could only feel consternation and a sort of instinctive revolt. These feelings are not determined merely by historic memories. We have known since our schooldays that the independence of our country has always found determined supporters beyond the Channel. Nor are our feelings explained merely by gratitude towards those who, despite the nature and the demands of the struggle in which they are engaged, have never prevented the importation of wheat, which despite all our efforts we have not been able to extract from our miserly soil.”

*Were We Too Aloof before the War ?*

“However, before the war, the foreigner often met with unexpected coldness amongst the English people, an apparent indifference to the non-British world, a certain condescension which discouraged effusiveness, even if it did not diminish esteem or freeze sympathies. The war seems to have dissipated all this reserve, in which there had formerly been a temptation to see arrogance.

" Today, when, more than ever, Britain's war effort might justify some pride, those few Continentals permitted to cross by air the distance separating the United Kingdom from the rest of Europe are, on the contrary, impressed and moved by the warmth of the reception they are certain of finding in England."

*Have We Changed during the War ?*

" I cannot undertake the task of explaining these changes in the English soul, but I cannot help mentioning them. Not only has their former reserve vanished, but it has given way to an almost exuberant frankness, to a need for knowing and convincing others, for understanding and explaining, which animates conversations and brings people closer together. The war which has blocked the Channel seems simultaneously to have broken the barriers between the nations on its shores, and must, as obviously, have fused all British classes into a real national brotherhood. When those who benefit from these changes belong to neutral countries, they cannot fail to be surprised and touched."

*Can We Live Up to It ?*

" No one knows what the future has in store, but there is one hope, even one certainty, which more than anything else, perhaps, can comfort the friends of liberty throughout the world—that is, that in preparing tomorrow's peace, English influence will never be devoted to a policy of enslavement. That is why England's name will never be anathematised at the foot of the Alps. England will not misunderstand this ' understatement.' "

It is for us to live up to this " understatement."

## **THIRD SEQUENCE: TODAY AND TOMORROW**

**B.W.P. 16**

# **YOU AND THE EMPIRE**

**March 1944**

## **Chapter I.**

## **THIS IDEA OF EMPIRE**

### **1. What Does the Empire Mean to You ?**

Many of us give little thought to the Empire of which we are part. It means, perhaps, only the patches of red on the map of the world or a bit of "flag-wagging." But even these fragments of thought about the Empire are a starting point for further ideas.

#### **(i) Patches of Red on the Map ?**

Although the countries of the British Empire appear at first sight to be scattered all over the world, almost all of them are in three great areas :—

- (a) The North Atlantic (Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, Newfoundland, West Indies).
- (b) Africa south of the northern deserts (Union of South Africa, and many Colonial territories and Protectorates).
- (c) The Indian Ocean and South Pacific (India, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Australia, New Zealand, and many other small territories and islands).

Notice that the present war has given us battles in all these areas—the Battle of the Atlantic, the Battle of Africa, and the Battle of the Pacific. We have fought these battles with the help of the overseas Empire ; we have fought them largely from overseas bases ; and we have fought them to defend not only the Empire, but the whole system of world peace and security which was built around it.

## THE THREE AREAS OF EMPIRE

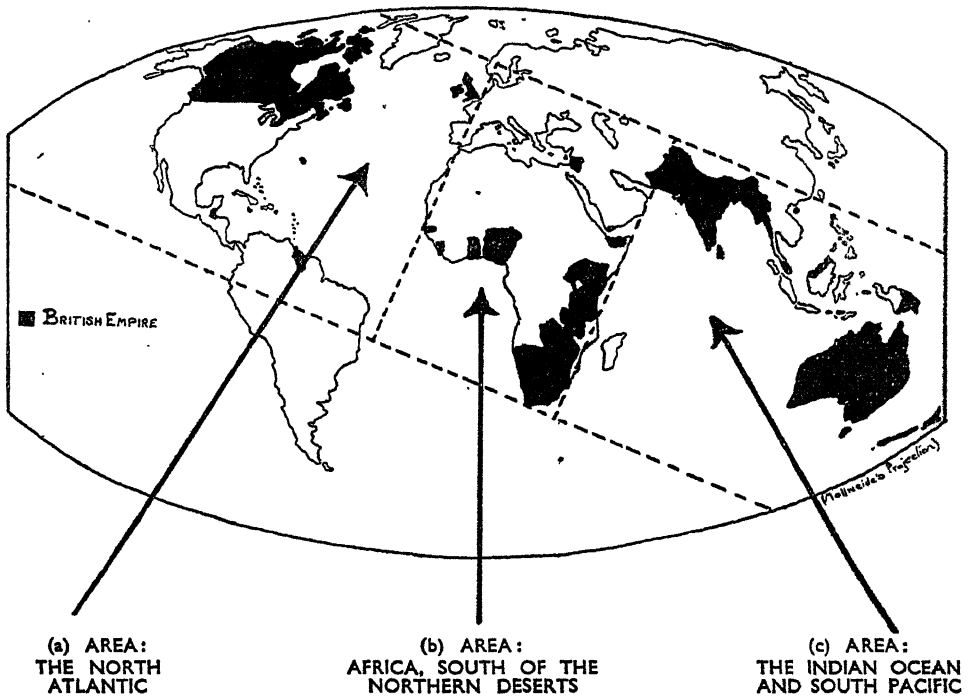


FIGURE 50

## (ii) All Look the Same?

Even to look over the "patches of red" gives some idea how varied the countries in the Empire are—in size, in peoples, in temperature, climate and soil, in interest and so on.

And the variety extends to the ways in which they are ruled. Generally the overseas Empire is divided into three parts.

- (a) First of all, the Dominions, who are completely self-governing with democratic Parliaments more or less on the model of the Parliament at Westminster.

## THE THREE DIVISIONS OF EMPIRE

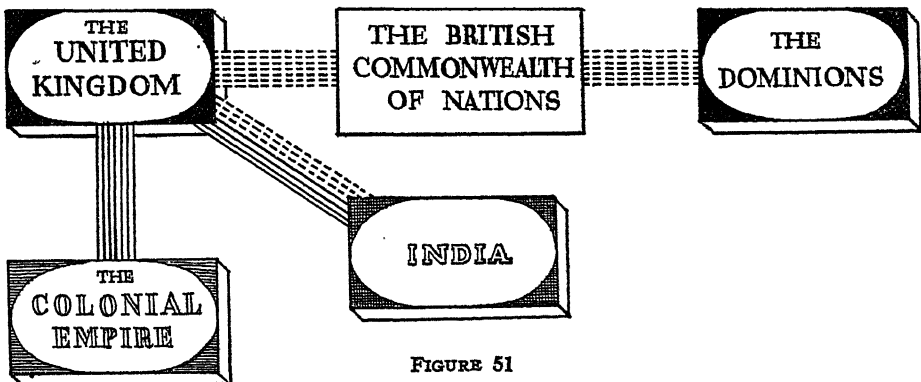


FIGURE 51

- (b) Secondly, India, an Empire in itself, to whom we have offered the chance of becoming a Dominion after the war.
- (c) And thirdly, the British Colonial Empire of more than 50 different territories, partly managing their own affairs and partly having their affairs managed for them by us, because they are not yet sufficiently experienced to bear the full burden themselves.

It is most important to get this variety quite clear at the outset. In the face of such variety, it is remarkable indeed that there should be so much agreement on fundamentals within the Empire, and that it should be possible for us to speak of the British Empire in general terms at all.

#### *Empire or Commonwealth?*

Some people believe that it helps us to get these things straight if we talk of Commonwealth, or of Commonwealth and Empire, rather than of Empire. Empires have normally been very unified. This one is just the reverse, and none the worse for it.

#### (iii) "Flag-wagging"?

The Dominions have their own flags—can you remember any Dominion flag?—but all except Eire (Southern Ireland) have the Union Jack somewhere in their flags.

Flags are symbols—they stand for feelings. These Empire flags are a symbol of the idea of the Empire; many different countries, but sharing the Empire and the Crown in common—like different regiments and units in the Eighth Army all wearing the Crusader flash.

Does the Empire mean anything more to you? Let's take the question a bit further.

#### (iv) **Chance of a New Life Overseas?**

Perhaps you have relatives in the Dominions who have migrated there. Perhaps you have thoughts of migrating there yourself after the war. We shall talk about the Dominions and their need for people in the next chapter.

At any rate, you would find yourself at home there. The Empire is a family of countries which are not foreign to each other, different as they may be. Did you know that in the ten years before the war more people migrated back to Britain from the Dominions than went out to the Dominions from Britain?

#### (v) **Flashes on Uniforms?**

You have all, no doubt, met men from the overseas Empire in the Forces during the war. Some of them perhaps were in the U.K. Forces—R.N., British Army, R.A.F. Others were in their own countries' Forces, for instance, the Royal Canadian Air Force or the Royal Australian Navy.

#### *All in except Eire*

Many citizens of the Empire beyond the seas decided personally that this was their war and that they must be in it. Their countries decided nationally that this was their war too. The Dominions decided this entirely for themselves—we shall hear more about this in the next chapter. India and the Colonial territories came in automatically when Britain declared war, but their help has been voluntary.

Every one of their soldiers who has come away for service abroad is a volunteer. The Empire means a family of nations and peoples who stick to each other in a crisis.

**(vi) Food for Us in Britain ?**

You have heard talk about the " Empire breakfast table." What does it mean ? You have seen Ministry of Information posters about the resources of the Empire.

We could not do without these resources in peace or war. Do you think we could buy and fetch them as easily if the countries from which they come were not in the Empire ?

*But Other Countries Have Equal Access*

Foreign countries can also buy and ship the produce of the Empire equally with ourselves, in times of peace. Thus the resources of the Empire are a help to us but they are not a preserve ; like knowing a friendly farmer, or having the green-grocer for brother-in-law.

**(vii) Ruling over Others ?**

To many people nowadays the very word " Empire " has a nasty sound. It reminds them of Nazi ideas of a master-race ruling others. Perhaps the Empire means to you the idea of Britain ruling over coloured people in Africa, Asia and the Pacific Islands.

*Do You Know Your Responsibility ?*

Do you think these people could govern themselves ? Maybe you think some of them could, but obviously not all. Then if they are to be protected and helped, and governed according to better standards than their own primitive ideas, it is our business as the Power in charge to see that they get the best government that we know and can afford.

That means us, individually, as voters and citizens. Do we really take enough trouble to know about these Empire people and their needs ? The Empire means a duty for us all ; a duty to learn and understand.

**2. What Would It Mean if You Lived Overseas ?**

We have now seen that the Empire is a kind of family of peoples. Some of them are grown up and have entirely equal rights in the world with the head of the family. All have their individuality and the Empire belongs to them as much as it does to us. It belongs to all its members, like a family or a partnership.

It belongs to New Zealand and it belongs to India and it belongs to the negro tribes of Africa. Let us try now to put ourselves in their shoes and see the Empire from their angle.

**(i) If You Were a New Zealander ?**

What would the Empire mean to you if you were, for example, a New Zealander ?

*(a) A Feeling of Security*

You would belong to a small country, the size of England, with a population the size of that of Great Manchester. You would be out on your own in the Pacific Ocean, twelve hundred miles from the nearest large country, Australia.

So the first thing the Empire would mean to you would be a group of friendly nations, regarding your security as their own, and standing by you if you were in danger, because against great Powers you could not defend yourself.

*(b) A Better Chance of Markets*

The next thing you would need after security from aggression would be security of markets for your meat, wool, dairy produce, etc. The Empire helps to give you this, especially through "preferences" given by us to imperial products.

**WHERE NEW ZEALAND BOUGHT AND SOLD****EXPORTS 1938**

**TO THE UNITED KINGDOM 84.17 %**

TO REST OF EMPIRE	TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES
6.58 %	9.25 %

**IMPORTS 1938**

**FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM 47.87 %**

**FROM REST OF  
EMPIRE 25.69 %**

**FROM FOREIGN  
COUNTRIES 26.44 %**

**FIGURE 52**

Perhaps this is to some extent at the expense of secure trade with foreign countries : we must not forget that point.

*(c) A Preference for British Settlers*

Another thing you would feel that you would need from the Empire, if you were a New Zealander, would be more people. As a nation of British stock you would look to other British countries to send you immigrants, and you would make it easy for these British people of the right type to come. You would feel about the people of the other Dominions and of Great Britain and Ireland as if they were your kith and kin.

*(d) Membership of a Family*

You would think about the King and Queen, and St. Paul's Cathedral, and British history, as belonging just as much to you as to anybody in the British Isles. Some of your students would go to the university at Oxford or Cambridge or London, or to English or Scottish hospitals for medical training, and so on.

In short, through being a member of the Empire you would be a member of a great, powerful, world-wide family instead of a citizen of a small, weak country.

**(ii) If You Were an Indian ?**

Now what do you think the Empire would mean to you, if you were an Indian ?

*(a). Perhaps Resentment that India Is Not an Equal Partner*

It would mean, certainly, that instead of being self-governing you were still a dependent member-country of the Empire. You might feel that the independent countries of the Empire had sometimes put their interests before yours in running the Empire.



But it would not be so much against the Empire as a partnership of nations that you would have this hostile feeling, as the fact that you were not yet an equal partner, with the right to decide whether to stay in or go out. The Empire as such would mean a lot of advantages to you.

(b) *A Powerful Protection*

Although your country is large and densely populated, with many rich people, yet, compared with its size, it is tax-poor. So many of its people have such small incomes that they can pay hardly anything in taxes. Tax-poor means defence-weak.

The Empire helps with the burden of defence. India pays for her own local defence in peacetime—mainly the defence of the dangerous North-West Frontier. But just as it has been said that Britain's frontier is on the Rhine, so India's frontier is at the entrances to the Indian Ocean—the Suez Canal, Singapore, Capetown. The Empire means—or meant until the Japanese broke through the barrier—security in the Indian Ocean.

(c) *A Chance of Markets*

India also needs secure markets for her produce. Many Indians do not like imperial preferences; but this is not because they do not feel the need for such arrangements, but because they want to strike a free and equal bargain for themselves.

(d) *Peace and Justice at Home*

Even on the point of freedom, Indians admit that the Empire has given their country internal peace and justice for all—individual freedom if not national freedom.

(iii) **If You Were a Central African?**

What would the Empire mean to you if you were a Central African?

(a) *The End of Slavery and Wars at Home*

The coming of the British Empire stopped the slave trade and the wars between tribes which were ruining Africa. The Empire would mean to you peace. Even during the present war, thanks to the Empire, there has been no fighting or bombing in all Africa south of the great deserts.

The Empire would mean that life was certain and secure. You would have law instead of the arbitrary rule of chiefs and witch-doctors.

(b) *Hospitals, Schools, Roads*

It would mean the beginning of social services, especially hospitals and schools. It would mean the coming of roads and railways, and the development of crops sold away from the village for money instead of bartered for subsistence in the village.

It would mean that you could become a policeman or a soldier or a government clerk. And increasingly high positions in the Colonial Service are filled by Africans themselves. Service under the Imperial Government is very highly prized by Africans.

(c) *Loyalty to the King*

You would think of the Empire as somehow belonging to the King, far away and very great, and you would think of the King as somehow belonging to you—

your King. If you travelled you would find yourself a citizen of a world Empire, and the Empire would help and protect you. You would think this a great thing for a humble African.

*(d) Perhaps a Longing for Self-Government*

At the same time you would, if you were educated, long for the day when you and your people could govern yourselves, and have the advantages of the Empire as well.

### 3. How Do We Justify the Empire?

Now we have seen what the Empire means to different kinds of its citizens, what would you say are the things that justify its existence?

Nothing is perfect, and it would be surprising to find that there were no objections to the Empire. We should note the arguments sometimes made against the Empire, but let us also understand fully the points on the other side.

**(i) In the Matter of Freedom**

Does the Empire help or hinder freedom?

*What the Critics May Say*

The Empire holds other peoples subject to its rule—Indians, Africans and the rest.

Promises of future freedom for a nation are not worth much beside freedom now.

Or who is to decide when the dependent countries are ready for freedom—they or we?

*What We May Reply*

It gives personal freedom because it gives to each man and woman freedom from the "aggression" of any neighbours against his life or his belongings, and freedom from any secret or illegal action by the authorities.

Because it is collectively strong, it gives each of the countries in it a sense of security. In that way it gives each of these countries a chance of freedom as a nation also, for unless it feels safe no nation can be free. The full members of the Empire—Britain and the Dominions—are more free for being members of the Empire than if they were not.

The Empire, too, gives the dependent country a chance of winning its full freedom as a nation within the shelter of the Empire.

**(ii) In the Matter of Peace**

This argument has shown that freedom is bound up with security. The Empire gives personal freedom by giving personal security. It gives national freedom by giving national security.

• So now think what the Empire does for peace and security.

*What the Critics May Say*

Other countries, which consider themselves "Have-Nots", are bound to be jealous of the Empire, to think of it as a danger to themselves, and so attack it.

In any case the Empire cannot defend itself successfully, partly because it is an Empire. What about Singapore? We waste our power by defending an Empire too big for us. We weaken the value of our promises to defend our neighbours and friends by associating ourselves in the defence of Colonies and Dominions all over the world. We should be looking after Europe on our own doorstep.

**(iii) In the Matter of Prosperity**

Along with peace and security we all want prosperity—"food, work . . . and homes for all", as the Prime Minister has said.

*What the Critics May Say*

The Dominions, India and the Colonies have given us preferences in their markets, and we give them preferences in exchange. These preferences may help us directly but they are a handicap to foreign countries. They are, therefore, a hindrance to world trade and, since we depend on world trade, they are, in the long run, a handicap on us too.

Our real economic security in the future lies in agreement with the U.S.A., or with Russia, which is hindered by special trade relations with the Empire.

**(iv) What Does It Amount To?**

It seems from this debate that the arguments that some people use against the Empire, in so far as they hold water, are mostly arguments against particular policies in the Empire, not against the idea of the Empire itself.

First of all what is that idea? It is to seek by co-operation among its member countries three aims:—

- (a) Freedom and Justice for Individuals and Countries Alike.
- (b) Peace and Security.
- (c) Decent Living Conditions.

Secondly, the extent to which we live up to these aims depends on us. There is already much in which we can rightly take credit. There is still more to be done and the doing of it is our business.

*What We May Reply*

The Empire as a whole is far stronger than any of its members taken by itself. By defending a few key points, like the British Isles, Suez, Gibraltar, the Indian North-West Frontier, it keeps peace for itself and half the world.

The Empire as a whole is a Great Power, able to play an equal part with the United States and Russia in maintaining world order. By herself, without the Empire, Great Britain would be a second-class Power under constant threat of domination by Germany.

*What We May Reply*

On these preferences, we have built a secure export trade.

Even without tariff preferences, the Empire connection makes our goods "preferred" by customers in the Dominions and Colonies.

At the same time, this great area of stable trade, which we shall need even more after the war, does an immense trade with foreign countries and gives them full access to its products.

The Empire is a means of doing together what cannot be done, or can only be half done, by each member country alone. That is to say, it is a partnership. Partners have rights which they can claim from each other, but they also have duties towards each other, and to the partnership as a whole.

Our first duty as partners in the Empire is to learn as much as we can about its peoples and their problems.

## Chapter II. THE DOMINIONS AND OURSELVES

### 1. What Is a Dominion?

A Dominion is a member-nation of the British Commonwealth which is equal as a nation with us, the United Kingdom. There are five Dominions:



FIGURE 53

Newfoundland also ranked as a Dominion, but temporarily and at her own request she has surrendered her self-government on account of financial and political troubles.

#### *Others Have a Large Measure of Self-Government*

Other countries of the Empire have achieved a large measure of self-government, e.g. India, Burma, Southern Rhodesia and Ceylon. As we might expect from the diversity of the Empire, they are not all like one another in government, nor are they at the same distance from complete self-government. But they have this in common at least that they have no independent foreign policies and no independent defence policies.

What follows refers to the five full Dominions.

### 2. Are the Dominions Really Free?

Many people outside the Empire, and perhaps some inside, do not understand how the Dominions are free nations, equal with the United Kingdom, while at the same time belonging to the British Commonwealth.

#### (i) "Are They under a British King?"

These people ask: "Aren't they under the British King?" The King and the Crown do indeed belong to all the member nations of the British Commonwealth, and are a very important part of the cement of feeling that holds them all together.

But the King, as we all know, acts on the advice of his Ministers, who are the real rulers, answerable to the people through Parliament. In the United Kingdom the King acts on the advice of his United Kingdom Ministers, answerable to the people of the United Kingdom through the United Kingdom Parliament at Westminster.

But in Australia—as an example of a Dominion—and in regard to Australia's affairs, the same King acts on the advice of his Australian Ministers, answerable to the people of Australia through the Australian Parliament at Canberra. Thus the Crown is a help to equality, not a sign that equality is unreal.

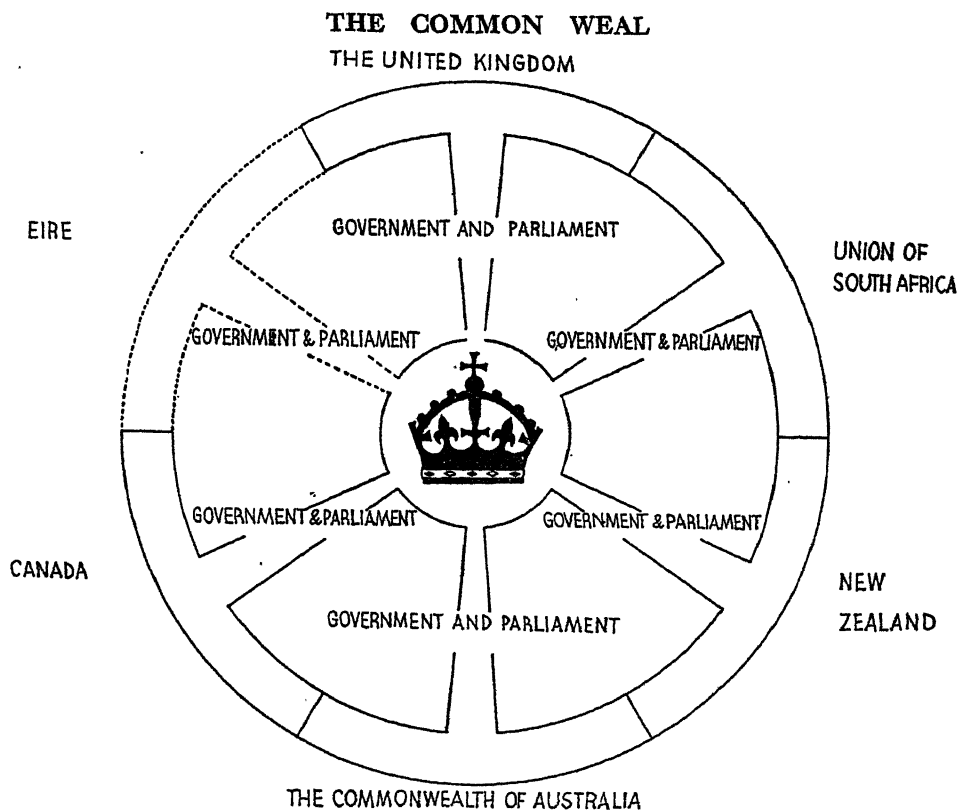


FIGURE 54

### (ii) Each Dominion Parliament Has Complete Power

The Australian Government and Parliament have exactly the same powers to govern Australia and make laws for Australia as the Government and Parliament in England have to govern and make laws for the United Kingdom.

The Act of Parliament which finally laid down this equality of rights of the Dominion Parliaments is called the Statute of Westminster.

### (iii) What Happened when War Broke Out?

Some people, however, may still feel doubtful. This is paper equality, they may say, just words and theory. Are the Dominions really free nations?

There is no clearer test of a nation's freedom than its right to decide for itself the question of peace and war. This is what happened in the Dominions when Britain declared war on Germany in September 1939.

#### (a) *Australia and New Zealand*

Their Governments declared that their countries would instantly join in the war along with Great Britain.

*(b) Canada*

The Government waited until it could put the question to the Canadian Parliament, and Canada came into the war several days after Britain.

*(c) South Africa*

The Government (under the late General Hertzog) proposed to the South African Parliament that South Africa remain neutral, but was defeated by a free vote of that Parliament; General Smuts then brought his country into the war.

*(d) Eire*

The Government, backed by the Irish Parliament (called the Dail), decided to consider itself neutral, and Eire has maintained this policy ever since. Although the lack of naval and air bases in southern Ireland has been a great handicap to us in the Battle of the Atlantic, Britain's power has not been used to interfere with Eire's freedom to choose for herself.

In taking part in the war, too, the Dominions have complete freedom. They decide for themselves what Forces they shall raise, whether they shall have conscription, where their Forces shall serve, and so on.

They are even free to leave the Empire, if they wish. Do you think any of them ever will?

**(iv) No Compulsion to Act Together**

Obviously, if nations which are free and equal are at the same time to belong to a Commonwealth which means anything, they must work together. This co-operation among the free and equal members of the British Commonwealth is on a basis of discussion and agreement. If there is no agreement, no super-government exists to make the members act uniformly.

*They May Want Different Policies*

And it is easy to see how the Dominions may want to follow different policies. Take, for instance, the position of Canada.

She has two thousand miles of undefended frontier with the U.S.A., which is an example to the world, and there are many pulls of trade and communications between her and the U.S.A. But as well as being a North American country she is a member of the world-wide British Commonwealth. Compare our own position in Britain—belonging both to Europe and to the Commonwealth. Sometimes there may be a conflict between the two claims.

At Geneva, the Dominions (which were separate members of the League of Nations) sometimes voted differently from each other or from the United Kingdom. Would it have been better if they had always acted together, agreeing to stand by the view of the majority of the British nations?

*Should We Act More as a Union?*

Do you think that in the post-war world, when immense power will rest in the hands of two great Unions—the United States and the U.S.S.R.—the British Commonwealth should act as a third Union? And if so, how do you think it should be organised and run, without doing away with the freedom of the Dominions?

There are two views on this matter. Some people think that the system of co-operation among equal nations in the Commonwealth is a wonderful example to the rest of the world,

And most people, in the Dominions anyway, probably think that they must stick to their national rights and freedom. They are new nations, not anxious to give up their position of freedom so soon after gaining it, however strong the arguments.

Other people think that the freedom of the United Kingdom and each of the Dominions is a source of weakness to the Commonwealth itself, compared with what might be if all the member nations were ready to pool their national rights under a common democratic government.

### 3. What Can We and the Dominions Do for Each Other?

What do you think are the main ways in which we and the Dominions can help each other? Let us look at some of the problems and possibilities under the headings of "People", "Defence" and "Markets".

#### (i) People

This is really two problems: the internal problem of different races living within the same Dominion; and secondly, the problem of making up the populations of those Dominions which still need more people.

##### (a) *The Problem of Mixed Peoples*

Look, for instance, at the position of Canada, South Africa, and Australia, and New Zealand.

*Canada*: Of the Canadian population roughly 30 per cent. are of French ancestry and speak French. Many of the French Canadians regard themselves as a separate nation within the Canadian State. Of the remaining 70 per cent. a great many are not British in origin but come from various countries in Europe.

*South Africa*: A majority of the white people in South Africa are of Dutch, German or French-Huguenot ancestry and speak a language akin to Dutch called Afrikaans. In the time of the South African War we called them the Boers; memories of that war are still alive and bitter among them.

A still bigger problem is that the Union of South Africa contains roughly four times as many negro and coloured people as whites, and there is a big Asiatic (mostly Indian) population besides. The whites fear that if they were to allow the non-white people the vote and other political and economic rights, they (the whites) would be swamped.

*Australia and New Zealand*: They, like the other Dominions, have small populations compared with their size, and they feel that to admit Asiatics in large numbers would endanger their high standards of life. Therefore they have clung to the famous "White Australia" policy. And they have not encouraged the immigration of non-British Europeans.

Now what can we in Britain do about these problems. The answer is "Understand them", and that is all. Don't forget that the Dominions are completely free to settle them their own way. It is our business to appreciate the difficulties; it is none of our business to interfere and attempt to impose our solutions.

*(b) The Problem of Getting More People*

The Dominions overseas need more people for their own security and to develop their resources and standard of living. Apart from the possibility of an increased birth-rate in the Dominions, there arises the question of emigration to them.

*The Kind of Workers Wanted:* Speaking broadly, they may not now want many people to take up land and work on it. They may want some such, but they may specially want more skilled artisans for their manufacturing industries.

*Help from Britain?* But Britain now, with her own industries to man and with her declining birth-rate, may not be able to let them have large numbers from her own population. How could we help them to get and to assimilate the right type of people from other countries?

*The Consequences of Immigration from Other Countries:* At the same time there is the problem arising from the fact that fewer and fewer of the people in the Dominions overseas will have come from Britain or Ireland—the two Mother Countries of the Empire—or will know anything about them.

If we are to work together we must get mixed up together. How do you think this can be done? e.g. interchange of trade union delegations, etc.?

*(ii) Defence*

We all hope that there will emerge from this war a world security system. But however that may be, the defence of the British Isles and of the Dominions must be part of the system. And that too has its varied problems. Consider, for example, the position of Australia and New Zealand and the question of the attitude of Eire.

*(a) The Security of Australia and New Zealand*

With their small populations they feel themselves weak and exposed. The defeat of Japan will greatly ease their problem, but they still depend on long lines of communication with Europe, with North America and with Asia.

*(b) The Future of Eire*

In terms of defence, Ireland and Great Britain can only be regarded as one. But, as this war has shown, Eire will not necessarily wish to play an active national part in a war involving the United Kingdom and the overseas Dominions. Her Government and many of her people regard the division of Ireland into North and South as a wound which cannot heal.

But, on the other hand, quite apart from the feelings of the people in Ulster, how could Britain have got on in this war without the Northern Ireland ports and air bases?

In tackling this question of security, we may receive the help of others, as we shall certainly have to help others, but we shall still have to help ourselves. The Dominions need us in defence, and we need them.

*(iii) Markets*

In the same way, though we and the Dominions need both foreign goods and foreign markets, yet we still need Dominion markets and the Dominions need our markets. What are the difficulties about this?



*(a) Less Food and Raw Materials from the Dominions ?*

All the Dominions live largely by producing foodstuffs and raw materials for themselves and for export to the world. They need firm markets for these, at a time when all countries, including Britain, are trying to develop or maintain their own agriculture, and when substitute materials are being used more and more.

*(b) Will They Need Less Manufactured Goods from Us ?*

In any case, with the progress of science and skill, more and more food and raw materials can be produced with less and less labour. Therefore, even with stable markets the Dominions have to develop manufacturing industries in order to employ their people. In fact, their manufacturing development was greatly stimulated by the last war and has been hastened still more by this one.

That sums up the problems. As we look after our own agriculture and as they look after their own industries, how can we still help each other most effectively ?

**Chapter III.****INDIA****1. Do You Know the Background ?**

India is a sub-continent rather than a country. With an area of nearly 2,000,000 square miles it is roughly the size of Europe with Russia left out. It consists of eleven Provinces, which form British India, and a large number of Indian States.

**(i) The Indian States**

An Indian State is governed by its own ruler (the title being hereditary), whose relations with the British Government are often defined by treaties made with the Crown. The rulers are known as Indian Princes. The States which they govern vary greatly in size, several being as large as England, while some are only a few square miles. They are scattered all over India, being about two-fifths of the total area, and containing more than a quarter of the total population.

The Princes are jealous of their independence, and proud of their connection with the Crown, towards which they have been steadfast in their loyalty and have rallied solidly to the help of British arms in the Great War and the present conflict. While a ruler of an Indian State who is guilty of mis-government can be deposed, and while the Crown controls external relations, the policy of the British Government has been to interfere only when necessary in internal affairs.

**(ii) The Peoples of India**

The population of India is 389,000,000, which is nearly three times that of the United States of America and nine times that of Great Britain. It is increasing rapidly and between 1931 and 1941 it rose by more than 50,000,000, a rate of increase which, as we shall presently see, creates one of the big problems of India.

*Many Races and Languages*

India has seen many invasions, beginning from before the dawn of history until the eighteenth century. These are reflected in the large number of different races speaking over twenty separate languages and many hundreds of dialects. It contains all sorts and conditions of men, and many different physical types.

### *Many Fight with Us*

Some of these are familiar to those who have served side by side with men of the Indian Army—the powerful Punjabi Muslim ; the tall, handsome Sikh, whose religion requires him to wear his hair long ; the Rajput who takes pride in the fact that he belongs to the ancient caste of warriors ; the sturdy Jat who is a first-class farmer as well as soldier ; the Dogra who comes from the foothills of the Himalayas ; the Mahratta, small but very tough, and with great powers of endurance.

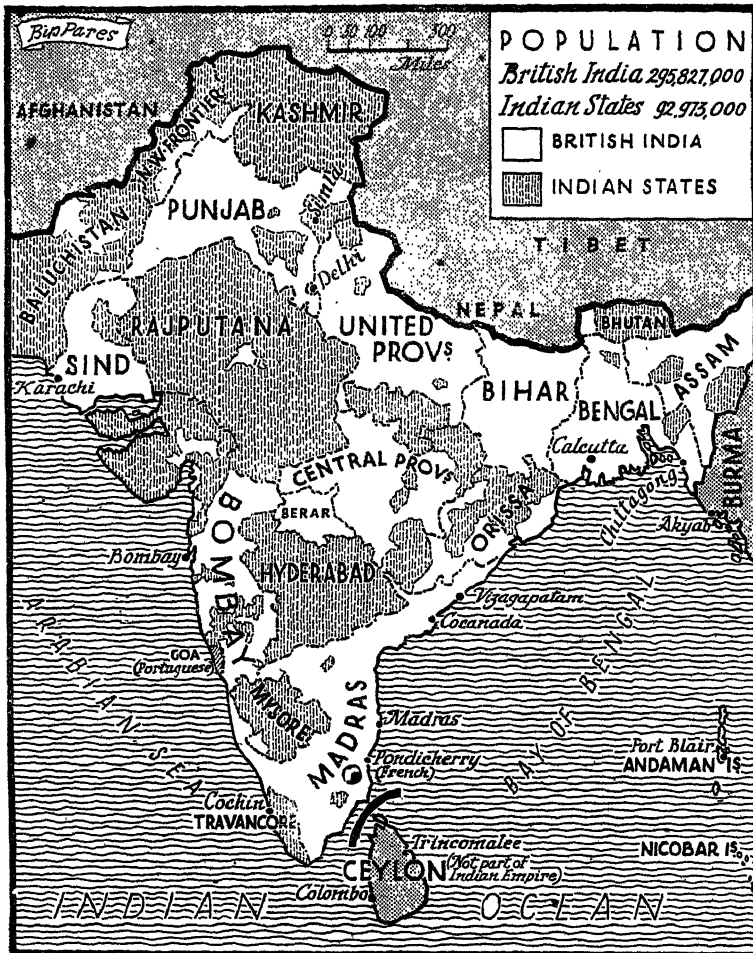


FIGURE 55

These are a few only of the so-called martial races who for generations have followed soldiering as a profession. The Gurkha has not been included because he is not a native of India, but of the sovereign kingdom of Nepal, whose ruler allows a certain number of battalions to be recruited from his subjects in peacetime, and in war allows them freely to join the army of his ally. In these days, of course, the Indian Army is representative of every race, creed and class of India, and is a mirror of Indian society as a whole.

**(iii) The Indian Character**

Indians are distinguished for their good manners and courtesy. They are hospitable and very good towards their relations ; there is no poor law in India because it is the duty of a family to look after its members, even distant relatives. Those British soldiers who have to serve in India will find that Indians are friendly and respond to kindly treatment. They are sensitive and care must be taken not to offend against their customs, particularly where their religion is concerned.

*We Respect their Religions*

The first principle of British rule has been to respect the various religions, and it is as necessary for the individual to do this as the Government. If you go to India, make a point of learning a few simple facts about their customs. This may save you giving offence when you do not mean to do so. Start by assuming that the Indian, whether in the town or village, wishes to make friends. You will very rarely be disappointed.

*The Lives They Lead*

Life in the villages would be dull for us ; no cinemas, no radio sets as a rule, football only where there happens to be a school, and not always then, and no daily newspapers. But they have their own amusements.

There are many religious fairs to which the people flock ; wrestling matches are always an attraction ; weddings are an occasion for meeting relations and friends, and also for spending far too much money. A lawsuit is always an excitement, for the Indian takes to litigation as a duck to water. In towns there is plenty of football, cricket, hockey and tennis. Not only do many Indians play these games very well indeed, but their sportsmanship is excellent.

**2. What Have We Done for India ?**

As with many parts of the British Empire, the conquest of India was largely a matter of accident rather than of design. The East India Company, starting with a few trading centres on the coast, rapidly absorbed a continent, forced often into wars which it would have liked to avoid. It is now almost a century since, with the annexation of the Punjab from the Sikhs, the whole of India came under British rule.

What is the record of that rule, and what benefits have the two countries gained from their association ? It may be said at once that, viewing the past as a whole, both have good and just cause to be proud of the work they have done together.

**(i) Peace**

Far surpassing all else, is the establishment of peace and security.

*(a) Safe from Outside Aggressors*

India has been free from external aggression. The fact that she has had behind her the full resources of the British Empire has saved her from attempts of conquest by other nations. The British navy has been her line of defence by sea ; the British and Indian armies have defended her by land. She is a poor country. Even as it is, the cost of military defence has pressed heavily on her revenues, which could not have supported the large armies that would have been necessary had she stood alone.

*(b) Peace within her Borders*

Internally she has enjoyed almost unbroken peace since 1858. This is something entirely new in the history of India. For centuries she was the cockpit of invaders from the north, or of rival dynasties, races and religions from within. There was no unity. Time and again she was split into a number of warring fragments, the prey to the strongest arm. As late as the end of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, it was a matter of common occurrence for marauding bands to rove over wide areas not yet under British protection, murdering, plundering and destroying.

The peasants would not sow their fields because they could not reckon on reaping the harvests. They knew what was meant by "Pax Britannica". They had their own words for it:—"A time when the tiger and the goat drink together at the same waterhole". So firmly established was peace without and within, that its blessings were accepted as a matter of course. The threat from Japan and internal disunion have come as stern reminders that peace is not a natural product of India.

*(ii) Security in Cultivating the Land*

With peace it was possible to develop security in many phases and activities of life. All of these cannot be mentioned, but because the lives and interests of many millions are affected, a high place must be given to security in the holding and cultivation of land, and security from famine. India is essentially an agricultural country, tilled by millions of cultivators, some owning their own small holdings of a few acres, others cultivating as tenants but protected against eviction, others again holding as tenants at will. All of them cherish their rights, to which they cling with the utmost tenacity.

*An Agricultural Civilisation*

Because two out of every three persons in India have a direct concern with the soil, the protection of their interests has been one of the first cares of the British administration. It has built up a system of law, title, land survey and record which will compare favourably in thoroughness and efficiency with any in the world, and which gives security and protection to rich and poor alike.

*(iii) Security from Famine*

It used to be a commonplace that the Indian budget was a gamble in rain, and there is still a large element of truth in it so far as some of the Provinces are concerned. Over vast areas the harvests are dependent on the rainfall—not only on its amount, but on its distribution during critical months of the year. It is a country of extremes. In some years floods do more damage than drought, but generally it is failure of the rains which is the chief cause of distress. Happily, it is rare that they fail over the country as a whole. Harvests will be good in some parts of India while very bad in others. There will be a surplus of food in some Provinces and a deficit in others.

In former times, famines were frequent, resulting in appalling loss of life from starvation. There were two main reasons—first, too large a proportion of the cultivated area was insecure because it depended on rainfall, and second, the means of communication were so poor as to prevent grain being brought from surplus to deficit areas.

*What Have We Done?*

Famine has been prevented, first by making more areas secure, and second, by building railways and making roads. India has now the finest system of canal

irrigation in the world, an asset that she owes to the imagination and skill of many British administrators and engineers, ably supported by a large number of Indian fellow workers.

#### *(a) Vast System of Canals*

The area irrigated by canals is now nearly 29,000,000 acres a year. Practically all the rivers of India have been tapped of their supplies, and there is little surplus water in them now that can be used. Great deserts have been converted into the richest lands in India.

Millions of cultivators have been moved from congested areas into new colonies, where flourishing towns have sprung up and where the Government has provided railways, roads, schools, hospitals and other necessities and amenities of life. In the wheat-growing areas of the Punjab and Sind, one can ride in the spring for miles over tracts that were once barren and desolate, through an almost unbroken field of wheat. Similarly in other Provinces for different crops.

#### *Who Paid for the Development?*

There are other means of irrigation besides canals; for instance, from wells, reservoirs, and by direct inundation from rivers. These have all been developed, partly through direct action by the Government, and partly by encouraging private efforts through the grant of loans on favourable terms, and other facilities. Thus there has been a very large increase in the irrigated area which has added enormously to the production of food and fodder, and has ensured a sufficiency of food in years when the harvest has failed in other less favoured areas.

There has been another advantage. Not only is the yield usually higher on irrigated than on other land, but the security of the crops allows experiments in seed selection, methods of cultivation, types of crops and other improved methods, in conditions which ensure continuity. Big results have flowed from these experiments.

#### *(b) Construction of Roads and Railways*

The construction of railways, largely out of loans financed in Great Britain, and the building of arterial and other roads have brought the various parts of India into easy reach of each other. In normal times, there is a free flow of grain from areas in which there is a surplus to those where there is a shortage, and although widespread failure of crops in a particular tract may mean conditions of scarcity and distress, to meet which measures have to be taken, there have been few occasions during this century when the action required has gone beyond the stage of "scarcity", as contrasted with the state of "famine".

#### *But Famine Is Still Possible*

A notable exception has been the recent famine in Bengal. There were many causes of this, some of them purely local, and it would be unwise to draw any general conclusions if it stood alone. But in some Provinces and some Indian States, there has been during the past two years a similar threat of famine which, so far, has been averted only by prompt and special measures. It is reasonable to suppose that this recurrence of a danger, which was regarded as past, is associated with the general question of security although in a rather different form. The fact is that when

insecurity appears in India, whether it be due to war, internal strife or any other cause, the old habits of the people reassert themselves, and food goes literally under ground.

#### (iv) Rule of Law

Another result of British rule which now passes almost unnoticed has been the creation of the rule of law, and of a legal system for which Indians themselves have great respect and admiration. The vast majority of the people in India are law-abiding, simple, honest folk, who wish to be left alone to get on with the cultivation of their fields, or whatever their job may be. But there are many turbulent elements, and men with criminal instincts only too ready to take advantage of any weakening of authority. The maintenance of law and order must therefore always be a primary duty of the administrator, whether he be Indian or British. Disorder, if not promptly dealt with, can rapidly spread; it has, therefore, to be suppressed at once, and firmly.

#### *Western Principles Introduced—*

This is a side of internal order which has been enforced under British rule. It rests on the equality before the law of all men, and by introducing Western systems and principles of criminal law and evidence, this equality has been firmly established to the benefit, and with the approval, of Indians themselves. In civil law also, Western principles have been introduced where they are appropriate, as, for instance, the law of contracts and company law.

#### *—But Eastern Customs Respected*

In matters dealing with religion, or with domestic matters such as inheritance, adoption, divorce, marriage, etc., the policy has been to apply the personal law, namely Hindu Law, where Hindus are concerned, Mohammedan Law where Muslims are concerned, or the law of custom where, as is very frequently the case, long-established custom has crystallised the manner in which the community, the tribe or the family wishes to regulate its domestic affairs.

#### (v) The Welfare of the People

We may now turn to what have come to be known as the "Beneficent Departments" of Government, a name which was coined by Indian Ministers to describe activities which have a direct bearing on the welfare of the people. Among them are included education, medical relief, public health, agriculture, veterinary work and so on.

During the present century there has been great progress in all of these, and it is right to say that when, after the last war, they were made the direct concern of Indian Ministers, they received a powerful stimulus.

#### *Education*

Great importance is naturally given to the spread of education, although there is difference of opinion as to whether too much importance has not been paid to literary subjects and too little to technical, scientific and industrial subjects.

#### *Agriculture*

On the material side, special mention may be made of progress in agriculture. The Indian cultivator, like most farmers, is very conservative, but if he is convinced that a particular type of seed will give him a better yield, or that a new method of

cultivation will increase his crop, he is not slow to adopt new ways. An immense amount of valuable work has been done by the Agricultural Departments of the various Provinces in the selection of pure seed, the discovery of new types, the use of fertilisers, economical use of water, the establishment of new crops and so on. On the veterinary side much has been done to improve stock.

#### (vi) Development of Industry

So far as direct Government aid is concerned, industries have lagged behind, although more attention has been given to them during recent years. Broadly, progress has depended mainly on private enterprise, and here both British and Indian have played a big part. Many industries owe their introduction and development to the initiative, enterprise and capital of British firms, planters or individuals, who have played a big part in the industrial and commercial progress of the country. But they have enjoyed no monopoly of opportunity, and they would not claim to have any monopoly of ability or initiative.

Indians have quickly adopted Western methods and processes, often with great success. The present war has shown what India can produce under the stimulus of necessity. The industrial expansion has been very great and will have a permanent effect on development.

#### (vii) The Standard of Living

A pertinent question is whether the standard of living has risen during the past century. Here it must be remembered that India is a country of contrasts. There is great wealth amid general poverty, a love of show and pageantry against a background of continuous struggle for existence.

##### *Improved but Still Low by Our Standards*

The standard of living of the ordinary peasant or the labourer is very low indeed, judged by Western standards. It could be doubled and yet compare unfavourably.

While there has been undoubtedly a very big increase in the production of food and other raw materials, and in the value of manufactured goods, and while this has been accompanied by an all-round rise in the standard of living, that standard still remains a low one.

##### *Population Has Increased as well as Production*

The chief reason for this has already been suggested. The population has increased at a rate which has almost counterbalanced the increase in production. The last census showed an increase of over 50,000,000 in ten years. In other words, after this short period, India has to feed and maintain an additional population which is considerably larger than the total population of Great Britain. This increase is a tribute to the peace, security and progress under British rule, but on the other hand, it presents a very big problem. If this rate of increase continues, it will be very difficult to maintain even the existing standard of living.

#### (viii) Have We Had Any Benefits?

We have dwelt on the benefits of British rule. It would be stupid to pretend that they have been one-sided. Great Britain has derived great benefits from her long association with India. She has found there markets for her manufactured goods; safe investments for her capital in Government loans, whether they were used for railways, irrigation works or other projects. Many individuals of British stock have made fortunes for themselves and their successors. The various Civil

Services and the Indian Army have offered careers to British men ; India has been a training ground for the British Army, and the existence of the Indian Army has kept our own standing army smaller than it otherwise must have been in times of peace. Last, but not least, the resources of British India and the Indian States in men and material have been placed freely at the service of Great Britain in times of stress.

### *The Contribution by Indians*

Again, it would be an injustice to Indians to suggest that the benefits we have mentioned and the results that have been achieved during British administration were due solely, or indeed mainly, to British administrators. The fact is that men of the two races, working together, have led India along the path of moral and material progress. In the various Civil Departments of Government there has never been more than a handful of British officials, and, to an ever-increasing extent, appointments involving great responsibility and high qualifications have been open to and ably filled by Indians in every branch of the public service. They share with their British colleagues the credit of what has been achieved. They know, too, how much remains to be done.

## **3. The Political Background**

A great deal has been heard, and far more will be heard, about the question of self-government in India. It is likely to be one of the big Empire problems after the war. We shall, therefore, give some account of what has already been done in this direction, and without giving any opinion on policy, state the facts of the problem as it exists at the present time.

### **(i) The Different Communities**

In order to understand it, one must know something about the Indian communities. These are primarily the Hindus and the Muslims, and to a lesser but still important extent, the Sikhs.

#### **(a) Hindus**

In the whole of India there are 206,000,000 Hindus, or if the depressed classes who are mainly Hindus by faith, are included, there are 255,000,000. In British India alone there are 151,000,000, or if the depressed classes are included, 190,000,000. So far as population is concerned, they are by far the largest community. They are found in all Provinces, and, as compared with the Muslims, are in a majority in all except Bengal, the Punjab, the North West Frontier Provinces and Sind.

The Hindus were among the earliest invaders of India, and their culture, civilisation and religious system were firmly established before the Muslim invasions. The Hindu religion includes the worship of many gods, and exalts the Brahmins or priestly caste. The cow is especially sacred to them.

### *The Caste System*

The community, as a whole, is organised on the system of caste, which, in its origin, was determined partly by standing in the community and partly by occupation. A Hindu cannot change his caste, but may lose his caste altogether. In the course of time most of the castes have been divided into sub-castes, and the system is now a very elaborate one. Often a man cannot marry with a woman of another caste, and there are rules regulating other



social relations, such as having food with each other. Under the influence of Western education, many Hindus tend to break away from the more narrow restrictions, but caste is still a very powerful factor in the life of the community.

### *Men of Every Class*

Among Hindus are included men of every class—industrialists, merchants, lawyers, soldiers, cultivators and so on. They are particularly strong in the middle classes of Indian society—in commerce, industry, banking and money-lending. They have produced many able administrators and officials.

They were foremost in adopting Western education, and in this respect they were for a long time at a great advantage compared with Muslims.

Although the standard of living of the Hindu cultivator and labourer is about the same as that of others, there are more rich Hindus than in any other community, and they hold proportionately a greater part of the total wealth. The Hindus include not only descendants of the original stock, but the members of many races converted over the centuries to Hinduism.

### *Depressed Classes*

The depressed classes are almost entirely Hindu by religion. They belong to the lowest Hindu castes. In former times they were regarded as untouchable, and there are still parts of India in which, if the shadow of one falls on the food of a man of higher caste, it cannot be eaten. In India as a whole they number over 49,000,000. They are not well organised; they are backward in education; and very poor. They need special care and protection. For this reason they have been given their own members in the legislatures. Their leaders are not prepared to entrust their interests to other Hindu parties.

### *(b) Muslims*

The Muslims are the greatest by number, and by far the most important, of the minority communities. In British India they number 79,000,000, or about 25 per cent. of the total population. In the Indian States there are about 15,000,000, or rather more than one in seven. For the whole of India they are a little less than one in four.

### *A Different Religion*

They are worshippers of one God of whom Mohammed is the Prophet. Their bible is the Koran. They have no caste and all Muslims are equal in the sight of God. Idolatry is abhorrent to them. They are the descendants of successive invaders of India, or of converts to Islam, their religion. Their ancestors fought with and defeated many Hindu rulers, and under the Mogul dynasty, India came nearer to being brought under one power than at any time previous to the coming of the British. They are devoted to their religion and are fanatical in its defence.

### *Other Differences from the Hindus*

Like the Hindus they are found in every grade of society except that there are none among the depressed classes. They are not so well represented in industry or commerce, and there are comparatively few Muslims of great wealth. They, too, have produced many able statesmen and administrators,

and as individuals there is little to choose between them and the Hindus so far as ability is concerned. But they were late in recognising the importance of Western education, and although most of the leeway has been made good, they are still somewhat backward in this respect.

A devout Mohammedan will not accept interest on loans and although this religious precept is not always observed, it has affected the material position of the community as a whole. It has also had the effect of placing many Muslims in the hands of Hindu moneylenders.

### *A Proud People*

The Muslims are very proud of their past history and traditions, and of being members of a world religion which, in particular, is the dominant faith in the countries adjoining India in the north-west—Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Arabia. Their language and literature are based on Arabic and Persian, while that of the Hindus is based on Sanskrit. Muslims are found in every Province of India, but they are in a majority only in Bengal in the north-east, and in the Punjab, the Frontier Province and Sind in the north-west.

### *(c) Sikhs*

The Sikhs are a small community. They number fewer than 6,000,000, of whom more than 5,000,000 are either in the Punjab or in the Indian States adjacent to the Punjab.

Their religion is an offshoot from Hinduism, and they venerate their Gurus or spiritual leaders. They are good cultivators and fine soldiers, tenacious to the degree of obstinacy and fanatical where their religion or political interests are concerned.

### *A Fighting Race*

They are good organisers, and in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries under their military leaders they conquered a great part of north-west India from the Muslims. In the two Sikh wars, they put up a very good fight against the British, and it was from them that the last part of British India was annexed. Their political importance will be seen presently.

### *(d) How Do the Communities Get On Together?*

Although the religion, customs and social structure of the Hindus and Sikhs differ widely from those of the Muslims, the three communities do not live in isolation one from another. The degree of separation between Hindus and Sikhs is far less than between both and Muslims, and in communal disputes the first two will generally join together. In the towns, although there are often separate sections in which Hindus and Muslims live, there are rarely entirely separate blocks. The sections are mixed with each other and often both live in the same section or quarter. The same is true of very many villages. There is thus constant coming and going between the communities. In the services, the officials of each work together; in the Army there are in the same regiment companies of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

### *Clashes More Frequent Recently*

It is, therefore, a mistake to regard Hindus and Muslims as two communities the members of which are constantly at loggerheads. If this were so life would be intolerable, because in the villages, especially, they are often dependent on each

other. But clashes between the two have always been a danger. This is particularly the case when some religious festival, or fast, or ceremony, or procession is being observed by one of them.

The trouble is that these clashes are now far more frequent and concern many other matters than religion. The general antagonism has reached a pitch at which it is not only a very grave menace to a solution of the political problem, but to the future peace, security and unity of India as a whole.

## (ii) Political Parties

A few words may be said about the two chief political parties in India. These are the Indian Congress and the Muslim League.

### (a) *The Indian Congress*

Because its name is the same as that of the legislature in the United States, the Congress is often thought of as a constitutional legislative body. It is not this, but purely a political party. It claims to be national, but this again is not so. The few Muslims in it are regarded as renegades by other Muslims. The leaders of the depressed classes do not recognise it, and even among Hindus there are many millions who regard its methods as wrong.

None the less, it is the most powerful political body in India, and in many political and communal matters it represents the views of Hindus. For many years its policy has been dominated by Mr. Gandhi, and there is no doubt that the position it has attained is partly due to the veneration with which very many Hindus, and others, regard him because of his ascetic way of life, even though they may disagree with some of his political doctrines.

### (b) *The Muslim League*

The Muslim League, of which Mr. Jinnah is the leader, has gained greatly in influence during the past few years. The chief reason for this is that it champions the rights of Muslims and, in particular, is bitterly opposed to Hindu domination. Here, again, there are many Muslims who do not support its policy, but it is probably more representative of Muslim opinion than the Congress is of Hindu opinion.

## 4. Progress towards Self-Government

It may be said that the desire of Indians to manage their own affairs is almost general among the educated classes, and widespread among others. It would be a poor compliment to British rule were it otherwise. We have created law and order, set up efficient administration in almost every department of public life, introduced modern ideas, and encouraged Western education and democratic ideas of liberty.

In all this, Indians themselves have played a worthy part, and they feel that they have the experience and ability to govern themselves. Moreover, their self-respect is involved, and they are very sensitive. So there is agreement about the goal of self-government, although acute differences about the form it should take.

### *Three Different Stages*

The British Government has long been committed to this goal. Progress has been rapid during the past twenty-five years, and is marked by three important stages. The first stage covers the changes introduced after the last war; the

second relates to the Constitution, part of which came into force on the 1st April, 1937; the third is the offer made by the British Government through Sir Stafford Cripps when he visited India in the spring of 1942.

### *The "Centre"*

In describing these stages reference will be made to the Centre. This means the Government of India as distinct from the Governments of the Provinces and the government by the Princes of the Indian States. The Central Government is responsible to the British Parliament for the good government of India as a whole.

#### (i) **After the Last War**

The main changes made after the last war were that much more power was given to the Provinces; many more persons were given the vote; Indian Ministers were appointed in the Provinces, and were given control over policies in the subjects which we have described as "Beneficent Activities"; subjects such as finance, law and order remained under the control of the Governor, who was assisted by Members of Council, some British and some Indian. At the Centre, more Indians were appointed as Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

In the Provinces these reforms worked reasonably well. They had the great merit of giving wide responsibility to Indian Ministers who gained experience in administration and made good use of their opportunities.

#### (ii) **The Government of India Act**

Before the present Constitution came into force in April 1937, there was a long period of enquiry and discussion which lasted nearly ten years.

The Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1935. It was based on the principles of democracy and followed closely the British model. At the Centre there was to be a Federation which was to include the Provinces and the Indian States. The Viceroy was to have certain powers allowing him to act in an emergency. The independence of the States was to be maintained, subject to voluntary surrender of powers in certain respects. The Government was to be responsible to the central legislature. Still more power was given to the Provinces, and all subjects came under the control of Ministers.

##### *(a) In Operation in the Provinces*

The whole of the Act could not come into force at once as negotiations with the Princes were still going on. But that part relating to the Provinces, known as Provincial Autonomy, was brought into operation in 1937.

Elections were held, there having been an addition of many millions to the number of voters. The Congress Party won the elections in eight of the eleven Provinces and Congress Governments were formed in them. In the other three Provinces Muslim supporters were in a majority, although the Governments were not formed on a purely Muslim basis.

##### *How It Worked*

Let us now see how Provincial Autonomy has worked. The head of a Province is the Governor who, so far, has been British. He has certain special powers which he can use in an emergency: for instance, if there is a grave threat to law and order, or if the rights of minorities need protection. Otherwise, he is bound to follow the advice of his Ministers. At the head of the Ministry is a Chief Minister or Premier, who chooses other Ministers as his colleagues and assigns to them certain Departments of Government.

In every Province the Ministers, including the Chief Minister, have been Indians. They have the power to decide policy over the whole Provincial field, and to see it is carried out. The only check is the special powers of the Governor; and since April 1937, there have been only three occasions when the Governors have had to act against the advice of their Ministers.

To all intents and purposes there has been complete self-government in the Provinces. This is a fact which is little known in this country or elsewhere.

#### *Plans Upset by the War*

Unfortunately, Provincial Autonomy has not had a full trial. After being in office for two and a half years the Congress Ministries resigned at the beginning of the war and the Governors had to take over. Since then non-Congress Ministries have taken office in two out of the eight Provinces so that at the end of 1943 Provincial Autonomy was in force in five Provinces.

#### *(b) Not Introduced at the Centre*

It has not been possible to introduce federation at the Centre, but an increasing number of Indians have been appointed to the Executive Council of the Viceroy, which has now fourteen Members, of whom ten are Indians.

#### *Growth of Communal Feeling*

At first it seemed as though not only was Provincial Autonomy going to be a success—and it has been in several Provinces—but that federation at the Centre would also be practicable. It now looks as if these hopes may be disappointed.

The reason is the rapid and alarming growth of ill feeling between the two big communities, the Hindus and the Muslims. There are many causes of this, but the chief one is the dissatisfaction of the Muslims with the way in which the Congress Ministers acted in the eight Provinces before they resigned.

#### *The Muslim Point of View*

Whatever may be the facts, the Muslims believe that they did not get a square deal, and they fear that they will not get one in the future. They contend that self-government from the Hindu point of view means domination by the Hindus through Congress, and they will not have it. They want, therefore, to make sure of their position in those parts of India in which they are in a majority, namely, in the North-East and in the North-West. They want a separate State, or States, which they call Pakistan. They want these to be quite independent of the rest of India, and they will have nothing to do with federation at the Centre—which only a few years ago they were ready to accept, though with reluctance.

#### *The Hindu Point of View*

The Hindus at present do not agree. They want a unified India with a strong Centre; they fear that India will otherwise split into fragments; they hate the idea of a separate Muslim State which may look for help to Muslim countries adjacent to India; they fear that hostility will grow and end in anarchy and chaos.

#### *The Sikh Point of View*

There is another complication. The North-Western portion of Pakistan would include 4,000,000 Sikhs whose ancestors ruled there before the British, having conquered the Muslim rulers. They will not listen to the idea of a separate Muslim State and will fight rather than have it.

**(iii) The Cripps Offer**

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1942, the British Government made an offer, which was conveyed by Sir Stafford Cripps who went to India. Its object was the creation of a new Indian Union which would be a Dominion, equal to the other Dominions and associated with them and the U.K. by a common allegiance to the Crown.

*Dominion Status—with Two Conditions*

Immediately after the war a body was to be elected by Indians for the purpose of framing a new constitution for India. It was to include representatives of the Indian States. The British Government undertook to accept and implement the constitution framed by this body, subject to two conditions:—

- (a) Any Province unwilling to accept the constitution should be allowed either to retain its present status or to agree with the British Government upon a new constitution giving it an equal status with the Indian Union.
- (b) A treaty should be negotiated with the British Government which would, among other things, provide for the protection of minorities but would not prevent the Indian Union from deciding its future relationship to the British Commonwealth.

The Indian States were to be free to choose whether or not they should join the Union.

*Refused—But the Offer Still Stands*

The offer was rejected by all parties. The Congress and the Sikhs turned it down because it contained the possibility of Pakistan. The Muslim League turned it down because Pakistan was a possibility and not a certainty. The offer still holds good.

A few months later the Congress, at the instance of Mr. Gandhi, demanded that the British should quit India, and when no notice was taken of his demand, started another "non-violent" movement. The result was immediate violence on a big scale, and considerable damage to the cause of the war before it was suppressed. Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were placed in confinement.

**(iv) The Present Position**

The British Government is pledged to Dominion status for India after the war, provided that there is reasonable agreement among the communities and parties as to what the new Constitution should be. There is no room for doubt regarding either the intentions or good faith of the British Government. The matter rests with Indians themselves. They alone are to decide whether the unity achieved under British rule is to continue, or whether India can be divided without the insecurity which division has meant in the past. But there must be reasonable agreement on one course or the other.

*In the Meantime*

Meanwhile these political quarrels do not prevent India playing her part in the war. Every month 60,000 Indians volunteer for the forces—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and every other race and religion. They are fighting together in the common cause and they do not worry about their political or religious differences. Nor do many millions of other Indians. This is one reason for hope. Another is that things have a way in India of blowing up to a crisis and then subsiding. Time and patience are great healers. So also is good will, and India has the good will of the British people.

## Chapter IV. THE LADDER OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

By VINCENT HARLOW, M.A., D.Litt.

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### 1. What Has the Colonial Empire to Do with You?

When we talk of "Colonials" today we mean—or should do—something very different from what our grandfathers meant. When they spoke of a "Colony" or a "Colonial", they were thinking of places like Ontario or British Columbia in Canada and New South Wales in Australia, and they were thinking of their own relatives and friends who had gone out there.

The proper meaning of the word "Colony" is a place to which settlers from a mother country go with their wives and children and make a permanent home. Newcomers swell the ranks: they intermarry: farms, villages and towns spring up: a new community is born speaking the same language as the parent State and organised on similar lines.

#### (i) What Do We Mean by "Colonies"?

There are very few Colonies of that kind in the Colonial Empire today; and the reason is that most of the genuine Colonies have grown up and, so to speak, left school. They joined together with neighbouring Colonies and gradually became completely self-governing nations—Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. It is as sensible to speak of a citizen of one of these nations of the British Commonwealth as a "Colonial", as it would be to address a senior officer as though he were still a cadet in an O.C.T.U.

#### *Over 50 Different Territories*

The modern Colonial Empire consists of 63 million people living in more than 50 different territories ranging from tiny islands to large areas like Nigeria, four times the size of the United Kingdom.

Out of 42 million people in British Colonial Africa, less than 60,000 are white. The Colonial Empire is a medley of peoples, scattered across the Tropics from the West Indies, across Africa, to Fiji and other islands of the Pacific.

#### *Of All Sorts and Conditions*

Some, like the West Indians, are almost completely Europeanised; others (particularly in Africa) are as primitive as the ancient Britons; and others again—like the peoples of Ceylon and Malaya—represent ancient civilisations of the East. Consider for a moment a fully qualified African doctor or lawyer of Lagos on the West Coast, a naked tribesman from the Nigerian Plateau, an Arab merchant of Zanzibar, a British coffee planter in Kenya, a Malayan sultan and a Maltese peasant.

In this vast range of human life you will realise something of the fascination, complexity and urgency of the problems of the British Colonial Empire.

#### (ii) How Did They Come to Be British?

The great mass of the modern Colonial Empire—in Africa, Malaya, and the Pacific Islands—has come under British rule since about 1880. This expansion was very far from being a planned policy on the part of the Government, which was extremely reluctant to undertake fresh commitments. On several occasions it flatly refused to respond to requests for British protection from the local inhabitants.

In some cases, British rule was established as the result of the enterprise of groups of traders who had seen that British trade and industrial development were on the point of being squeezed out by European rivals who were creating territorial monopolies. In other cases—particularly in East and West Africa—explorers, missionaries and others roused public opinion to the necessity of putting an end to the horrors of slavery and the slave trade.

### (iii) Who Owns the Colonies?

Many foreigners (and some British) speak of the Colonies as though they were an enormous estate with the British Government as landlord, collecting the rents in the form of taxation. In fact, the Government no more "owns" the Colonies than it owns Yorkshire or the Isle of Wight.

In certain districts of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia the occupying native tribes have been provided with alternative stretches of country in another part of the territory, in order to make room for European immigrants and mining enterprise. This has raised the problem of the conflicting claims of the European settlers and the natives, which will be discussed in the next booklet. But it should be noted that the proportion of land which has thus passed from African to European ownership is small.

### *No Taxes or Tribute to Us*

The land belongs to the inhabitants, and they pay no taxes or tribute of any kind to the United Kingdom Government. The Colonies make varying contributions toward their defence; but a large proportion of the expenditure during peace and war is paid for by the taxpayer in Britain.

### (iv) This Business of "Exploitation"

The whole problem of "exploitation" will be examined in the next booklet, but we must note one fundamental point about it here. It relates to the question of who owns the Colonial Empire and so has a direct bearing on this business of progress towards self-government.

### *Public Money Will Be Needed—*

It is important to remember that, with few exceptions, the Colonies are not only backward but desperately poor, lacking in reliable export crops and the means to develop natural resources. The problem is not the presence of the capitalist, but his absence.

In future, State capital (i.e. the British tax-payers' money—your money) will have to be used more and more to set backward Colonial peoples moving towards a higher standard of living.

### *—So Will Private Money; How to Control It?*

Private enterprise, however, is indispensable for their progress. The problem is how to control it.

In the distant past the Colonies were in some cases injuriously exploited, just as there was sweated labour in Britain, and the exploitation of child and female labour in British mills and coal mines. The workman has gradually learned how to safeguard the welfare of his own labour at home; and that experience is being applied in the Colonies—in the form of trades unions, labour inspectorates, and careful labour regulations.

These controls are far from perfect, but great progress has already been made and is continuing.



*Are the Colonies Closed to Foreigners ?*

In the British Colonies, there is free scope for foreigners to invest, and Colonial products (in times of peace) are bought and sold on the world market in free competition. There is no "ownership" in the sense that we have a monopoly.

When, therefore, we tackle the question of training the Colonies in self-government we are not doing so against a background of monopoly and exploitation.

**2. Who Is Responsible for the Colonies ?**

The answer to the question is quite simple—*You*, and every citizen with a vote in the United Kingdom.

*It's Your Concern*

When a Colony or group of Colonies becomes a Dominion, that is to say, a completely self-governing nation, it takes charge of its own destiny. On the other hand, a Colony is both protected and controlled by the parent State, and for that reason the latter bears the responsibility. The safety and well-being of a ship rests with the skipper. As a territory advances stage by stage towards managing its own affairs, the responsibility passes by corresponding stages from us to them.

**(i) The Place of the King**

What is the machinery by which we discharge this responsibility ?

The Governor of every British Colony is appointed by the Crown, to whom he is responsible for all his official acts. In our democracy, the Sovereign is not personally responsible for what is done but always acts on the advice of Cabinet Ministers, who are responsible to Parliament.

**(ii) Governor Responsible to the Secretary of State**

The Governor of every British Colony\* is answerable to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the appropriate King's Minister) and he in turn—with his Cabinet colleagues—is answerable to Parliament. In its turn Parliament is answerable to the citizens of the United Kingdom who elect it.

**(iii) The Secretary of State to Parliament**

In the day-to-day business of managing the affairs of over 50 Colonial territories of every sort and kind, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the assistance of the permanent officials of his Department, the Colonial Office, must, of course, make decisions without consulting Parliament. But he renders a periodic account of his stewardship, and every Member of Parliament has the right to question him on any subject relating to the Colonies.

If it were a serious matter and a majority in the House of Commons decided to oppose the decision, the Colonial Secretary and his Cabinet colleagues would either have to alter their policy or submit themselves to the verdict of public opinion at a General Election.

**(iv) And Parliament Responsible to You**

Our responsibility as citizens of the United Kingdom for the well-being of the Colonial peoples is indirect ; but it is very real. The greater our knowledge and interest in their problems become, the more will our representatives in Parliament be stimulated to give constructive and critical support to a progressive Colonial policy on the part of the Government of the day.

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\*The Colony of Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Protectorate of Swaziland are administered by a High Commissioner (who is also the U.K. High Commissioner in the Union of South Africa). He is responsible to the Dominions Secretary.

# YOUR RESPONSIBILITY CITIZENS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

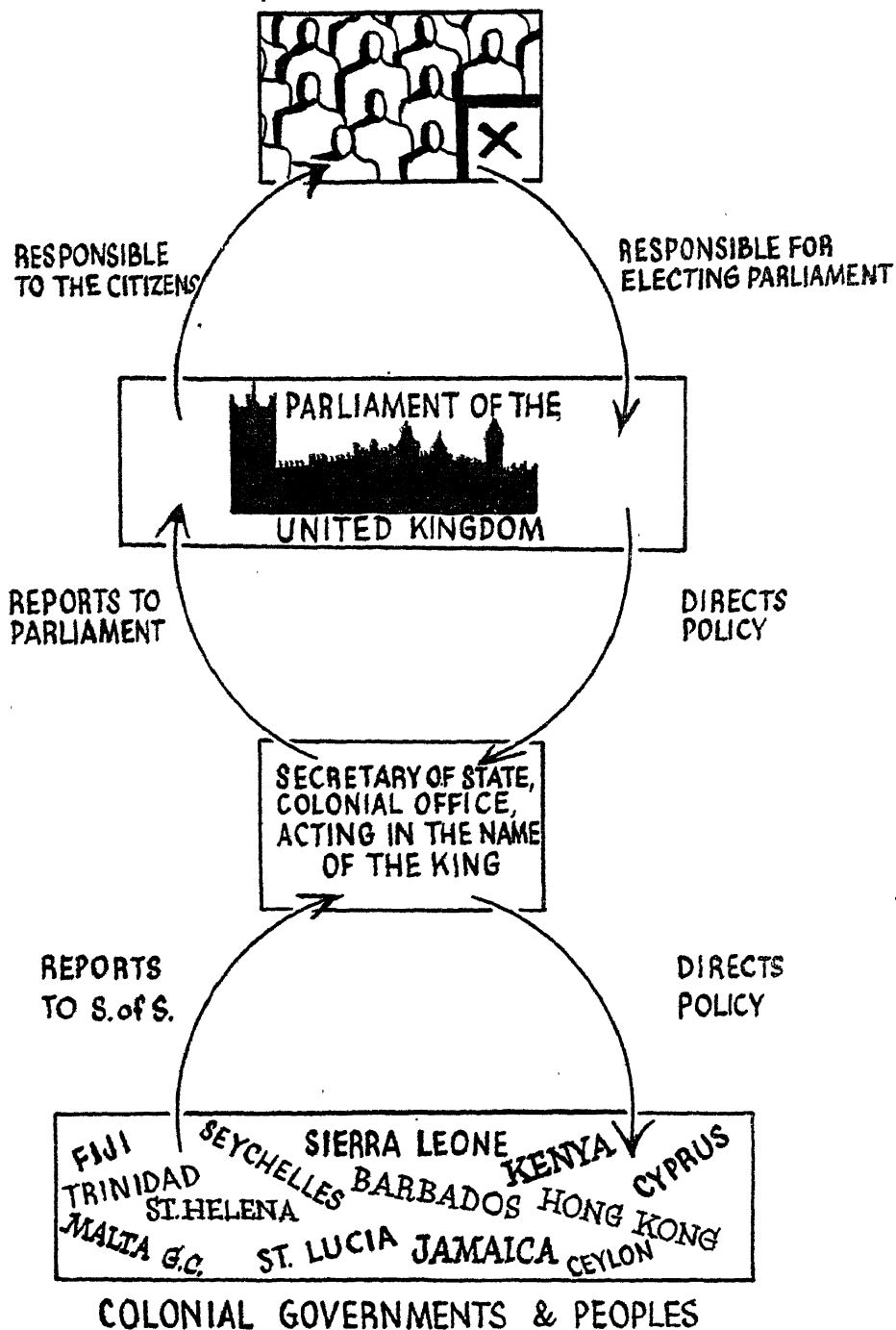


FIGURE 56

### 3. Should There Be a Ladder of Self-Government ?

The first step in our policy for the Colonial Empire was to put an end to anarchy by stamping out the traffic in slaves and chronic tribal wars. Peace, personal security and a just system of law were established. But we then began to realise that this was no more than laying foundations in a colossal work of reconstruction.

#### (i) Self-Government and Living Conditions

Two great principles came to be accepted. One principle was that it was a British duty to train Colonial peoples in the art of self-government, and with that problem the rest of this chapter will be concerned.

But increasingly we have realised that political progress can mean very little for people held back by ignorance and superstition, disease and poverty. The second principle is that the resources of a territory must be developed in such a way as to benefit the native inhabitants and also the world at large.

We have already glanced at that question and in the next booklet three chapters will be devoted to it. But keep it in mind constantly. As one writer has put it, a vote won't fill an empty stomach. Without development of their minds, of their material resources, of their social services, and so on, there can be no genuine progress towards self-government.

#### (ii) All Up the Same Ladder of Self-Government ?

A large area (say in Africa) inhabited by very primitive people may require a very long process of social and economic building-up before they are ready for a substantial political advance. On the other hand, it is obvious that tiny islands like Tristan da Cunha in the South Atlantic, even though inhabited by British settlers, can never have the man-power and resources to become a nation.

The idea of a "ladder" provides a useful word-picture, but we must beware of letting it give us the impression that all Colonial units can eventually reach the top, that the rate of climbing can be anything like uniform, or indeed that all Colonies can suitably use the same kind of ladder.

#### (iii) What Are the Rungs ?

What then are the various stages in the growth towards self-government ?

##### (a) *The Governor Alone*

At the lowest rung a territory is administered by a Governor alone who issues his own regulations which are subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. This is an exceptional form of government.

##### (b) *A Nominated Council May Be Added*

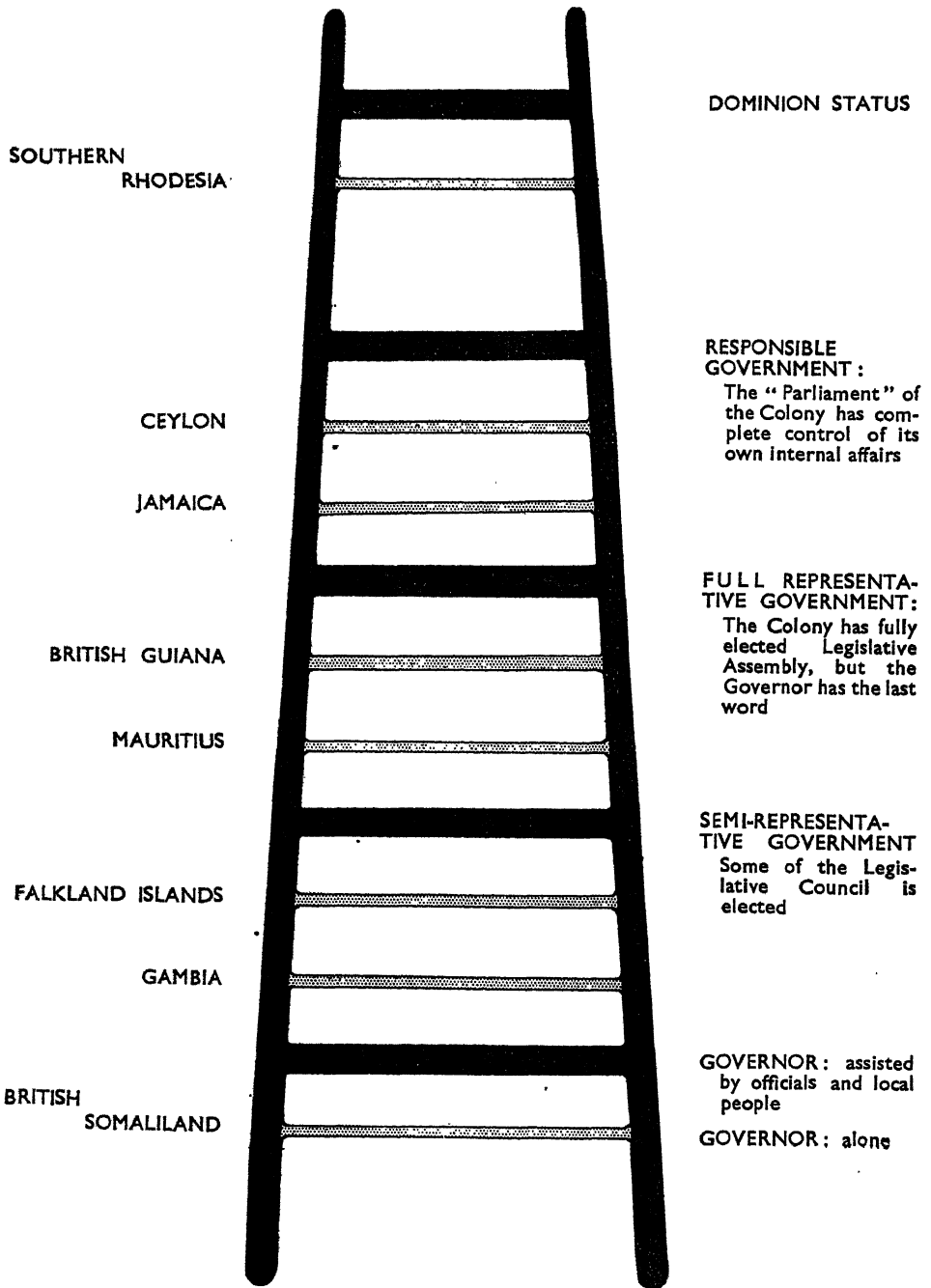
Most territories begin with a Governor assisted by a Council of officials and local inhabitants, nominated by the Crown. The Governor can over-ride their wishes, but the Councillors can (and do) appeal to the Secretary of State if they think the Governor is acting unwisely or misbehaving himself.

##### (c) *Then an Executive Council and a Legislative Council*

At the next stage the first signs of a constitution *in embryo* begin to appear.

The Governor transacts official business with the aid of a nominated Executive Council, while a law-making and tax-raising body is established in the form of a Legislative Council. It begins life by being entirely Crown-appointed, but as soon as possible, arrangements are made for a minority of the members to be elected by the inhabitants, on as wide a vote as local circumstances permit.

# THE LADDER OF SELF-GOVERNMENT



Note: There are many rungs in between, of course, because each Colony is different, and therefore climbs at its own pace.

FIGURE 57

*(d) On to Representative Government*

Gradually the elected minority may be increased until it becomes the majority. When that stage has been reached, the Colony is usually ready for a major advance, and the constitution may be remodelled on the basis of the British two-chamber system. A fully elective Legislative Assembly may be created, broadly corresponding to the House of Commons, and the Legislative Council becomes an Upper House. The Governor begins to choose his Executive Council from among the leaders in the Assembly.

This is known as Representative Government. It is the British Parliamentary system, but with a difference. The electorate has full opportunity of expressing its wishes and of bringing very strong pressure to bear, but the Governor is still the servant of the Government in London, which (through him) still has the last word.

*(e) Finally Responsible Government*

A Colony assumes complete control over its own internal affairs when it passes upward from Representative to Responsible Government. When this happens, the Governor transforms his Executive Council into a Cabinet, drawn from the leaders of the majority party in the Legislative Assembly.

The vital point is that he automatically summons the leaders of whichever party wins a General Election and automatically accepts their advice. He ceases to be personally responsible, and the responsibility is transferred to the shoulders of the Colonial Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues, who are answerable to the Colonial voters.

Sometimes certain specific questions, e.g. foreign relations or legislation on certain matters affecting the native inhabitants, are reserved for the final control of the Crown.

**(iv) Where Have the Colonies Got To?**

One of the Colonies which is nearest to full self-government is Ceylon. Since 1931 the members of the Legislative Assembly have been elected by all men and women over 21, without distinction of race, and the administration of internal affairs is almost entirely in the hands of Parliamentary Ministers. After the war there is to be a further advance with the object of giving Ceylon full responsible government in all matters of internal civil administration. This also applies to Malta.

In 1943 Jamaica was offered, and accepted, a new form of constitution which will be a big step forward towards internal self-government. Other Colonies which have recently moved a step up the "ladder" are Trinidad and British Guiana.

There are over 20 territories which have a legislature containing some elective members. A smaller number have legislatures whose members are all either officially appointed or nominated. In a still smaller number there is no comparable body for law-making.

**(v) What Is Indirect Rule?**

What happens in the case of primitive peoples (in Africa, for example, and the Pacific Islands) who have not yet knit together into large communities? Clearly they are not yet in a position to begin the pilgrim's progress towards Parliamentary institutions like our own. Indeed, they may eventually choose a different road of their own to self-government.

In the meantime, under a system known as "Indirect Rule", they are being trained to manage their own local affairs on the basis of the tribe, the clan and the

village. While the Governor and the Executive and Legislative Councils manage the general affairs of the territory, local native administrators, to an ever-increasing extent, themselves perform the three main functions of government in their own areas—administrative, judicial and financial.

This system is producing remarkable results ; but it is also laying up problems of its own for the future.

#### **4. What Are the Problems of Climbing the Ladder ?**

The following questions represent typical issues which call for consideration and which could usefully form the basis for discussions :—

##### **(i) Europeanised and Primitive Natives Together ?**

Is the process of approach by stages towards Parliamentary self-government (which has worked in the case of the Dominions) applicable in the case of primitive tribes ?

In this connection consider the case of British West Africa. In the coast towns, such as Lagos and Accra, there is a comparatively small Europeanised African population—African lawyers, doctors, business men, shop-keepers, office clerks, and so on. They naturally look forward to “self-government” in the form of an elected and fully developed central legislature—in which they would play a dominant part.

On the other hand, in the interior of these territories there are many millions of backward or primitive people, who are learning how to manage their own local affairs under a system which strengthens the patriarchal authority of the village headmen and the tribal chief.

##### *What Would You Do ?*

Would you disappoint the coast-dwellers for the sake of the tribes of the hinterland, or would you speed-up the transfer of authority to elected legislatures, thus placing the future of the vast majority in the hands of the few who lead an entirely different kind of life ? Will “Africanisation” of the senior administrative staff (which is now beginning) help to resolve the problem ?

##### **(ii) Where British Settlers Form a Minority ?**

Is it right to give self-government to British settlers in a territory where they are a minority ? When British folk make new homes for themselves in a territory where there is already a large native population, a problem quickly arises. The newcomers claim the right to mount the ladder of self-government.

Yet it is very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to give them “self-government” without at the same time giving them control over the native peoples, and that means the rule of a minority whose interests may clash with those of the original inhabitants. Moreover, it means that Britain surrenders her trusteeship for the latter for the sake of “liberty” for European immigrants.

##### *The Compromise in Southern Rhodesia*

This happened (inevitably) when New Zealand and then South Africa became self-governing nations. Southern Rhodesia has been granted internal Responsible Government, but with the limitation that legislation on certain matters affecting the native Africans requires the approval of the United Kingdom Government.

*The Problem in Kenya*

In Kenya, where the European community is much smaller (about 24,000 out of a total population of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions), the home Government has not responded to claims for Responsible Government. It has declared that the interests of the Africans must not be subordinated to those of a minority belonging to another race. Here the situation is further complicated by the presence of a considerable Indian community which claims its own share in the government of the country, but has small sympathy with African aspirations.

These are competing claims in the name of "liberty". What do you think about it?

**(iii) Should Other Nations Share in the Administration?**

Many people who have specialised in Colonial affairs are advocating that Colonies should be organised in regional groups (e.g. in the West Indies and East Africa), and that Regional Councils should be formed to discuss problems of common interest, such as diseases, crop pests and communications.

*A Share for Neighbouring Dominions?*

It has also been suggested that neighbouring Dominions might be associated in the administration of these groups—Canada with the West Indies, South Africa with East African territories, Australia and New Zealand with Malaya and the Pacific Islands.

What would be the advantages? Would there be any difficulties?

*And for Other European Colonial Powers?*

How far would it be desirable to seek the co-operation on a regional basis of other European Colonial Powers? In considering this, bear in mind that many of them do not believe in the British system of fostering local self-government but pursue a policy of "assimilating" the *élite* of the Colonial population with the parent State.

**THIRD SEQUENCE : TODAY AND TOMORROW**

**B.W.P. 17**

# **YOU AND THE COLONIES**

By

**SIR WILLIAM McLEAN, K.B.E., Ph.D., J.P.**

**April 1944**

## **Chapter I. WHY DEVELOP THE COLONIES ?**

### **1. Development at Work**

Do you think that we in Britain should bother ourselves about helping the Colonies to develop their resources ?

We are responsible, in various degrees, for running their affairs. Should we, therefore, in all fairness be responsible for contributing to the improvement of their agriculture, the development of their industry and so on ? How far should that contribution go ? Should public money from this country—your money—be used ? And used as a gift or as a loan ?

#### **(i) An Example from Life**

We can probably see these questions more clearly if we take a very simple example from life of what happens when development does take place in a Colony. The pictorial example is based on observations in parts of Uganda but is generally representative.

#### **(ii) Before Development—**

The upper figure shows a primitive thatched round hut without door or window, where the people sit on the ground along with the goats. The cultivator probably only grows enough vegetables for the family, with a small quantity over, which he carries on his head to the market, perhaps far distant. There he exchanges his vegetables for a few simple wants, such as a cooking pot and a piece of matting.

#### **(iii) —And After**

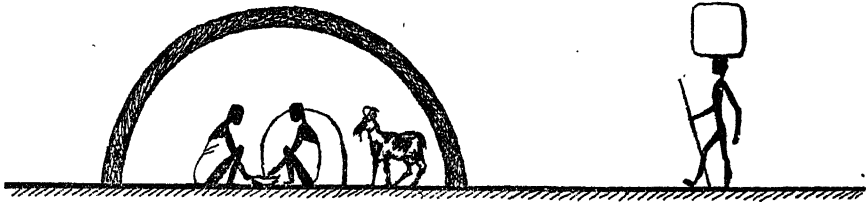
The lower figure shows conditions after development has taken place. This man has improved his cultivation, has grown more vegetables, and has possibly added bananas to his crops. He may also have been able to grow a valuable export crop like cotton.



## THE STANDARD OF LIVING IMPROVES

(An Example from Uganda)

**Before**



**After**

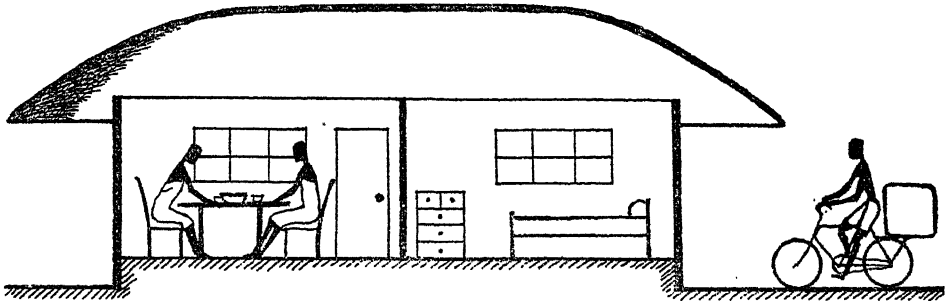


FIGURE 58

He takes his produce to market on a bicycle with sometimes a trailer attached, and he can reach a more distant market and can also have more time to cultivate. His wants at the market are now much greater. He has bought his bicycle and other high-class manufactured articles, imported from us and other manufacturing countries.

## 2. What Is the Good of It ?

Now what advantages can we see in the results of this development ?

### (i) Improved Standard of Living

First of all, the standard of living of the cultivator has been raised. He produces more and with that, or with what he gets in exchange for his products, his food, his housing, his health can all be improved. Notice, for example, in the diagram how the lower hut is made square and the thatched roof is carried on walls of mud strengthened with strong reeds. It has simple doors and windows and some furniture, including a table, chairs and a bed.

It is obvious, too, that there has been a benefit to the tradesmen in the towns and villages, who have made the doors and windows, furniture, household utensils and other local products.

### *Revenue Available for Social Services*

But not only can the cultivator and the tradesmen do more by themselves with the greater wealth they are producing. The Government of the Colony can do more. It can, for instance, take a share of that wealth by taxation and use at least part of it for providing better social services. It is only on such a secure economic foundation that schemes of social advance can be planned and carried out continuously.

**(ii) More Fitted for Self-Government**

Secondly, the cultivator and the tradesman who have made this kind of material progress are more likely to be fit for the progress in self-government we want for them. They have gained in independence and self-respect and have more of the makings of good citizens.

**(iii) How Does It Affect Us ?**

In the Colonies, as in nearly all other parts of the world, far more effort is devoted to producing goods for consumption by the producer himself and by others in his Colony than for exporting to other countries. That was probably true of the cultivator in our example.

**(a) Foodstuffs and Raw Materials We Need**

But notice that our cultivator may also have been producing something for export—in this instance, cotton. The Colonies do have resources that the rest of the world needs.

Think of just a few of the commodities from the Colonies which we have in daily use: tea, sugar, tobacco, coffee, cocoa, rice, cotton, rubber, vegetable oils and tin. These valuable goods are not, of course, found everywhere in the Colonies. They are very unequally distributed so that some Colonies are poor compared with others. But, in world trade, the principal job of the Colonies is to produce and export large quantities of a limited range of foodstuffs and raw materials of a tropical character, of the kind just listed.

**(b) Markets for Us**

Take another look at the home of our cultivator, this time at his bicycle and other household goods that must have come from a manufacturing country such as our own. They represent what the Colonies have imported in return for their exports—mainly manufactured elementary necessities like cotton-piece goods, with occasional heavy equipment such as mining machinery. It is obviously to our advantage if his resources can be developed so that he can buy more of our goods.

**(c) But We Have No Monopoly**

And that is an advantage to the world in general, not to Britain alone. It is important to note that we did not reserve the trade of the Colonies for ourselves. Before the war, the Colonies took about 25 per cent. of their imports from Britain. In 1938, they sent about 48 per cent. of their exports to foreign countries and about 35 per cent. to Britain.

**3. Where Is the Money to Come From ?**

Such development of Colonial resources involves a good many problems, but the one we are going to discuss, particularly as it affects the poorer Colonies, can be simply stated: money.

**(i) Revenue from Local Taxation ?**

It is clear in the first place that, save in a very few areas, the development of the Colonies cannot be done out of local revenues. Consider our cultivator again.

In order to develop his resources, and thus improve his own standard of living and at the same time provide a market for our goods, money was needed. It might

be to undertake research about suitable crops or to provide better equipment for working the land or to build a better system of roads and so on. Yet he and his fellows (and, from them, the Colonial Government) could raise money only if they developed their crops and their markets. The poorer Colonies in fact were caught in a vicious circle : money was needed to develop their resources ; yet only by developing their resources could they provide the money themselves.

How is the circle to be broken ?

## (ii) What about Private Investment ?

In the past, private investment in the Colonies has not been as extensive as many of us probably think. British capital has gone into the development of the Colonies —as well as foreign capital and sometimes local capital in addition. But private capital expects a return reasonably substantial and reasonably quickly, and many projects in the Colonies cannot give that.

Think of a firm planning to produce, say, furniture. Before it can turn out its first chair, it has to spend a lot of money on sites, on buildings, on machinery. In the same way, but on a vaster scale, there must be money spent on a backward Colony before its resources can be made available to the world. It must have roads, railways, harbours, drainage systems, and so on.

Private enterprise cannot be expected to invest in these developments with returns so indirect and so long delayed. There is a need for the spending of public money from this country. When that has laid the foundation, then the private company can operate ; and possibly may operate under stricter control and taxation of its profits, because so much will have been done to help the company.

## (iii) What about Your Money ?

Are we then willing to spend our money on this development ? That is the crucial question. How do you think we should answer it ?

There is the argument of the heart : that we have sole responsibility for these Colonies and that we can live up to that responsibility only by giving such aid. There is the argument of the head : that if we can raise the standard of living of these Colonial peoples, then in the long run they will be the bigger markets for what we want to sell.

But we must recognise that this gain will come only in the long run. In the meantime, are we willing to do without some things we would like, but don't absolutely need, in order to help the Colonial peoples to get things they do need and need badly ?

### *The Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1940*

In the summer of 1940, when we faced the greatest crisis in our history and when the world believed that the Empire was coming to an end, we passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. That showed the quality of our answer to the question.

An earlier Act of 1929 had provided funds for Colonial development in a very limited way. This new Act went very much further. In the first place it wiped out debts amounting to £11 million owed to us by the Colonial Governments. Secondly, it provided £500,000 annually for an indefinite period for promoting research or enquiry into " schemes for any purpose likely to promote the development of the resources of any Colony or the welfare of its people." And finally it provided that £5 million might be spent as free grants each year for the next ten years.

The money will be available for the development, not only of industry and agriculture, but of the medical and health services, of education and nutrition schemes, etc. ; it will, it is hoped, "prime the pump" and enable the poorer Colonies to stand on their own feet within reasonable time.

### *Already at Work*

Already schemes covering some thirty different Colonial territories have been adopted which will call for over £6 million under the Act. Grants of £525,000 to Jamaica for agricultural development, of £187,500 for roads in British Honduras, of £325,000 for a water supply and conservation scheme in Cyprus, of £350 to investigate the possibility of tobacco-growing in Dominica—these are only a few examples of the development under way.

## **4. What Problems Are Raised for the Native Peoples ?**

This policy of development and welfare, and all that has followed from it, should hasten the improvement of conditions in the Colonies, especially when the funds provided by the 1940 Act can be fully utilised.

### **(i) The Break with Custom**

Ignorance, prejudice, custom and belief in some Colonies account, however, for much backwardness which cannot be cured by improved economic conditions. It is a curious fact that the provision of money alone does not necessarily raise the standard of living, especially in the case of the more primitive peoples. We must in the widest sense educate the community to appreciate social improvement, if the benefits of the higher standards are to be fully enjoyed.

The following example will illustrate the difficulties encountered. A nomad cattle-owning people will not easily be persuaded to settle down and cultivate in mixed farming, to which they may have a traditional tribal objection, even when it can be shown that their soil will then be preserved from erosion and destruction. For the same reason, any suggestion of reducing the number of cattle, so as to preserve the soil, may be unwelcome because the wealth and importance of a man or family may depend upon the number owned, and the price of a bride may be reckoned as so many head of cattle, and in no other way.

### **(ii) Are Colonial Peoples Exploited Unfairly ?**

The development of the Colonies is sometimes regarded as exploitation, in the sense that we take too much out of the people. The facts are that we do not get any part of the taxes imposed in the Colonies ; the money raised by local taxes is all spent on the people there. Moreover, as we have seen, the British taxpayer substantially assists the poorer Colonies when necessary.

### *Keeping Some of the Profits in the Colony*

There remains the question whether commercial enterprises have taken too great profits out of the Colonies ; an examination of this question is made in the Report of the Labour Adviser on "Labour Conditions in Ceylon, Mauritius and Malaya."\* He found that in Ceylon :—

"in 1940, the 20 principal tea and rubber companies paid dividends varying from 7 per cent. to 28 per cent., and in one case 55 per cent. But if these figures are adjusted to a payment on capital together with reserves

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\* Command Paper 6243 of 1943.

put back into development and improvement, they are materially reduced ; 55 per cent. falls to 14 per cent., and the most of the companies prove to be paying from 9 per cent to 12 per cent. In view of the long delays in results and the speculative nature of the investment, this return cannot be considered very attractive ; furthermore, these companies are the most successful survivors and do not reflect the situation of the poorer propositions or, of course, those that have failed and fallen out."

On the other hand it is true, not only that some companies, particularly the more successful mining companies, make high profits, but that the taxation on these profits was generally light before the war. Since the war most Colonial Governments have increased local rates of taxation and are, therefore, tending to secure a more adequate share of the profits of industry in order to help in meeting the social services and other expenditure.

### (iii) Settlers and Native Peoples

Other problems of development result in some Colonies from the incoming of settlers. These problems sometimes raise acute controversies and so much is heard of them that they are regarded by many people as typical of the Colonies and common to them all. In fact, they affect directly only a few of them.

#### *In Kenya and Northern Rhodesia*

Thus in certain districts of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, the occupying native tribes have been provided with alternative stretches of country in order to make room for European immigrants and mining enterprises.

The proportion of land which has thus passed from African to European owners is small, though it includes some of the most useful land in the two territories. In Kenya about 10,000 square miles have been allocated to Europeans. A further area of about 1,000 square miles still remains unallocated of the area which has been reserved for non-native settlement. The entire area of Kenya amounts to 224,960 square miles.

In Northern Rhodesia four million acres have been bought by the local Government from a private company, and it is intended to settle Africans from overcrowded areas on this land. It amounts to one-half of all the land transferred to Europeans.

#### *The Settlers Have a Case, Too*

There are many who regret that any areas of Colonial territory have been allocated to Europeans. It is to be remembered, however, that the British settlers who went out to East Africa, for example (many of them ex-Service men after the last war), risked everything—their savings and the future of their families. They have put hard work and enterprise into developing coffee, sisal (a fibre which provides twine and cordage), pyrethrum (a flower which is the source of the most efficient insecticide for combating the malarial mosquito), and other crops. They have, therefore, given East Africa new industries and new revenue, which has sometimes provided the native tribes with social services which these tribes had no means of paying for themselves.

However, the ideas of these settlers are not always in the African native interest and, since Britain is pledged to look after this interest, the situation raises many difficulties for the Colonial administration,

#### (iv) Industry Is Upsetting Native Life

Again, the introduction of mining or industry may upset the life of an agricultural community of more or less primitive people. For example, the population of a district may be so small or scattered that if a mine is opened or a factory set up, only a few local workers can be found. The rest may have to be recruited from hundreds of miles away. Obviously if this problem of separation from wives and families is not tackled, then the men may become demoralised and their homes suffer badly in their absence.

In Northern Rhodesia this problem arises from the employment of native workers in the production of copper, on which they may be away from home for eighteen months to two years. There the problem is being tackled at present by encouraging married men to bring their wives and families with them from the tribal areas into the copper-belt. Family accommodation is provided and health and educational facilities are good.

## Chapter II. WELFARE FOR THE COLONIES

### 1. What Social Services Do They Need ?

In the last chapter, we discussed why, for the sake of both our own ideals and our own interests, we ought to help in developing the resources of the Colonies. One of the main resources is their peoples. They have to be equipped with reasonable health and education. What are the needs of these peoples and what social services are being developed to meet them ?

#### (i) The Background

Many of us, if asked what the words "Colonies" and "native peoples" suggested to us, would give a picture of general primitiveness and ignorance in a setting of arid desert or tropical forest. As we have already seen, the Colonies are extremely varied and that picture is not even roughly true of them all. But it is true enough of the more backward Colonies in tropical Africa, for instance—which are also the more needy—to give us something to begin with in discussing what social services the Colonies need.

#### (ii) Some They Don't Need at Present

Think of the long list of our own social services, and immediately we can see that certain of them don't yet apply in the conditions of the more backward Colonies. In an African village, for instance, where every man has land and the men seldom work for wages for more than a few weeks during the year, is unemployment insurance needed ? In a community with an elaborate family system, where remote cousins are treated as brothers and sisters and the family looks after the sick and the old people, are health insurance and old age pensions needed ?

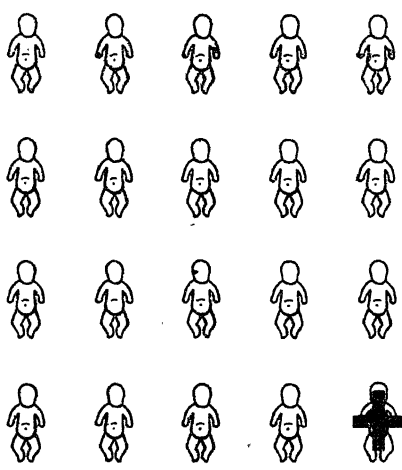
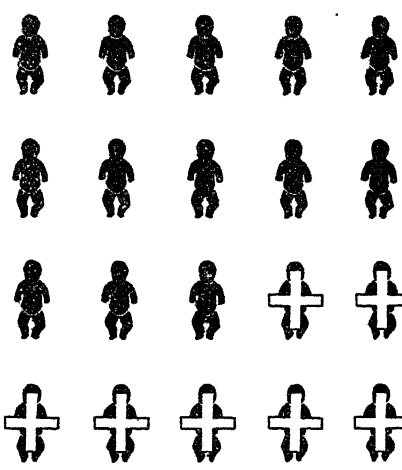
#### (iii) Others They Need Badly

Although the need for these more recent and advanced social services is growing in the towns and among native wage-earners, the Colonies as a whole are not yet ripe for them. That leaves plenty of problems in the more basic services—in education, in medicine, in housing, in nutrition and in the treatment of labour.

All of these problems are made specially urgent by conditions in some of the Colonies. Poverty, ignorance and superstition stand in the way of new ideas of hygiene, diet and housing. The tropical climate and tropical infections carry their special threats to health: one writer sums up conditions in this way :—\*

"If you happened to be a negro baby born in one of the less developed parts of tropical Africa, you would have only a one-in-three or even a one-in-two chance of surviving the first year of life. You would be practically certain to suffer from some dietary deficiency, from some chronic infection such as malaria and from gross parasites, such as round-worms and hook-worms. . . .

### DEATH RATE AMONG INFANTS

IN ENGLAND	IN AFRICA
	
<p><i>Out of every 100 babies approximately 5 die in the first year of life</i></p>	<p><i>In some parts of Africa out of every 100 babies 35 die in the first year of life</i></p>

*Note : Each symbol represents 5 babies.*

FIGURE 59

You would be most likely to live in a windowless hut, cultivating the soil in a primitive way. . . .

If the countryside round your village was not virgin tropical forest, it would be likely to be over-grazed and eroded scrubland or else so infested with tsetse-fly as to make cattle-keeping impossible. Wild beasts, or poisonous snakes or disease-carrying insects, or all three, would be part of the permanent background of your life."

These are the conditions we found in some of the Colonies. What have we done and what can we do about them?

\* Democracy Marches : Julian Huxley : pp. 90-91.

## 2. How Are the Problems Being Tackled ?

In the Colonies the social services are mainly in the hands of the medical, education and agricultural departments of the Colonial governments, though there is a great deal of effort and initiative displayed by missionary and other voluntary bodies. In some cases there is a separate labour department or inspectorate which looks after the interests of workers. Education is so important that it will be dealt with separately in the next chapter.

### (i) What about Medical Work ?

The reports from the medical departments in the Colonies show that great progress has been made on the "curative" side of medical work as well as on the "preventive" or public health side.

There are well-equipped hospitals and clinics for the treatment of disease in many of the large towns, but more are needed, especially in rural areas. The medical schools and the hospitals are providing the advanced training in medicine and surgery necessary for doctors and medical assistants, and they also train "n.c.o.'s" for the medical services, such as dressers, nurses and hospital orderlies. In addition many students come from the Colonies to medical schools in Britain.

People of the Colonies, including for example, Africans, are being trained in this way. Do you think this is right, or would you import people from Britain ? Possibly the people from Britain would be better qualified but they would also be much more expensive, so that there would be fewer of them.

### *Prevention Better than Cure ?*

At any rate could we agree that it is more important to prevent than to cure disease ? Much attention is being given to the prevention of disease by improving sanitary conditions, by anti-malarial precautions, by vaccination against small-pox, and other measures. In some parts of Africa, for example, as high as 90 per cent. of the people suffer from hook-worm, which they contract from damp ground through the soles of their feet. Accordingly, we are attacking the problem at both ends : by trying to clean up the infected ground and by educating the native peoples to avoid that ground or to wear some foot covering when walking on it.

Public health is closely linked with the development of the resources of the Colonies, and it is safe to say that some areas could not be developed without first undertaking public health measures. Thus land drainage for agricultural purposes may also have the effect of improving the health conditions of the area and clearing it of, say, malaria. The opening of the air line between the Sudan and Nigeria, for example, was only possible after steps had been taken to clear by drainage the airfields and the neighbouring land of the mosquitoes which might communicate yellow fever. The medical authorities are now working hard to prevent the transfer of malaria, dengue and yellow fever by mosquitoes carried in airplanes.

### (ii) Has Housing Been Improved ?

In the rural areas of some Colonies, satisfactory attempts are being made to improve the existing local type of house which is usually the one best suited to the climate and to local conditions. The diagram in Chapter I shows an improved type of rural house.

In large villages and towns, the design of the house and the materials of construction need modification to meet public health rules necessary where houses are close together. Town planning and slum clearance present difficulties, as they do in this country, and the people need to be educated to appreciate these important



matters. Much progress has already been made, however, and we are helping in many ways. Recently, for example, a Town Planning Adviser was sent out from this country to the staff of the Resident Minister for West Africa.

### (iii) Have We Improved the Food Supply ?

There is plenty of evidence that lack of food, or lack of suitable food, is a great cause of ill-health and inefficiency in many parts of the Colonial Empire. This problem is quite crucial. Without proper food no child can grow into a vigorous adult. In a sense, then, the improvement of farming and of the food supply may be more vital than hospitals or housing, education or trade unions.

#### *Conserving the Land*

However, before the farmer can apply improved methods to the land, he must have the land. And the task of conservation is one of Africa's most serious problems. Heavy rains wash away the top-soil ; the wind blows it off ; and too much grazing destroys it.

Yet the counter-measures already taken show what can be done. In Basutoland, for example, the problem has been vigorously tackled since 1935. With the help of a loan from Britain, there has been extensive land restoration in which the experts, the district chiefs and the people have co-operated with great success.

#### *The Causes of Malnutrition*

But even where the land is available, malnutrition may continue. What are its causes ? In 1939 an official Committee reported on this problem and stated three main reasons. First of all, the standard of living is often too low. Secondly, there exists great ignorance and prejudice, both about diet and about the use of land. Valuable food may not be grown because the people are so conservative ; they are afraid of new kinds of food, and other food is " tabu " (forbidden) to some families or tribes ; in some parts, for instance, women are not allowed to eat eggs, even if they are convalescent and need that food badly. Farming methods may be so primitive that land is wasted and crops are small. Thirdly, some widespread tropical diseases prevent the sufferers from digesting their food.

#### *What Is to Be Done about It ?*

Obviously the problem has to be tackled on a wide front, including medical measures such as those we have already discussed and the development of education, which we shall be considering in the next chapter. But the Committee, in considering remedies, stressed in particular the importance of a farming policy. Two of the main suggestions are :—

*First*, the Colonial Governments should, if necessary, encourage the people to grow at least part of the foodstuffs they consume. You can see the value of this policy if you apply it to the West Indies.

At one time, most of Europe's sugar came from the West Indies. The islands were very largely devoted to sugar production, and imported most of their food. Now that Europe is growing sugar beet, the islands have lost these markets ; they have not yet discovered any other crop which they can export. They have difficulty, therefore, in continuing to buy their food abroad, and they have no substantial production of food at home on which to fall back.

*Secondly*, the Committee suggested that a good rule for improving Colonial diets would be to increase the variety of food produced in the Colonies for their own use. Thus the poor physique of many of the East African tribes is partly the result of this lack of variety ; they grow little else than maize, beans and pumpkins and live largely on maize porridge.

*Nutrition Committees at Work*

The recommendations of this Committee are being followed. Twenty-six nutrition committees have been formed, more than half of which have become welfare committees with wider duties.

They will use many different methods in pressing on with their work. An interesting example of how food education may be carried out was recently staged by the Kenya Medical Department. There was held for two months a Food Exhibition and Cooking Demonstration at the Kiambu Market, to show, among other things, how to make Irish stew and how to use the maximum amount of vegetables. Trained African female cooks showed how this could be made, both in the European way and also in the locally made earthen pots on small hut fires. Two eating shelters were erected because Kikuyu men and women do not eat together. The stew was sold at rather less than half-price and soon even the most conservative of the older market-goers learned to appreciate it. Although meat was available, it had never been customary to eat it save on some rare occasions.

*(iv) Have We Protected Labour?*

This question is worth special attention. The accusation is sometimes brought against us that we have exploited the Colonies, while in actual fact we can claim to have done more than almost any other Colonial Power to protect Colonial labour.

*No Forced Labour*

There may be a problem of getting labour to develop the resources of the Colony. In many communities it is the tradition that women work and that men only fight. In Kenya, for instance, many Masai warriors still think it beneath their dignity to touch a spade or a hoe.

Yet in spite of such difficulties, there is, in normal times, no forced labour for us or for the Colonial Governments. During the war, Europeans and native people alike have been directed into jobs, where necessary, under much the same system as in this country.

*Labour Departments*

We can readily see that the people of the Colonies, taking up work in factory or in mine for the first time and unused to that kind of life, may need more help than British workers.

In such circumstances isn't there a special need for protection? The Colonial Governments think so. Where there are a good many wage-earners, they have set up labour departments or inspectorates, whose job is to inspect labour conditions generally and make suggestions for their improvement. They deal with such questions as trade unions, workmen's compensation, the employment of children, and, in co-operation with the public health services, questions of housing, water-supply and sanitation, especially in plantation and mining areas.

*Encouragement to Form Trade Unions*

The British Government has a full share in inspiring and supplementing this policy. An experiment, which may lead to far-reaching results, was the appointment in 1942 of experienced trade unionists from this country as labour officers in certain territories. Such officers have been appointed to Trinidad, the Gold Coast, Palestine, Sierra Leone, British Guiana and Nigeria.

The reports show that these men are doing admirable work. It is part of their task to educate the workers of the territories in the proper uses and methods of trade

unionism. They are there to help not only the employed, but employers as well. In the West African Colonies over 100 unions have been registered; in the West Indies about 60.

### *Their Wages Compared with Ours*

It is worth considering whether wages, by themselves, give us any reliable picture of the conditions of the workers. The Labour Adviser to the Colonial Office in a Report on "Labour Conditions in the West Indies" states that "any estimate of conditions, founded upon consideration of the wage-rate alone, will be erroneous and misleading." He goes on to state that we must consider not only what the worker earns, but what his cost of living is and how certain he is of steady work. What is your opinion?

## **3. Where Is the Money to Come From?**

We saw in the last chapter how, by the development of the resources of the Colonies, Colonial Governments are able to collect revenues, part of which can be used for these social services.

### **(i) What Do the Colonies Spend?**

An analysis of pre-war expenditure from Colonial Government revenues showed that, on an average, 25 per cent. was spent on social services. In Great Britain the comparable figure was about 30 per cent.

This is perhaps an unfair comparison because expenditure per head in the Colonies is much less than in this country; on the other hand, in tropical countries the people need less to support life than in cold countries, and the cost of living is lower.

The diagram shows the results of the analysis referred to and how the remainder of the Government revenues was expended, 25 per cent. being on administration, 20 per cent. on economic development, 20 per cent. on prior charges (debt, defence, etc.) and 10 per cent. unclassified. The results of this investigation disposed of the criticism that too much was spent on administration and too little on social services and on the development of resources.

### **(ii) Should We Help Further?**

But the necessary development of all the services we have just been discussing requires a good deal more in the way of money, equipment and experts than the Colonies can provide themselves. The diagram shows the social services getting a fair share of the cake. But if the social services are to be fully developed, then the cake has to be made bigger. Should we contribute to it?

We come back to the crucial question: Are we going to insist immediately on so much for ourselves that we shall have neither the will nor the resources to help the Colonial peoples? We have seen the argument of our interests and the argument of our idealism. Are these arguments strong enough?

### *Our Answer*

The Colonial Development and Welfare Act, as we have seen, provides £5 million a year for ten years to be spent on the welfare of the Colonies—including these social services. Already, for example, the establishment of health centres is under way in the Windward Islands, Leeward Islands and British Guiana; and a grant has been made of £65,000 to combat malaria in Fiji and the British Western Pacific Islands.

More than that. Science has to be fully mobilised in this fight to improve the life of the Colonial peoples. And research is probably the way in which we can help most, for in this field the Colonial peoples are quite helpless.

### HOW THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS SPEND THEIR REVENUES

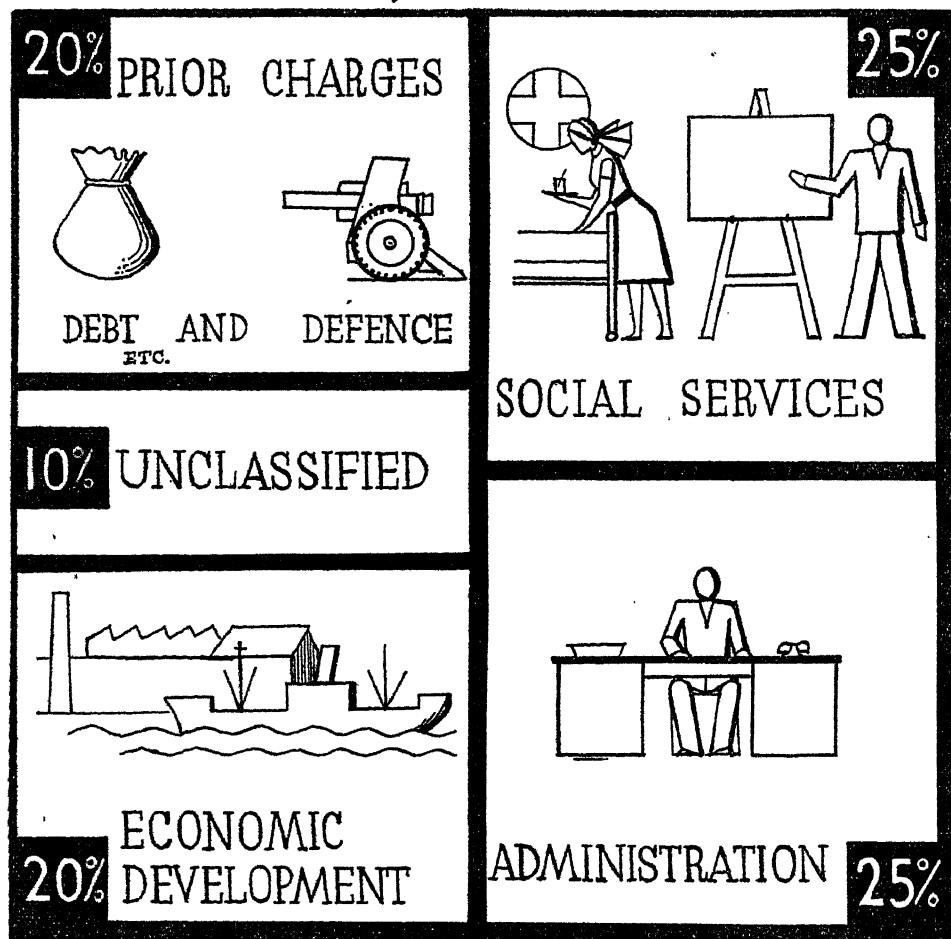


FIGURE 60

#### *The Help of Science*

There is always a considerable amount of research being carried out in the Colonies, especially in health matters. In the African Colonies, there is notable work on sleeping sickness, yellow fever, yaws and tuberculosis, while in Malaya there has been interesting work in the treatment of leprosy and malaria. Nutrition surveys and experiments are in progress throughout the Colonies. And an immense amount of work has been done in scientific institutions in Great Britain, such as the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and in various universities—at the expense of the institutions themselves.

The Act of 1940 provides £500,000 a year for Colonial research which has thus been put on a better basis than in the past. A Colonial Research Advisory Committee has been formed and its first report, recently published, shows the great scope of the research work now being undertaken.

## Chapter III. EDUCATION FOR THE COLONIES

### 1. Why Educate Them ?

We have already seen that we are pledged to dip into our pockets to help in providing education for the Colonies. The yearly sum of £5 million under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act will be available for education, among other things.

#### (i) Need They Be Educated ?

We have also seen the need for education underlying almost all the other problems. We want to lead these people towards self-government. Can they, without education, learn to run their own affairs, take over responsible positions in any of the Government Departments, provide their own leaders ? We want to help them to develop their industries. Since many primitive peoples thus become wage-earners, that means, for example, teaching them arithmetic for the use of money. But doesn't it also mean teaching them to be skilled workers and foremen ? For we can't plan to keep them as the industrial " hewers of wood and drawers of water."

Again, we want to improve their health, their housing, and so on. Yet often custom and superstition are obstacles to progress. A nurse wrote of her work in Africa :—

" Often when I am summoned to see a patient, the African practitioner slips out of the back door as I go in at the front. When I leave he returns and his treatment often neutralises mine."\*

Education has to be the " assault " force, clearing the way for the other improvements to follow up.

#### (ii) Can They Be Educated ?

Yet some people, who agree on the need for education and might even agree that a limited amount is possible, sometimes pitch that limit very low. They cling to the belief that many native peoples are in some way inherently inferior in intelligence, that they can't be educated very far.

#### *What Does Experience Suggest ?*

One test for that belief is to measure it against our experience. Colonial peoples have been educated to take responsibility for running their own affairs. Throughout the Colonies as a whole, the great majority of officials in government service are local inhabitants. And not only subordinate officials. In British West Africa many African doctors hold government appointments ; there are several African judges of the Supreme Court, and several African magistrates, including two women magistrates ; two Africans sit on each of the Executive Councils of Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, which advise the Governors on major questions of Colonial policy ; besides these, Africans hold high posts in the departments of education, agriculture, customs and police.

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\* Five Points for Africa : Margaret Wrong : p. 95.

Africans have shown themselves capable of skilled work in industry. Here is the evidence of the general manager of a South African gold-mining company, giving evidence before the Mining Industry Commission :—

“ We have some of the Kaffirs who are better machine men than some of the white men. I have boys who have been working on the mine from twelve to fifteen years, and they are better than many on the Rand nowadays.”\*

### *What Does the Scientist Say ?*

So the evidence of practical experience runs. But more than that. Research into the intelligence of different races does not maintain the belief that coloured peoples are inherently less intelligent than white.

Backwardness there certainly is, and in places it is very primitive ; and Africans like Europeans differ greatly in their degree of civilisation. But such evidence as we have, suggests that the backwardness is essentially temporary and encourages us to regard it as a stage in development and to believe that we can help to lead these peoples far beyond that stage.

### **(iii) Educated in their Own Ways or Ours ?**

In the African Colonies, for instance, should the people be educated as good Africans or as good Englishmen ? The answer is that we and the Colonial peoples have a good deal to contribute to each other.

Probably you can think immediately of many ways in which their arts have influenced ours. They practise many lovely crafts—metalwork, carving, weaving and pottery. Many of them have great dramatic and musical powers, and some African peoples have an amazing sense of rhythm. We are not forgetting that native culture in the schemes for the development of the Colonies. In West Africa, for example, an Institute of West African Arts, Industries and Social Science has been set up, with the aid of a grant under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, which will, among other things, carry on research and train teachers in the native arts and crafts.

## **2. What Are the Schools Doing ?**

Let us now consider some of the various types or stages of education—primary, secondary, vocational and higher.

Each Colonial Government has an education department, which is backed by our guidance and help. In addition the work of the Christian missions from this country is very notable. They have been the pioneers, and about 90 per cent. of the educational work in Africa is still carried on by them. To this work the Colonial Governments give grants, just as the British Government does to non-State schools here—though the grants are limited by the generally slender resources of the Colonies. The African peoples themselves are very keen on education : they often build the schools and are willing to deny themselves in order to send their children to school.

### **(i) Primary Schools**

It is unfortunately still true that a large proportion of the children do not attend any school at all. It has been estimated that in some of our African Colonies less than 20 per cent. of African children receive any organised education ; many even of that number attend for only two years or less and most of them do not go beyond the primary stage.

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\* Five Points for Africa ; Margaret Wrong : p. 121.

*A Link with the Work of the Community*

The number of primary schools is being extended as much as possible. Moreover the teaching in them is being linked with the work of the neighbourhood.

The majority of those who do attend school, even in the more advanced Colonies, must live on the land when they leave school. Accordingly the primary schools are recommended to have an agricultural bias. As the Report of the East African Higher Educational Commission puts it :—

“ No child can be given a complete education in the primary school alone but primary education must be in contact with life, and must be easily capable of being completed by life ; Africa must avoid a primary education which is only capable of being completed by a secondary education.”

**(ii) Secondary Schools**

In the secondary schools, where the teaching is in English, we come across a problem that is familiar to us in this country. How far should the schools prepare the pupils for work and life in the immediate neighbourhood ? Should all boys at secondary school in Coventry have lessons in engineering and should the children of Kidderminster learn about carpet-making ? Weigh against the advantages of that policy the possibility that it would narrow education too much ; in simple terms, it might tend to prevent a country boy getting a job in London or in some profession.

*How Much Education for Jobs ?*

A balance is required between the two possibilities and that is what the Colonial secondary schools are trying to aim at. Probably in the past they concentrated too much on turning out boys fitted to be clerks or civil servants or lawyers.

While it is only just that the clever should have the chance to climb, too often that policy tended to flood a farming country with “ black-coated ” workers. Then there weren't enough jobs to go round. And this deprived farming of the skilled workers it might have had and at the same time produced the danger of an unemployed and discontented “ intelligentsia.”

Accordingly secondary schools, while keeping courses for those who will enter the professions or will pass on to the colleges, are providing courses which relate education to what the local community may require—industry, agriculture or business.

**(iii) Vocational Education**

Isn't one of the most important steps the training of skilled craftsmen ? An unskilled worker can't expect a good job. And it is further worth considering if a backward people are not likely to learn more through their hands than through their heads.

*Skilled Jobs in Industry*

There is an increasing demand for skilled workers and foremen in all trades such as carpentry, building and metal working, in both public and private employment. Trade schools which train artisans and technical schools, organised by the Government to produce foremen and similar grades of workers, are to be found in practically all Colonies. In some of the towns there are commercial schools for clerks.

The Government Departments sometimes organise their own training ; for example, the public works department may train artisans, the survey department may train their own subordinate staff, the medical department may train nurses, midwives, hospital orderlies, dressers, dispensers and sanitary inspectors, while the agricultural department may train staffs at farm schools.

*Skilled Jobs in Farming*

Indeed in many of the Colonies, where much of the land is being ruined and its fertility lost through bad farming, these farm schools are of first importance.

When agricultural services are being developed there comes a demand for local assistants for research and field work. Training centres are usually established to meet this demand and these centres may develop into farm schools. These schools may train staffs both for privately owned farms and for employment in Government Departments.

Training to meet the needs of a population of smallholders is also provided in many Colonies, and in all cases the object is to provide a practical course, after which the pupils will return to their villages and holdings and become better farmers.

*(iv) Women's Education*

One official Report remarks on the subject "If you educate a man, you educate an individual, but educate a woman and you educate a family." Do you agree with that?

At any rate development has been slow, partly because of prejudice and reluctance on the part of many native peoples. Boys will work to earn money and education may help them; but the girls' future lies in marriage and many parents do not see that education makes them better wives or mothers. Or it may be feared that education will make the girls disregard the traditional customs, and so on.

But the demand for education for girls is increasing. For example, the number of girls attending primary schools in northern Nigeria, which was very low in 1937, was more than doubled by 1941. The number of girls attending secondary schools is also growing, and beyond that, professional training for women as midwives, nurses and teachers has been developed.

*(v) Higher Education*

To produce the native leaders for positions of real responsibility, education of a university standard is necessary and we are pledged to provide that education.

"As resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa must be increasingly open for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education."

That is the official statement of "Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa,"\* but the principle is being applied to all British Colonies.

*More Universities Planned*

So in Africa, for example, a Commission is considering the up-grading of the three West African post-secondary institutions (Achimota, Yaba, Fourah Bay), while in East Africa Makerere College is being up-graded towards a real and complete university standard. This was to be done, as in many universities at home, in two stages—first into university colleges and, secondly, into independent universities.

In addition, it is worth noting that there are seven medical teaching institutions in the Colonies which grant medical titles; these are in Malta, Hong Kong, Singapore, Ceylon, Fiji, Nigeria and Uganda. The qualifications of the first four are recognised by the General Medical Council for inclusion in the Colonial List of the British Medical Register.

*Adapting Them to Local Needs*

In the West and East African colleges more and more attention is being given to medicine, engineering, agriculture, and veterinary work, to courses for the

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\* Command Paper 2374 of 1925.



training of secondary school teachers and so on. The importance of more purely academic and cultural subjects isn't neglected, but it is felt that the improvement of living conditions in the Colonies is the first essential and that the colleges should make a direct contribution to it.

In addition, the intake of students is partly regulated according to the prospects of employment for them—in very much the same way as we are estimating in advance the numbers of teachers, builders and so on needed after the war, and adapting the schemes of training to these numbers.

### *How Can Our Universities Help?*

At present, in the middle of war, a general Commission of Enquiry has been set up by our Government to consider the principles that should guide the promotion of higher education, learning and research and the development of universities in the Colonies: and how the universities in this country can best help. This general Commission has appointed a special Committee for the West Indies, which is visiting that area. In addition a separate Commission of Enquiry has been set up to deal specifically with higher education in West Africa, and it too will visit the area with which it is concerned.

## 3. Plan for Mass Education

In spite of all the progress we have just reviewed, education among the backward peoples remains slow and incomplete. It is still true that if you were born in an African Colony there would be hardly one chance in three that you would receive any schooling. You would, as likely as not, grow up illiterate and you would find yourself in a mainly illiterate community.

### (i) Mass Education in Africa?

What can be done then? Are we to wait until money, materials and trained teachers are forthcoming to provide schooling for all children? And leave the problem of the adults untouched? Or is there hope for an education campaign that could be waged outside the schools and among adults?

One possibility lies in "mass education", and a special Sub-Committee of the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies has recently issued its report, "Mass Education in African Society."\* They emphasise the pressing need:—

"We wish to reiterate our sense of the importance and urgency of this problem, and we express the confident hope that the Colonial Governments are already fully alive to that importance and urgency".

The report has been circulated to all British African Governments and is under consideration by them.

What could mass education do? We can certainly take hope from previous experience with it, on which this report has drawn. In Russia, among a population of over 180,000,000, speaking a hundred and fifty different languages, a mass education movement has increased literacy in about twenty-five years from 5 to 95 per cent. And a similar movement has been successful in China, Turkey and other countries.

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\* Colonial 186: H.M.S.O.

**(ii) How Would It Work ?**

This report suggests, as a first step, a mass drive against illiteracy, which would include schemes for universal schooling for all children but would also make a direct, immediate appeal to adults and adolescents. Here are some of the main plans it suggests, drawing often on methods already at work in Colonial education.

*Select a Local Problem*

First of all, each community would select a specific local problem—the lowering of the death-rate of children, the improvement of diet, the clearance of bad housing.

Let us say that the improvement of diet is chosen. Then a specific target would be set for achievement within a definite period ; and in working towards that target, the teaching of literacy would be combined with the practical instruction necessary—in personal cleanliness, in cooking, in crop cultivation, and so on.

The scheme would therefore offer to the community a practical project whose interest and benefit for them would be obvious. And it would be education in and for the community. At present much education is selfish. Parents send a boy to school so that he can have a better job with a higher salary ; the boy works for himself and his family ; and when he is trained, he may leave home and his immediate community gain nothing from him. In mass education everyone works for the sake of the village—that everyone's crops may be larger or the death-rate smaller.

*“ Each One Teach One ”*

To get this mass drive operating, all the agencies, official and unofficial, which could help would be mobilised—churches, missions, trade unions, co-operative societies, industrial and commercial firms, Boy Scouts, etc.

And, almost more important than anything else, the drive would rely largely on the most energetic and progressive of the people themselves to take on the teaching : students from the secondary schools, skilled workers and soldiers returned from this war, who have learned to read and write and have been educated by travel and military service.

*“ O.C. Combined Operations ”*

To set the targets in the communities after local consultation, to co-ordinate the work of the local agencies and leaders, and generally to supervise the scheme, the report suggests the appointment of Mass Education Officers. They would act as “ O.C. Combined Operations ” for these schemes, whose high aim is “ the elimination of illiteracy within the next two or three decades.”

**(iii) Anything to Do with You ?**

What do you think ? We have seen that a rising standard of living among these peoples will help our industries ; for that makes it possible for them to purchase goods manufactured in this country. We have seen we must have their raw materials in order to maintain our standard of life here. Moreover, Colonials are proving themselves comrades in arms. Some Africans speak of themselves as the “ Black British ”. In the arts of peace we can learn from them as well as teach them.

The shield of the great government school and college of Achimota in the Gold Coast expresses this. It is a drawing of the white and black keys of a piano.

### ACHIMOTA COLLEGE

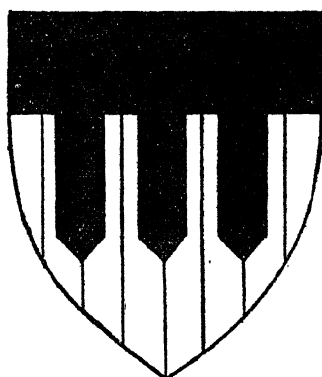


FIGURE 61

The meaning, as a great African explained, is, "You can play a tune of sorts on the white keys and you can play a tune of sorts on the black keys, but for harmony you must use both the black and the white."

## Chapter IV. THE "HAVES" AND "HAVE-NOTS" ?

### 1. Who Have Colonies ?

So far we have been discussing what is going on inside our Colonies, what has been done and what still remains to be done by co-operation between us and the native peoples. The Colonial questions we have been dealing with were the questions of self-government, of a decent standard of living, questions of the social services and of education.

But there is a "Colonial Question," in capital letters, which was written large in the news before the war. It centred on the relation of Colonies to the rest of the world. Briefly the "Colonial Question" asked : "Is it not unfair that some Powers, and notably Great Britain, should have Colonies while other Powers have not ?"

#### (i) There Are Bigger Colonial Empires

Notice first that the question was raised about all Colonial Powers. There are others besides Great Britain. Here is a list, giving the position in 1939, which shows that our Colonial Empire was not the biggest either in population or in area :—

<i>Nations</i>						<i>Their Colonies</i>	
						Population	Area (sq. miles)
France	...	...	...	...	...	63,000,000	3,848,440
Netherlands	...	...	...	...	...	69,719,000	793,280
Britain ...	...	...	...	...	...	63,000,000	2,215,000
U.S.A. ...	...	...	...	...	...	18,878,000	711,500
Belgium...	...	...	...	...	...	14,156,000	941,860
Portugal	...	...	...	...	...	9,930,000	807,900
Italy ...	...	...	...	...	...	8,602,000	1,347,240

## (ii) Why the Spotlight on Ours?

Notice, secondly, in the "Colonial Question", that we were singled out for special attention. This seems curious for British Colonial policy is probably the most liberal in the world. In fact, we are the only Power that has already enabled part of its Empire to become free and self-governing.

## COMPARE THE COLONIAL EMPIRES

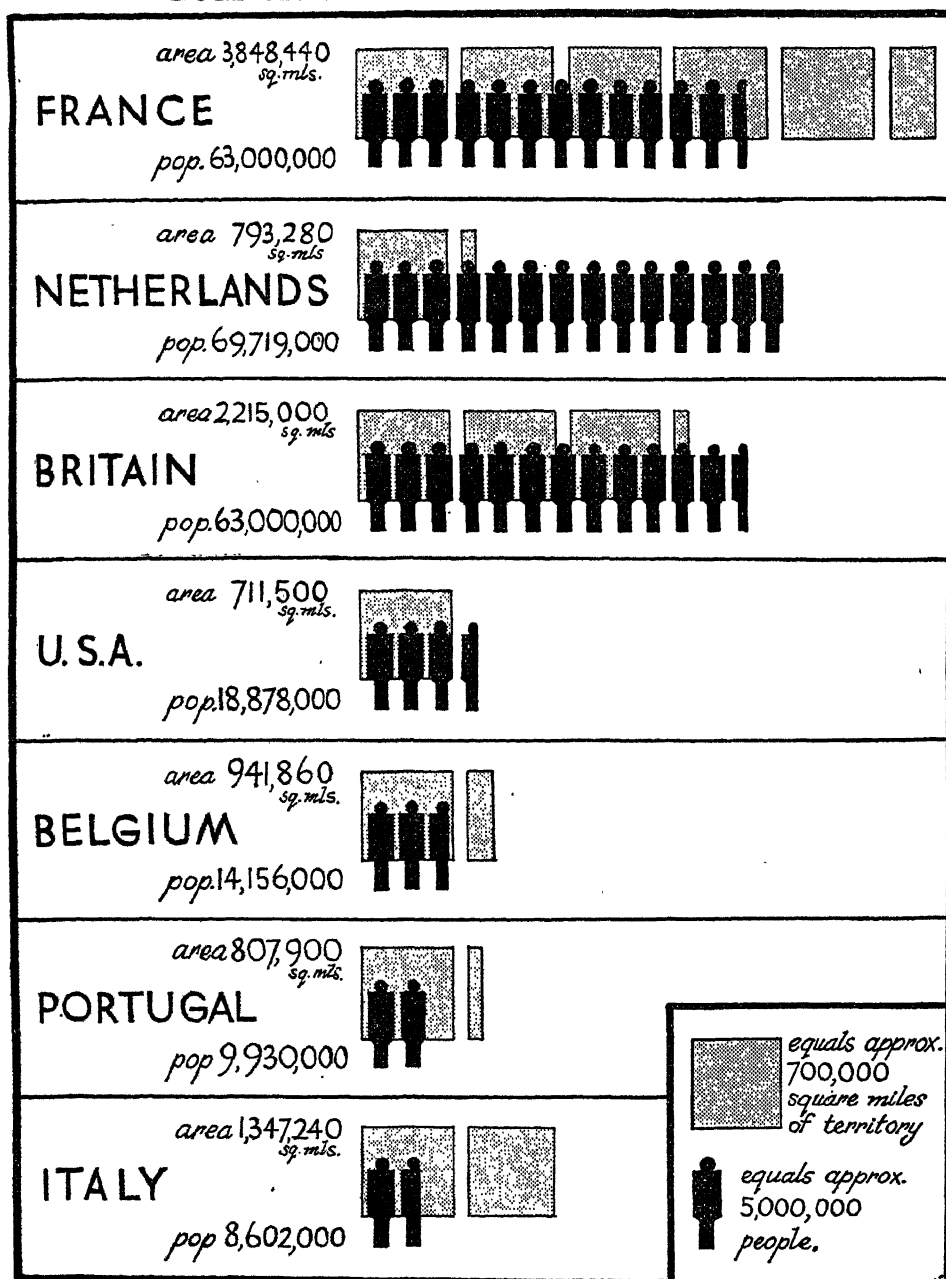


FIGURE 62

*Too Little Interest on Our Part*

Partly the concentration of the attack on us was our own fault. On the one hand, most of us in Britain seemed, until recently, to show very little interest in the 63,000,000 Colonial peoples for whose welfare we are responsible. And this lack of interest reflected itself in the attention which Parliament gave to Colonial affairs ; M.P.s were not greatly encouraged by the electors to be active on Colonial problems.

On the other hand, comparatively little was done to stimulate interest by making known the problems we were tackling and what our achievements were. It was not official policy to put over information which might look like propaganda, especially abroad ; and in consequence we often failed to make our record effectively known.

*Questionings Legitimate and Illegitimate*

In this lack of interest and information, questionings and criticisms were raised in this country and in other countries. Often the questionings were legitimate and came from those who were genuinely interested in the welfare of the Colonies. But illegitimate questioning was even more readily aroused. The enemies of Great Britain and the German propaganda machine were quick to take advantage of their opening in the years just before the war.

Many countries, but particularly the U.S.A., were flooded with publications which cleverly gave an unfavourable view of Colonial policy. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that many Americans had doubts—and may still retain them—about our achievements and our aims. After all, they are, or at any rate were, taught at school that it was the iniquities of the British Colonial system which drove the American Colonies to declare their independence and we have not been active enough in telling them that that Colonial system is as dead as the Dodo.

*Enter the "Have-Nots"*

The chief enemy and the chief propagandist was Germany. At the end of the last war, the territories which had been German Colonies were detached from Germany and placed under the "mandate" of different Allied nations.

For example, Tanganyika, Togoland and the Cameroons became our "mandate." That meant that we promised to administer them for the well-being of the native inhabitants and to encourage the development of their resources, in their own interests and those of all the members of the League of Nations, without any discrimination in favour of British subjects. Similar principles have been adhered to for many years in our own Colonies. In addition we gave an account annually, until the outbreak of war, of our administration of the Mandated Territories to an international body appointed by the League, the Permanent Mandates Commission.

At the centre of German propaganda was the claim that the "Have-Nots" of the world, who lacked Colonies, chiefly Germany, suffered from gross injustice in comparison with the "Haves," the Colonial Powers, chiefly Britain. Let us see if there is anything to the charge, particularly as far as it is directed against ourselves.

## 2. Is There Any Case for the "Have-Nots" ?

It would be comparatively easy to select the most outrageous of the "Have-Not" charges and prove them unfounded.

For example, a common charge was that the Colonial Powers—and Britain, in particular—drew from the Colonies raw materials without paying for them. The truth is, first of all, that all nations generally had equal access to the raw materials ; and secondly, that the Colonial Powers paid as much as any other buyer in the

Colonies and in fact often paid more. We in Britain established "preferences" for Colonial products, which meant that we took materials from them at a higher price than we should have paid for the same materials from other countries.

Again, the charge is sometimes made that we levied tribute on the Colonies, whereas we took none. In fact, not only is all the money raised by local taxation in the Colonies spent in the Colonies, but we have contributed, as we have seen, from our pockets to their development.

But let us concentrate on some of the objections that may seem to have more to them. Do we enjoy any unfair advantages from our Colonies?

**(i) Outlets for Surplus Population?**

This is almost completely unfounded, for only a few of our Colonial territories are fit for white settlement. And in the parts where settlement is possible, it is necessarily, for economic or climatic reasons, only on a limited scale.

**(ii) Profitable Spheres for Investment?**

Almost all economic progress depends on investment of one kind or another. Of course, therefore, the Government encourages private investment in the Colonies. The trouble, if there is one, is that there is too little, not too much. But the Government also has to ensure that too much profit is not taken out of the Colonies. This it does by ensuring that private investors pay the same taxation as anyone else, and the rate is so fixed that all who enjoy the opportunity of making profits in the Colonies bear a fair share of the taxation. So far nearly all investment in the Colonies has been by private enterprise. If, in future, sufficient capital is not available from the private investor, the Government may have to invest some of its own; in fact it has already done so.

**(iii) More Certain Source of Raw Materials?**

The complaint was that the mother country could be more certain than other countries of getting for her industries the raw materials of the Colonies. How far do we in Britain have this advantage?

In peacetime, the products of our Colonies are bought (and sold) in free competition. In fact, in the decade before the war there was a surplus of most of the raw materials of the Colonies and Germany could have had all she needed, if she had been ready to pay for them.

In wartime, it is true, we do reserve these raw materials for the United Nations and deny them to our enemies. Is that taking an unfair advantage? The real test is this: Does the mother country, confident of such strength as the Colonial raw materials give her, embark on a programme for the domination of countries who have no such strength? And our policy before the war acquits us completely on that charge.

**(iv) Source of Military Strength?**

The same reply holds good for this objection.

First of all, let us be clear that in peacetime we do not conscript a single soldier from the Colonial peoples nor do we raise any substantial forces by voluntary recruitment. The small permanent Forces, raised entirely by voluntary enlistment, totalled in all 43,000 out of a total population of 63 million.

*No "Militarisation" in Peacetime*

We have, as a matter of policy, avoided training the native peoples for military service. In Malaya, for example, we had deliberately refrained from enlisting or training either the native population or the Chinese. That is why they did not fight for us, and that explains the contrast of Malaya with the Philippines, where the Filipinos had been recruited in considerable numbers with the American Forces.

Perhaps our policy should be changed ; the question is worth discussing. But certainly up to the present we have done nothing in peacetime to justify the "Have-Not" picture of a vast native population trained and equipped for our aid.

Nor did we garrison the Colonies heavily with British military forces. Our forces were stationed only in comparatively small numbers at certain strategic points. For example, there were no regiments from Britain stationed in the whole of the British Colonies in Africa.

*Voluntary Help in Wartime*

The Colonies have, of course, added enormously to our war effort.

They have enlisted voluntarily and faster than we could equip them. They have raised of their own free will over £30,000,000 in loans and gifts to Britain. And their ports, such as Freetown in Sierra Leone and Lagos in Nigeria, have been of the greatest value.

But in receiving that help do we take an unfair advantage ? Again the real test is : Did we use the man-power and bases of the Colonies in an effort to impose our will, under threat of war, on countries with no such Colonial resources ? And again the answer is "No."

**3. International Rule for All Colonies ?**

Let us take the question a bit further. In simple terms, the present system is that a "Have" country like ourselves has Colonies for which we take sole, final responsibility. Even if we do not take unfair advantage of that system, it is still theoretically possible that some other system might be better. Because "A" is good or is not bad, it doesn't follow that "B" cannot be better. What other systems are suggested ?

**(i) Clear Out of the Colonies ?**

There is no serious suggestion that we should simply clear out and leave the Colonies to their own fate. That would mean leaving them to the internal strife that was rife among them before we gave them protection and peace ; to exploitation by ruthless private enterprise ; and almost certainly to domination by some more aggressive Power.

Remember their weakness. Nigeria with 20 million people has the largest population of all the Colonies. Noting the fate of European countries before German aggression, do you think that Nigeria has the power to maintain her independence on her own ?

**(ii) Transfer Some Colonies to the "Have-Nots" ?**

Nor is it acceptable that some of the Colonies, our own or anybody else's, should be transferred to the "Have-Nots." Apart from any other consideration, that treats the Colonies too much like pawns at the disposal of the Powers to suit either the Colonies or us.

### (iii) Why Not International Rule?

Among critics of the present system, the most serious proposal is for an international "Government" to take over all Colonies. The forms of government suggested vary, but they all agree in taking final control of any Colony, whether it be Gibraltar, Malaya or Kenya, out of the hands of any single nation and putting it in the hands of an authority representing a number of nations.

What are some of the objections raised to this, i.e. as an immediate practical proposition?

#### (a) *The Loss of Family Ties?*

First of all, where would a Colony be more likely to find a sense of responsibility for its well-being, a responsiveness to its needs and aspirations—in forming family ties with a single nation or in becoming the ward of an international authority?

Consider our own Colonies. Not only do we share with the peoples of the Colonies many of our privileges of citizenship, but there also develops between them and us a sense of community, a feeling of belonging to the same family in which all the members have responsibilities to each other. In that family, as in many smaller ones, the sense of responsibility between the members may be weaker than it should be. Shouldn't we then try to strengthen it, rather than dispense with it altogether and substitute international rule, which would tend to appear towards its charges like a possibly well conducted, but remote and less human Public Institution?

The inhabitants of the Colonial Empire are either British subjects, who have the same status as the people of the United Kingdom, or they are British protected persons. In either event, they have the same protection, when abroad, as United Kingdom inhabitants.

#### (b) *What Do the Colonies Want?*

At any rate, the change to international rule would not be welcomed by the Colonial peoples. The more developed of the Colonies may want change; but they want it in the direction of self-government, not in the substitution of international rule for the national administration which they know and which has created for them this feeling of "belonging."

#### (c) *Where Is the International Authority?*

Thirdly, there does not exist any international authority which could take over the job. It may be that such an authority will develop in the future, but even then it might be feeble in its beginnings and slow in its growth.

#### (d) *Clash of Experience?*

Lastly, international rule would mean handing over the administration of the Colonies to officers of different nationalities. These might be officers from nations with no experience of Colonial affairs; there would certainly be the clash of officers with different experience, who had been in the service of Colonial Powers following different aims and using different methods. It is safe to assume that the administration of Colonies, difficult enough at any time, would be even more difficult with such a staff.



## (iv) "The Responsibility Is Ours Alone"

You have seen what a job we have taken on. We have decided that we must keep the final responsibility for our Colonies. We are not alone in that decision. It is shared by all our European Allies who are Colonial Powers.

*But International Co-operation Is Being Planned*

That does not mean a jealous rejection of any effort at international co-operation. That co-operation in Colonial government has already begun. In London we now have the Governments of such Colonial Powers as the Dutch and the Belgians and they regularly consult and collaborate with us in problems of defence, marketing, the development of the social services, supplies and communications. In the West Indies the leasing of bases by us to the U.S.A. was followed by the formation of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, which has been doing excellent work for the welfare of the islands.

*Our Official Policy*

And the systematic extension of such co-operation is now our official policy. On 13th July, 1943, the Secretary of State for the Colonies made the following statement in the House of Commons :—

"The Prime Minister . . . stated that while His Majesty's Government were convinced that the administration of the British Colonies must continue to be the sole responsibility of Great Britain, the policy of His Majesty's Government was to work in close co-operation with neighbouring and friendly nations.

"Development of modern transport and modern communications has brought close together vast areas which before were widely separated. Many of their problems today are common problems and can only be solved in co-operation, for problems of security, of transport, of economics, of health, etc., etc., transcend the boundaries of political units. His Majesty's Government would therefore welcome the establishment of machinery which will enable such problems to be discussed and to be solved by common efforts.

"What they have in mind is the possibility of establishing Commissions for certain regions. These Commissions would comprise not only the States with Colonial territories in the region, but also other States which have in the region a major strategic or economic interest. While each State would remain responsible for the administration of its own territory, such a Commission would provide effective and permanent machinery for consultation and collaboration, so that the States concerned might work together to promote the well-being of the Colonial territories.

"An important consideration in designing the machinery of each Commission will be to give to the people of the Colonial territories in the region an opportunity to be associated with its work. In this way, it would be possible to have international co-operation which consisted of something more than theoretical discussion but would be able to grapple with realities and get down to the solution of individual problems."

It has also been made clear that the existence of any such Commissions would not in any way delay the steady progress towards self-government in our Colonies.

THIRD SEQUENCE: TODAY AND TOMORROW

B.W.P. 18

## BRITAIN AND THE PEACE\*

By

W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

*Author of "Blockade 1914-1918," "The New Freedom of the Seas"  
and "Charters of the Peace"*

May 1944

### Chapter I.

### FREEDOM FOR NATIONS

#### 1. What Lands Must the Germans Be Driven From?

Our first aim in this war is to undo some great wrongs; above all, to drive the enemy out of the many lands he has invaded. The United Nations are pledged to that task.

Which are the lands from which the enemy must be cleared? Take first Germany's case.

##### (i) The Lands outside Germany

The map shows the farthest extent of Germany's domination in Europe, i.e. just before her defeat at Stalingrad and Alamein, and the area from which the Germans had been cleared by May 1944. To that extent the job has been done. But look at the immense area that remains to be liberated.

##### (a) *Lands Occupied since September 1939*

Since this war began, Hitler has occupied the whole of *Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, the Channel Islands, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece and Crete and islands in the Aegean Sea*; also *Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia* which the Soviet Union incorporated in 1940; and, for a time, a huge area in the *Ukraine and other Soviet territories*.

##### (b) *Lands Occupied before September 1939*

In addition, there are the two countries which Hitler invaded before this war began.

First, in March 1938 he suddenly invaded *Austria*, just in time to forestall a plebiscite which would certainly have gone against the union of Austria with

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\* For reference in connection with the chapters of this booklet, see the documents of international reconstruction in Appendix B on pp. 570-8.

Germany. Now the British, American and Soviet Governments have jointly declared (Moscow, November 1943) "that Austria, the first free country to fall a victim to Nazi aggression, shall be liberated from German domination. They regard the annexation imposed upon Austria . . . as null and void". Whilst reminding the Austrians of their responsibility for participating in the war, they declared their wish "to see re-established a free and independent Austria".

#### EXTENT OF LIBERATION FROM GERMANY: 1st MAY, 1944

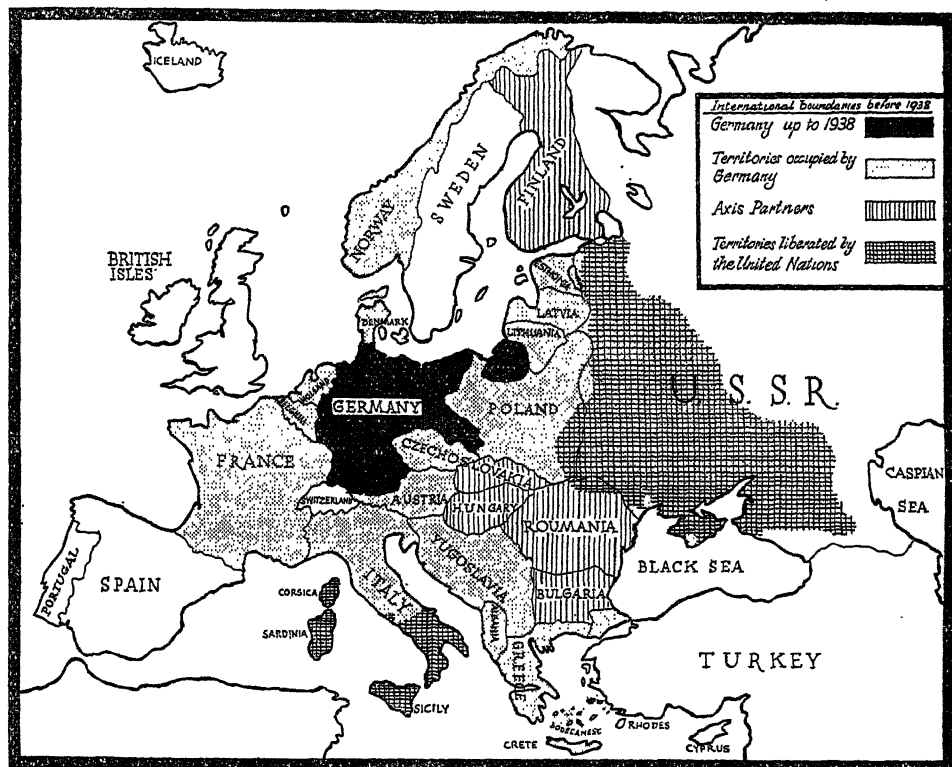


FIGURE 63

*Secondly*, the seizure of Austria gave Hitler a grip around *Czechoslovakia*; by threatening immediate war he won the Munich agreement (September 1938) by which Czechoslovakia was forced to surrender her principal defences; six months later he invaded the rest of the country, and Czechoslovakia has been in a "state of war" with Germany every since. Now the British Government has disavowed the Munich agreement: we have undertaken to drive the invaders out of the whole country; and Czechoslovakia, through its Government in exile, is a member of the United Nations and has made an alliance with the Soviet Union.

#### (c) *Axis Partners*

Besides all this, Hitler has armies and secret police in the countries which are partners, more or less reluctantly, in the Axis alliance—Finland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and Northern Italy. All these are under Nazi domination. That hold must be broken if Europe is to be free.

So it comes to this : the United Nations mean to re-conquer all the lands which the Germans have seized since Hitler came to power in January 1933. The Germans are not going to be allowed to maintain any of the changes of the map which they have effected by violence.

(ii) **What about Germany herself ?**

Should any of the United Nations exploit the victory they mean to win by annexing bits of the territory which they recognised in the Peace Treaties of 1919 as being rightfully Germany's ?

Would such annexations be a protection or a danger to peace in the long run ? Would they be consistent with the principles to which the United Nations are committed ?

(a) *" No Aggrandisement "*.

Point 1 of the Atlantic Charter said " Their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other ". Point 2 says " They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. "

The Charter, including these statements, was endorsed by all the European Allies in September 1941, and by all the United Nations (then numbering twenty-six, now, by May 1944, thirty-five) through their Declaration of Alliance on 1st January 1942.

(b) *" Unconditional Surrender "*

After the Anglo-American Conference at Casablanca it was announced that the two Governments had agreed to stand for " unconditional surrender " by the enemy ; and this policy was afterwards endorsed in the Moscow Declaration (November 1943) and Cairo Declaration (December 1943).

But the " no aggrandisement " principle was also reaffirmed. Thus, the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance (May 1942) says : " The contracting parties will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking aggrandisement for themselves and of non-interference in the affairs of other States. " In the Cairo Declaration (December 1943) Britain, America and China said : " They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. " In the Four-Power Declaration of Teheran, Britain, America, Russia and Persia reaffirmed their acceptance of the Atlantic Charter.

It appears from British Government statements, however, that it was never intended that the principles of " a fair deal " for all nations, which are embodied in the Charter, should prevent the United Nations from imposing on their defeated enemies such terms as might be required for the general security or by the need for redressing the international wrongs which the enemy has committed. Hence the policy of " unconditional surrender " ; the intention being that the United Nations will make no promises to, no bargain with, the Axis powers.

(c) *Territorial Claims*

Moreover, there now arise various claims involving not only restitution but also territory which is admittedly German.

Poland, and probably the Soviet Union, want some German territory for strategic reasons : and, in view of the Russian claims in Eastern Poland, the question arises whether Poland should have some compensation elsewhere.

Moreover, the position has been greatly changed during the war in that part of Europe, especially Western Poland. To quote Mr. Eden, "Germany has moved populations wholesale from vast territories back to Germany or in many cases they were dead."\*

So the question arises: if East Prussia and part of Eastern Germany were annexed by the Soviet Union and Poland, would that be likely to prove an additional security or a new danger point, in the long run?

(d) *The Government's Policy*

At the time of printing, the latest statement of the Government's policy is the Prime Minister's speech of 22nd February, 1944.

"I cannot feel that the Russian demand for reassurance about her western frontiers goes beyond the limits of what is reasonable and just. Marshal Stalin and I also spoke and agreed upon the need for Poland to obtain compensation at the expense of Germany—both in the north and in the west. . . . The term 'unconditional surrender' does not mean that the German people will be enslaved or destroyed. It means, however, that the Allies will not be bound to them at the moment of surrender by any pact or obligation. There will be, for instance, no question of the Atlantic Charter applying to Germany as a matter of right and barring territorial transferences or adjustments in enemy countries. . . . Unconditional surrender means that the victors have a free hand. . . . If we are bound, we are bound by our own consciences to civilisation. We are not to be bound to the Germans as the result of a bargain struck."

## 2. What about Japan?

The map on next page shows the farthest extent of Japan's conquests and the area recovered.

Here, too, the United Nations have much territory to recover. How far back into history should we carry the task of undoing Japan's conquests?

(i) **Back to 1941?**

Would it be sufficient to go back to December 1941, the date of Japan's attack at Pearl Harbour? Having forcibly won over Indo-China and Siam, Japan has since then invaded the *Malay peninsula, including Singapore, the Philippines, Borneo, Celebes, Hong Kong, New Britain, the Solomons, the Moluccas, Sumatra, Java and Bali, Timor, New Guinea*, all but a scrap of *Burma*, and *various islands*. All this in addition to *further conquests in China*.

To recover all that will be a large programme, but evidently not large enough; it would do much less than justice to China and would leave various problems unsettled.

(ii) **Back to 1937?**

In July 1937, Japan renewed her aggression against China and since then has occupied a huge territory including *Peking, Nanking, Hankow*, and has blockaded practically all the coastline. It is clearly just that China should recover all this.

(iii) **Back to 1931?**

Should the programme begin at 18th September, 1931, when the Japanese militarists staged the faked incident near Mukden which led on to the conquest of

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\* For particulars see "The Displacement of Populations in Europe." I.L.O.

*Manchuria*? China has steadily demanded the recovery of Manchuria; and Britain, with the other members of the League of Nations, and with the United States, has never recognised Japan's puppet as the lawful ruler of the country.

### EXTENT OF LIBERATION FROM JAPAN: 1st MAY, 1944

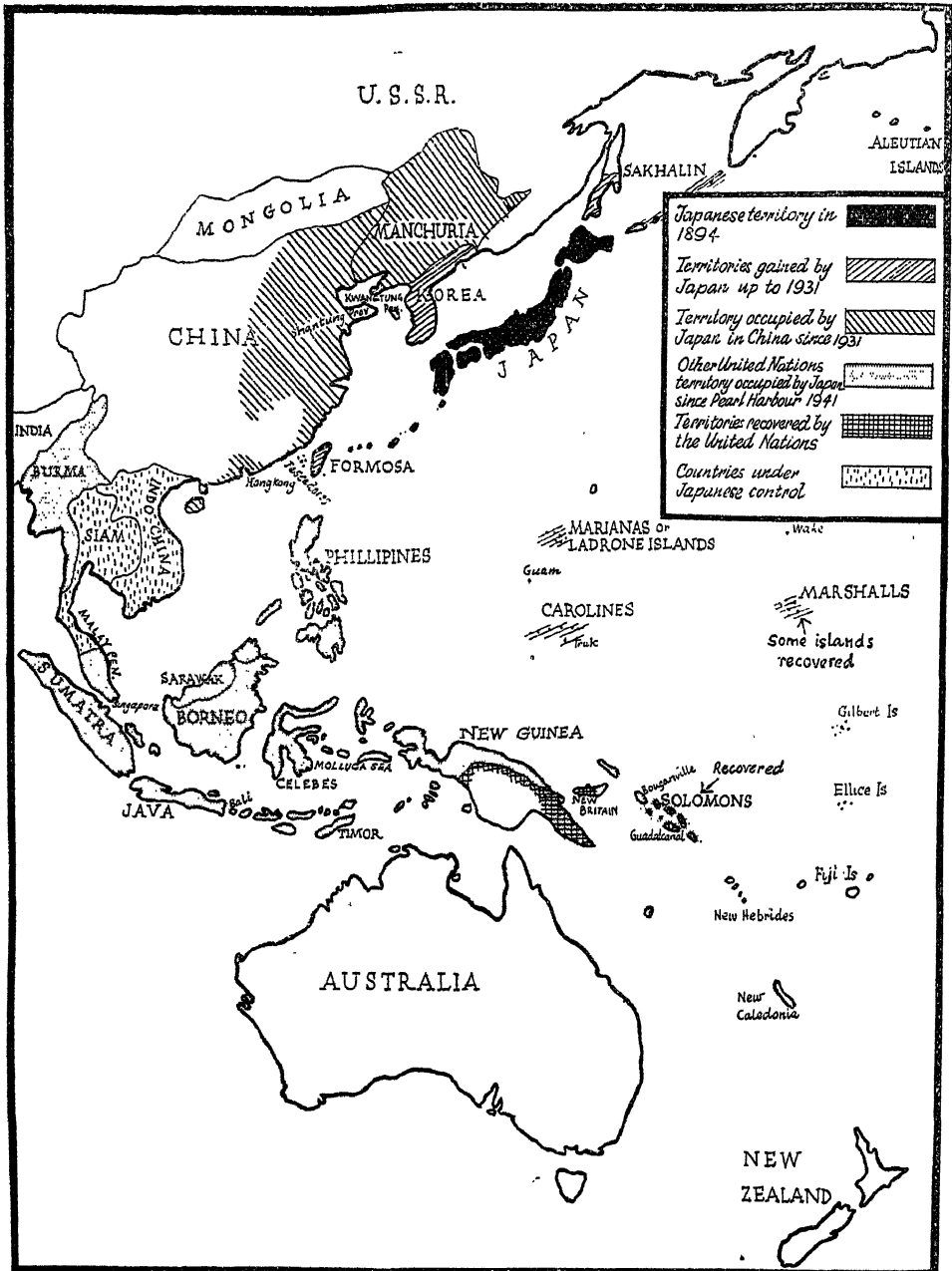


FIGURE 64

(iv) **Back to 1895 ?**

Should the expulsion policy be carried still further back—to 1919, when Japan gained some territory at the end of the first world war ; or to 1895, when the first of her modern wars with China brought her the first instalment of empire overseas ?

Here is a summary of Japan's spoils of war since 1895 :—

In 1895, after defeating China, she obtained *Formosa* and the neighbouring *Pescadores* islands ; she has developed *Formosa* as a naval base for her present southward drive. She also obtained leases from China for the *Kwantung* peninsula.

In 1905, after the war with Russia, she occupied *Korea*, and in 1910 she annexed it. The Koreans have since had a hard time. She also got the southern half of *Sakhalin Island*.

In 1914 she occupied *Shantung Province*, but was induced by the Powers to leave it in 1922. In 1927 she reoccupied part of it.

In 1919 the Allied Powers granted her a Mandate over the *Marshall*, *Caroline* and *Ladrone Islands*, formerly German, on condition that they should not be fortified. Later she did fortify them ; and these islands, spread over 2,000 miles of mid-Pacific, have proved of great strategic importance in this war.

(v) **What Answer by the Allies ?**

The Governments of Britain, the United States and China have already given their answers, broadly, to these questions.

In the Declaration of Cairo (December 1943) they reaffirmed the policy of " no aggrandisement " coupled with " unconditional surrender." Their programme of reconquest went right back to 1895.

" It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first world war in 1914, and that all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, *Formosa*, and the *Pescadores*, shall be restored to the Republic of China."

Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has " taken by violence and greed."

The three Powers declared their resolve that " in due course *Korea* shall become free and independent."

**3. What about Italy ?**

The map below shows the farthest extent of Italy's Empire, before she entered the war in June 1940 ; and the farthest extent of the enemy's advance into Egypt and British Somaliland.

(i) **What Has Been Done ?**

British Somaliland has been recovered. Ethiopia has been freed and is now one of the United Nations.

All the rest of the Italian Empire in Africa is in the United Nations' hands. Apart from the return to freedom of Ethiopia, no decisions have yet been announced as to the future of the former Italian Empire.\* But certain claims have already been made.

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\* In the House of Commons on 4th October, 1944, the Foreign Secretary, in reply to a question which cited the Italian record in Italian Somaliland and Eritrea, assured the House that the Government is opposed to the return of the Colonies to Italy and that their declaration that the Italian Empire in Africa is irrevocably lost will be strictly adhered to.

## ITALY AND THE ITALIAN EMPIRE: 1st MAY, 1944

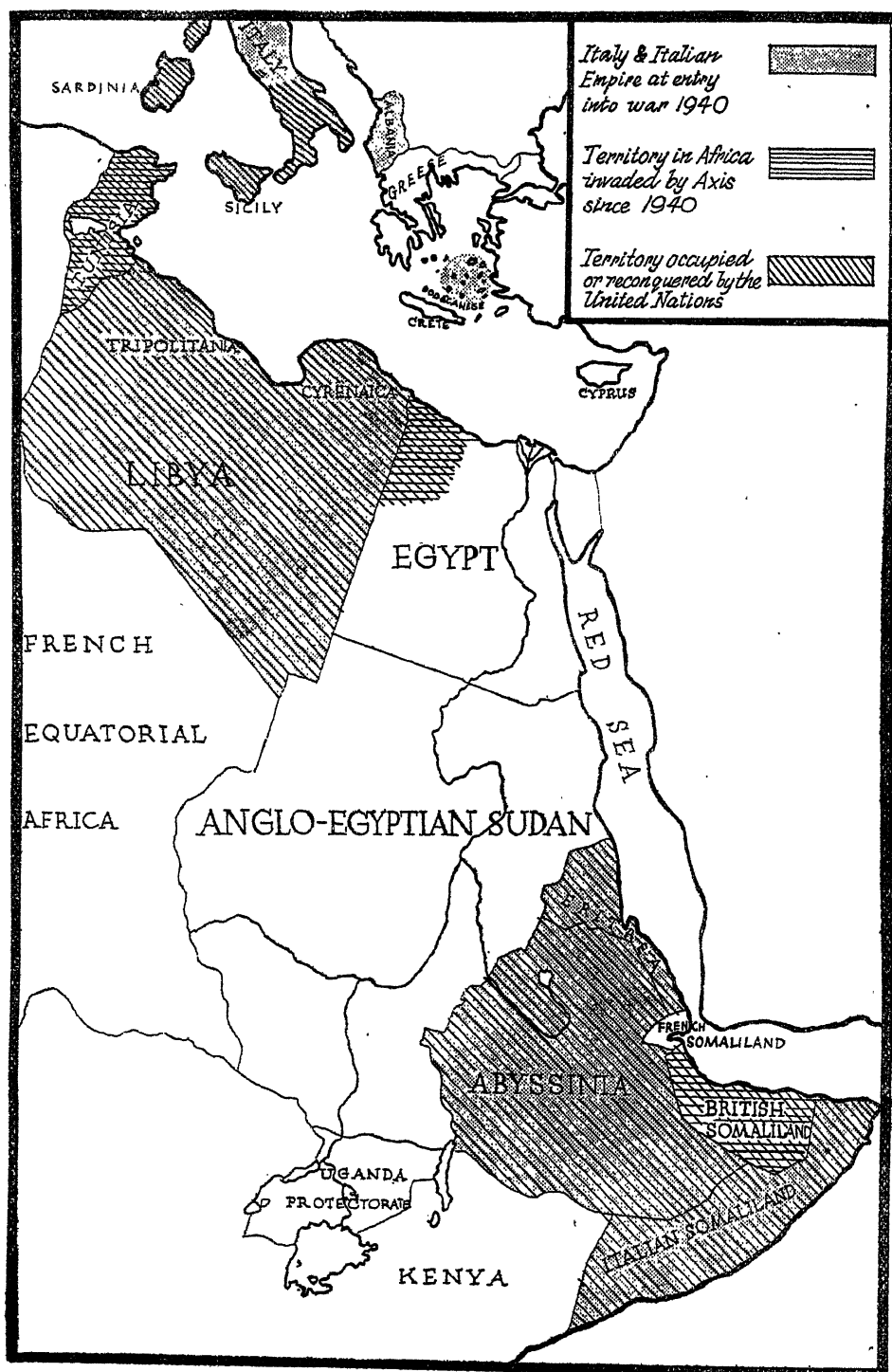


FIGURE 65



**(ii) Still to Be Decided**

The Albanians will claim recovery of their independence, and the British Government have recognised the claim for an independent Albania, without defining its frontiers.

Greece will lay claim to some disputed territory in Southern Albania (Northern Epirus). Greece will also have claims to the Dodecanese Islands, whose population is almost entirely Greek, and for a strengthening of her frontier with Bulgaria, as well as the recovery of Greek territory seized by the Bulgarians during this war.

Yugoslavia will want some territory in the region of Fiume which the Italians seized after the last war.

Ethiopia will have claims for some assured access to the sea, and for the recovery of Eritrea, which Italy seized in 1885 and has thrice used as a base for aggression.

In Cyrenaica, the British Government has promised the Senussi tribe that they "will in no circumstances again fall under Italian domination."

**4. How Can the Liberated Nations Get Real Freedom?**

The Charter affirms the right of the peoples to certain freedoms of choice: freedom to choose their territorial allegiance (Point 2) and freedom to choose their "form of government" (Point 3). How are these freedoms to be safeguarded?

**(i) Freedom of Choice**

Clearly, it will not be easy to make this freedom real. Look at some of the difficulties.

The "peoples concerned" will not really be able to express their wishes freely unless they can get home. At present many millions of them have been driven far from home; and they will only be able to get back if they are helped by an international authority.

Nor will those peoples be able to express their wishes freely unless they are protected against victimisation, before, during and after the voting. It is not difficult for a bully to fake a plebiscite—as Europeans have often seen. An impartial international authority can do much to ensure that the wishes of "the peoples concerned" in a plebiscite are "freely expressed," as was shown by the League of Nations in 1934, when it supervised the voting in the Saar Territory, which had been leased to France in 1919 because of its coal. The voting went in favour of a return to Germany.

*Need for a Real Alternative*

Moreover, even the most perfect safeguards against intimidation will not enable a people to choose freely between allegiance to Germany and an alternative allegiance, unless that alternative is one which looks like being workable. It would be no good telling the Austrians, for instance, that they were free to choose between union with Germany and restored independence if, in fact, they could see no prospect of an independent Austria being allowed a fair opportunity of exchanging goods and services with other countries, or being able to survive the political pressure of powerful neighbouring States.

*What Can Be Done?*

Only a powerful and impartial "system of general security" can create the conditions in which such peoples can express their real wishes freely.

So we come back to what was said at Moscow by the Governments of the four principal Allies—"the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a *general international organisation . . . for the maintenance of international peace and security.*" We will discuss what such an organisation should be like in a later chapter.

## (ii) Recovery of Property

A further point about the liberation of the occupied countries should be noted. They cannot be freed solely by turning out the enemy's forces and agents; it will be necessary also to break the stranglehold which Germany has obtained over a great part of the industrial resources of Europe, and to restore, so far as possible, the property that the enemy has taken.

That property amounts to a colossal total. It includes goods used for military purposes or taken to Germany without payment; occupation costs and other charges laid on occupied countries; and goods exported to Germany which have been paid for only in "blocked" marks, i.e. marks usable only at the discretion of the Germans and perhaps only after the war. "Never before," said the American Mr. Lehman (now head of U.N.R.R.A.), "has the world witnessed so ruthless a spoliation of so many in so short a time."

### *Breaking the German Grip*

Much more important is the control which the Nazis have obtained over much the greater part of Europe's heavy industry and banking systems, and over other industrial and commercial assets by majority control of shares and other devices. The huge Hermann Goering combine, for instance, has welded Europe's iron and steel industry into a single mighty instrument for the national policy of Germany.

Europe will not be free or safe if that tremendous concentration of economic power remains in hands which may misuse it.

## (iii) Support for Democracy

In Point 3 of the Charter the United Nations declare that they "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." But this does not mean that the United Nations can be indifferent to the establishment of Governments whose foreign policy threatens the essential rights of other nations, or whose home policy destroys the foundations of neighbourly behaviour. On the contrary, the Charter says bluntly (Point 6) that "Nazi tyranny" must be destroyed; and the same applies to Fascism, as is shown by the Declaration of Moscow about Italy.

In truth, there must always be some limit to freedom of choice if real freedom is to survive. The United Nations challenge Nazism and Fascism just because these forms of government are the expression of policies which are fatal to the essential freedom of nations and of individuals. Nazism breeds aggression.

### *The Pledges of Moscow and Teheran*

For the same reason, the principal United Nations have joined in expressing support for the principles of democracy. Their own forms of government differ widely; but they are at one in saying, in the Moscow Declaration about Italy, that the Italian people must be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based on democratic principles. "Freedom of speech, of religious worship, of political belief, of Press, and of public meeting shall be restored in full measure to the Italian people, who shall also be entitled to form anti-Fascist political groups."

This is in accord with President Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms," which said, in very general terms, that America should aim at securing "everywhere in the world" certain "essential human freedoms"—"freedom of speech and expression," freedom of worship, "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear."

In the Teheran Declaration, Britain, America and Russia said they will welcome "into a world family of democratic nations" all nations whose peoples truly stand for the "elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance."

Of course it will be far from easy to translate these ideals into reality, and it will be a long-term enterprise, varying from country to country and age to age, and requiring ever-new energy and vigilance.

## Chapter II.

## "FREEDOM FROM WANT"\*

### 1. What Is Needed?

What is the economic and social side of the United Nations' peace aims? And how does it concern you?

#### (i) First Aid

The immediate need, of course, will be for food; help in restarting urgently needed production; help in fighting disease; the return of millions of displaced people to their homes. U.N.R.R.A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) is preparing for this huge task.

*This concerns you.* For we shall all have to put up with the rationing and controls necessary during the world's critical shortage. "Bread for all before there is cake for any" will be a sound policy, for reasons of humanity and of duty to our Allies, many of whom have suffered much more than we have, and because Europe's recovery will affect our own.

#### (ii) Reconstruction

Freedom from hunger has to come first; but beyond that and beyond all the measures of first aid, lies the long-term aim of securing "freedom from want," with social justice, for "all the men in all the lands." (Charter, Points 5 and 6.)

#### *Collaboration between Nations*

Such aims can only be achieved if governments, besides following an enlightened policy at home, practise "fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field." (Charter, Point 5.)

Such collaboration can only be effective if there is international machinery for the purpose. And a good deal of the necessary machinery already exists in the International Labour Organisation and the various technical organs of the League of Nations.

#### *Rights and Duties*

One of the aims of the United Nations is to establish certain rights and certain standards of economic behaviour for all nations.

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\* To supplement this chapter see the summary of the White Paper on Employment Policy on pp. 554-7.

Thus, Point 4 of the Charter states their intention to "further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished" of a certain equality of opportunity for sharing in peaceful world trade. And if States are to enjoy such rights, they should, of course, accept certain duties of neighbourly behaviour (such as are indicated in Point 4 of the Charter, in Article 7 of the Mutual Aid Agreement, and in Resolutions of the Food Conference). There can be no durable peace, no real community of nations, if nations insist on *absolute* freedom to shape their trade policies regardless of the injury that may be inflicted on others.

### *Two Items for Discussion*

We cannot in this chapter discuss more than one or two of the questions involved in economic reconstruction. We will pick out two.

First, does the world produce enough to provide "freedom from want" for all? If not, how can production be expanded?

Secondly, if enough can be produced, how can we make sure that all get a big enough share of that production? In other words, how can consumption be expanded?

And what can the United Nations do, separately and together, to expand production and consumption?

## **2. How Can Production Be Increased?**

Let us assume that "freedom from want" everywhere is a most desirable aim. We cannot prosper unless our customers do. Does the world, in peacetime, normally produce enough goods to provide this?

### **(i) Is Increased Production Needed?**

Obviously, the greater part of the world's population is still extremely poor. If you have been, say, to India, North Africa, or Southern Italy, you will have seen something of a poverty much worse than you saw at home. Is the world's plenty so great already that this enormous poverty could be cured if only the plenty were shared more equally?

Evidently, much can be done by fairer sharing. Have we not seen that in our own wartime rationing of food? But it is clear too that even the most perfect sharing on a world-wide scale cannot provide anything approaching "freedom from want" for all, even if the more fortunate countries could somehow be induced to stand such equal sharing permanently. There are not nearly enough goods. The world is very poor still; very far from being a world of actual plenty; only a world of *potential* plenty.

### *Not Enough Food*

Take the crucial case of food.

"*There has never been enough food for the health of all people.*" That was the expert judgment recorded by the United Nations Food Conference, 1943.

A great proportion of the human race, especially in S.E. Asia, Africa and S.E. Europe, has never known anything like an adequate diet. If a few main defects of diet could be remedied, the physique of these peoples could be transformed in a generation and an incalculable amount of want and suffering averted. But the food is not available.

Even in our own country, one of the richest in the world, the consumption of food is far less, for the nation as a whole, than is required for the health and strength.

of the people. It has been estimated that we should need 70 per cent. more fruit, 65 per cent. more milk, 60 per cent. more eggs and vegetables and 25 per cent. more meat, to bring the diet up to the health standard.

Apart from food, think of the stupendous shortage of homes after this war : boots that really keep out wet : clothing—not to mention all the things that enrich life. Clearly the world needs an immense increase in the production of goods, as well as better distribution.

## (ii) Is the Increase Practicable ?

Yes, provided the world organises its resources reasonably to supply its main needs, and provided that these resources do not have to be largely directed to war purposes. Technically, "freedom from want" can be achieved ; though not quickly except in the countries more fortunately circumstanced.

Take the case of food again. The Food Conference prefaced its Resolutions by declaring : " This Conference, meeting in the midst of the greatest war ever waged . . . declares its belief that the goal of *freedom from want of food*, suitable and adequate for the health and strength of all peoples, *can be achieved*." Continued shortage, they said, " is justified neither by ignorance nor by the harshness of nature."

## (iii) Then What Can Be Done ?

What are the practical steps we can take to get the increase in production that is needed ?

### (a) *Increase Efficiency and Enterprise*

That includes, for instance, supplying more capital for the development of backward countries, such as S.E. Europe and most Colonial territories, but with proper safeguards against exploitation of the peoples concerned.

It will also involve some agreed planning of the world's production ; and, as the Food Conference emphasised, that planning should be based on the general principle of encouraging production where it can be undertaken with most efficiency and at low cost. There will have to be exceptions, of course, for various reasons.

And there must be co-operative action to prevent the natural riches of the earth being recklessly squandered and misused. If we carelessly let the top-soil get washed away by erosion (as happened in North Africa long ago), we destroy the very foundations of man's life on this earth.

### (b) *First Needs First*

Nationally, this means State decisions as to what the community needs first (e.g. quick housing after the war) ; and public control to secure that these priorities are followed.

Internationally, it means world co-operation to ensure that what the world needs most is produced. For instance, the Food Conference has indicated lines on which the world's food production, distorted by the war, should be gradually readjusted, with an increased proportion of certain foods.

### (c) *Prices that Producers Can Rely On*

Between the wars, prices of primary products have been so wildly unstable that the producers often could not plan ahead, or keep solvent. " During the last twenty years the price of wheat and jute has been halved three times within about

twelve months, the price of cotton three times in periods of under eighteen months. The price of copper and of lead was halved four times within periods of two years and doubled three times even more rapidly."\*

In the case of crops these wild changes were mainly due to varying harvests : in other cases the causes included changes of demand, gambling on commodity markets, and especially political obstacles such as tariff walls, exchange controls, etc.

#### *Need for International Co-operation*

International organisation will be needed, therefore, to help in keeping the prices of primary products reasonably stable, at levels fair to consumers as well as producers. The organisation might buy in stocks when supplies are ample, and sell when they are low. As the Food Conference emphasised, such controls must "include effective representation of consumers as well as producers."

These controls must be managed in accordance with internationally agreed principles ; the aim, this Conference said, should always be "to promote the expansion of an orderly world economy." In other words, the international control would be worse than useless, if it simply led to restriction of supplies and the holding-up of prices at artificially high levels in the interests of a section of the community.

The question is under discussion whether such a system can work properly unless coupled with an agreed planning of the broad layout of the world's production of primary products. Many authorities hold that this is an essential condition for the safe working of such a scheme.

#### *(d) Reduce Trade Barriers*

It is useless producing more if the produce is kept from the consumer by high tariffs or other trade barriers. The Mutual Aid Agreements call for agreed reduction of such barriers.

This has been discussed in B.W.P. 2 and 15.

#### *(e) Increase the Consumer's Purchasing Power*

As the Food Conference said, "it is useless to produce more food unless men and nations provide the markets to absorb it. There must be an expansion of the whole world economy to provide the purchasing power sufficient to maintain an adequate diet for all."

And that is true of other things besides food. How then can the consumer's purchasing power be increased ?

That brings us to the second of the two subjects we have picked out for discussion.

### **3. How Can Consumption Be Increased ?**

The consumer is, or ought to be, in most cases a producer also ; and if he produces more of the right things, he will normally find his real income rising, so that he will be able to purchase more and consume more. That is, and will always be, the main method of increasing the consumer's purchasing power.

But, as we all know, more good work does not always mean more real income. There are many obstacles in the way. And the community ought not—for many reasons—to let the standards of living of any of its members fall below a certain level.

So we come to our second question. What can we do to supplement this normal expansion of demand ?

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\* "The Transition from War to Peace Economy" ; League of Nations Report 1943 ; p. 24. .

## (i) "Full Employment"

Take first the question of maintaining "full employment." That question comes first because if one is in work, one gets more income, buys more, consumes more, than if one is unemployed. So to keep up employment is to keep up consumption.

Let us assume that the proper aim is to ensure that all the resources of any country, human and material, are kept amply used—and used in producing those things which, by and large, the community needs most.

Now, what should be done when a trade depression begins? It is generally agreed that one of the main causes of such depressions is that there is not enough spending, either in buying goods and services or in investment in factories, mines, etc., to keep the country's resources, including its people, amply employed.

(a) *A Policy of Restriction?*

One policy would be for a country to exclude foreign goods as completely as possible, by prohibitive tariffs, quotas, etc.: to cut wages in the export trades, so as to reduce selling costs to the foreigner; and to depreciate the exchange value of its own currency. Suppose, for example, that £1 had been worth 100 francs; and that the pound was depreciated so that it could be bought for 50 francs. That would mean that the holders of francs would be encouraged to buy British goods, since they could exchange their francs for twice as much British money.

That would be a policy of restriction at home, reducing consumption there; and a policy of trade war abroad, which would "export unemployment" to other countries, thus causing them to retaliate.

(b) *Or a Policy of Expansion?*

Another policy, when a trade depression begins, would be to promote expenditure at home, whilst maintaining export trade by increased efficiency and by international trade agreements based on principles of neighbourly behaviour.

When a depression threatens—that is, when the volume of spending is not enough to keep the country's resources amply employed—then is the time when the State and other public authorities should borrow money and ensure that it is actually spent on public needs.

A simple example is the case of roads. The British Government has prepared extensive plans for national road-making after the war. The idea is that much of this work shall be done when trade slackens after the post-war boom.

*Is the Policy of Expansion Practicable?*

This is a policy of expansion and of international collaboration as opposed to restrictions and trade war. It is not an easy policy to carry out; but, in the view of many economists, it is practicable on certain conditions.

In particular it is held that the State must be in a position to control the total volume of money in circulation so that, when the country's productive resources are being amply used, the volume of money can be kept reasonably stable.

Besides that, industry will have to make itself more flexible, more adaptable. "Full employment" can only be obtained if labour and capital are mobile enough to meet new needs; it will be impossible if everybody insists on getting employment in their own old trade.

Moreover, such a policy in one country—Britain, for instance—can only be fully effective if it is concerted internationally. What the Atlantic Charter calls "fullest collaboration . . . in the economic field" is indispensable.

**(ii) Social Security\***

Secondly, the State can help to keep up the income of the poorer citizens to a decent level by social security laws ; a minimum wage standard, insurance against unemployment risks, family allowances, and measures to secure a minimum standard of living. But the State can afford to finance such services, only if action is taken to maintain the national income with full employment of the nation's resources.

Although action on all of these lines has been taken or is being planned in Britain, this is not solely " Britain's Way and Purpose." The Charter speaks of the "object of securing for all . . . social security" ; and the methods we have just listed are recommended on behalf of all the thirty-four United Nations by the Food Conference, for the purpose of expanding consumption.

**(iii) Community Services\***

Thirdly, the community can provide, free of charge or at low cost, services indispensable for all, such as education, water, lighting, health services. When the British Government institutes a free national health service, as now proposed, it will in effect be redistributing the national income in favour of the poorer consumers, and leaving them with more in their pockets to spend, say, on food. And the health service, like the education service, will make the nation richer, more efficient, a better producer.

This policy can be carried further ; the community can, as the Food Conference recommended, adopt some form of direct action to make protective foods available free or at low prices to groups with inadequate diets. Britain has done a good deal on these lines during the war (e.g. milk for mothers and children, school meals), and it is proving a good investment.

**(iv) Eliminating Unnecessary Costs**

Much can be done to narrow the gap between what the consumer has to pay and the price properly due to the producer.

For instance, the costs of distributing goods, especially food, in Britain have been shown by several government enquiries to be disproportionately high ; and this excessive cost of distribution has tended, between the wars, to increase.

Moreover, much economy can be effected, as we have found in the war, by standardising the production of things that need not be in great variety. It is wasteful, for instance, to make towels in ninety sizes if twenty would do.

**(v) The Question of Monopolies**

There is a further question—a highly controversial one. Industry has been tending more and more to organise itself in the form of monopolies or semi-monopolies. Some people hold that this development tends only to more efficiency and economy.

Others hold that it may lead to the unjustifiable forcing-up of prices, restrictions of supplies and suppression of desirable competition. They therefore hold that the public interest should be protected by further extensions of public control in one form or another.

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We have noted some of the ways in which the community can help to expand consumption and so maintain a steady demand for expanding production.

" A rising standard of living " is a practicable aim of policy. And " fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field " can greatly help to achieve it.

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\* See the summary of the White Papers on Social Insurance and Industrial Injury Insurance on pp. 563-9, of the Education Act, 1944, on pp. 546-8, and of the White Paper on a National Health Service on pp. 548-52.



## Chapter III.

**"FREEDOM FROM FEAR":  
SHORT-TERM****1. Disarming the Enemy**

Both the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow Declaration imply that there must be *two stages of peace-making*: the *first* a stage of transition, during which there must be one-sided disarmament for the enemy; and the *second* the stage when a "system of general security" is established.

We will deal with the first of these stages in the present chapter, and with the second stage in the next.

Consider then the disarmament of the enemy.

**(i) What Is the United Nations' Policy?**

The 'only definition of United Nations' policy about this is the very general statement in Point 8 of the Atlantic Charter:—

"Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they (the United Nations) believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential."

Besides this, there is the promise by Britain, America, Russia and China (in Point 2 of the Moscow Declaration): that those of them which are "at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy."

**(ii) The Questions**

Assuming that this policy will be maintained, let us ask ourselves these questions:—*Who should be disarmed during the transitional period? How much should they be disarmed? How to apply the disarmament? Who will protect the peace?*

**2. Who Should Be Disarmed?**

The Charter answers: countries "which threaten, or may threaten, aggression." Which are those countries?

Looking back over the history of the aggressions, and attempted aggressions, since the last war, we can see that this is not a simple question; Japan, Italy and Germany were by no means the only offenders. And looking forward, it would be difficult to say with confidence which countries "may threaten aggression."

**Germany, Japan and . . . ?**

But let us pass over any discussion of such general questions, and concentrate on the more pressing questions. If you had to choose subjects for disarmament, which country would be No. 1 on your list? Germany certainly. And No. 2? Presumably Japan.

What about Italy? Should she be disarmed to the same degree? Part of her army is now fighting with ours, and most of her fleet came over. The Allies at Moscow called on Italy to start on a democratic road, destroying Fascism entirely. If she does that, should she still be treated just like Germany and Japan, or more nearly on a footing of equality with the United Nations from the start?

Decisions will have to be taken, too, about the lesser partners in the Axis—Finland, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria. But let us consider only the main case—Germany's.

### 3. How Much Should Germany Be Disarmed ?

Assume that Hitler's armed forces have been totally defeated and that Germany has capitulated. And assume that the aim of all the Allies will be to do whatever is practicable to prevent Germany from violating any of the terms imposed on her, and from threatening aggression ever again.

In the transitional period with which we are concerned, should Germany be permitted to retain armed forces of any kind ?

Three policies are possible in theory.

#### (i) No Armed Forces Whatever ?

Germany might be left with no armed forces whatever.

This has been rejected by Marshal Stalin. "It is not our aim," he said in November 1942, "to destroy all armed force in Germany, because any intelligent man will understand that this is as impossible in the case of Germany as in the case of Russia. It would be unreasonable on the part of the victors to do so. To destroy Hitler's army is possible and necessary."

Note that Stalin was implying a distinction between Hitler's army and such armed forces as might be left in the hands of a very different Germany.

If the policy of total suppression of armed forces in Germany were adopted, irrespective of the character of the regime that follows Hitler, then it would presumably be a temporary measure, lasting only so long as the Allies keep their Forces in occupation of all Germany. No existing State manages at present to do without some armed force, as a backing to the civil power, to maintain internal order.

#### (ii) Light Armed Forces ?

A second policy would be to limit Germany, during the transition, to such light armed forces as the Allies judge reasonable for purposes of internal order. This standard of disarmament was what the United States advocated for general adoption at the Disarmament Conference in May 1933. General disarmament was to be carried "by successive stages down to the basis of a domestic police force," all the great weapons of offence being suppressed.

If this standard were strictly applied to Germany, it would involve a disarmament more drastic even than that prescribed at Versailles. Besides prohibiting all air forces and anti-aircraft defences (as at Versailles), it would rule out any naval forces (apart perhaps from a few small coastal ships) whereas, under Versailles, Germany was (at least ostensibly) within her rights in building formidable "pocket battleships" like the "Deutschland."

#### (iii) Quite Strong Armed Forces, If . . . ?

The third policy depends on the assumption that there may be a genuine democratic revolution in Germany, and that such a Government would be strengthened by being allowed to retain quite strong armed forces, if other nations do so.

This is the policy advocated by the "Free Germany" Committee, consisting of German officer prisoners and others in Moscow. The Soviet authorities allow very wide publicity for its journal, and to its manifesto (July 1943) which calls for a Government in Germany which will "immediately cease military operations, recall German troops to the Reich's frontiers, and embark on peace negotiations, renouncing all conquests. In this manner, it will attain peace and once again place Germany on an equal footing with other nations."

**(iv) What Should be Done?**

Now, which of these three policies is most likely to be adopted by the Allies?

On the one hand, they will have to reckon not only with widespread and intense hatred of the Germans, but also with profound distrust—a distrust which can only be removed slowly and by means of German deeds. The Allies know well that the militarist tradition is extremely strong in Germany; that the Germans have had little experience of real democratic self-government; and that German democratic forces have hitherto proved singularly weak, inept, and "minority-minded" when they have had to stand up to reaction. They realise, too, that the mentality of this powerful, gifted people, twisted before, has been given many more twists by eleven years of Gestapo terrorism, "guns instead of butter," Nazi censorship, and education based on denial of those standards of social morality and common humanity which the rest of civilised mankind has learned to value.

On the other hand, it is of the utmost importance for the world's peace that there should be a democratic revolution in Germany, and that this should be given a fair chance of acquiring strength enough to withstand reaction. And the world needs the wealth that German industry can produce for peaceful purposes.

*A Possible Decision*

So it may well be that the Allies' decision will follow some such line as this. They will not leave Germany with any considerable armed forces during the transition period, no matter how anti-Nazi the future Government may seem to be. They will impose very drastic, one-sided disarmament. And in deciding how to do this, they may be influenced to some extent by the character of the new German Government. But it is unlikely that they will attempt total suppression of all armed forces. They will presumably allow Germany only such very light forces as they judge to be genuinely necessary for the one purpose of maintaining internal order.

**4. How to Apply the Disarmament?**

Assuming, then, that Germany's disarmament will be very drastic, and that the aim will be to make it impossible for her to threaten aggression ever again, what forms should that disarmament take?

**(i) Enforcement**

*First*, the disarmament must be enforceable; and it must be strictly enforced for so long as the terms are binding. A disarmament, the breach of which is winked at and tacitly allowed by those who dictated the terms, is worse than useless.

*Secondly*, the disarmament should presumably suppress all weapons other than those light arms which the Allies may judge to be required for purposes of internal order. No air force, no artillery, no tanks, no navy except a few small ships for coastal services; and so on.

Such terms can only be enforced with full effectiveness if they are enforced by many nations acting together, including all those which have considerable industrial resources. Without such collaboration, Germany might again arm and train secretly in some other country.

**(ii) Military Training**

If Germany is allowed to have some light armed force for internal order, after the Allied occupation, will that force be a short-service one? At Versailles a long-service one (twelve years' enlistment) was prescribed; and on the whole the

Versailles plan was not successful. It enabled Germany to build up a highly professional small force which served as framework for a vastly expanded army when the chance came.

The Allies will no doubt try to break the power of the General Staff Corps—the brains of Germany's war machine. That is very difficult, as the Allies found last time.

### (iii) German Industry

As for Germany's war industry, the problems of disarmament are not simple. Part of the industrial plant can serve only for war production. That will presumably be destroyed.

But a great part of the plant, and all the brains and skill of German industry, can be used either for war or peace purposes, according to the will of the producers. Should this part of the plant be destroyed, and could its replacement be prevented?

#### (a) *On the One Hand—*

In deciding, we must remember such considerations as these :—

*First*, that some key industries, though they may also be used for peaceful purposes, are indispensable in wartime. Hydrogenation plants, for example, contribute to the making of both margarine and high explosives. Some people hold the view that certain processes of this kind should be forbidden.

*Secondly*, that Germany was able to secure a hold over her weaker neighbours by means of some of her industries, such as the metal industry, which are not purely military. These industries supplied equipment to the neighbouring countries and Germany made extraordinary use against these countries of the threat of refusing to supply replacements and spare-parts.

#### (b) *—And on the Other*

On the other side, these facts should be borne in mind :—

*First*, there is in Germany one of the very greatest concentrations of industrial resources—brains, skill, plant and raw material—in the world. And this provides one of the principal means of supplying many of Europe's principal needs. Could Europe afford to lose this immense source of wealth—when it is used for peaceful purposes?

*Secondly*, if this plant were wiped out, millions would be unemployed. It was the fact that six millions were unemployed rather than any grievance about Versailles that really gave Hitler his chance. If we want to see the Germans "re-educated" and content to live at peace with their neighbours, would it not be unwise to bar their way to activity and responsibility?

*Thirdly*, the United Nations have given assurances to the world, in Point 4 of the Atlantic Charter, that they will try to further for "all States, victor or vanquished" the enjoyment of equal rights in world trade, in so far as this is "needed for their economic prosperity."

Mr. Churchill underlined this when he brought home the Charter, and Mr. Eden has repeated it (23rd February, 1944).

Is not the conclusion this—that the Germans should be left with the means of winning a livelihood and self-respect by their industry; but that they must have before them continuing proof that no attempt at aggression anywhere can possibly succeed?

## 5. Who Will Protect the Peace?

During the world's convalescence after the war, power will be needed to protect the peace. Where is there power sufficient in strength and least likely to be tyrannously abused?

### (i) Strength of the Great Powers

The nations of the British Commonwealth, Russia and America will command between them overwhelming strength. Will they accept the responsibility of using this power collectively to protect the peace?

There is now good prospect that they will. Here is the momentous Declaration of Moscow about this, made jointly by Britain, America, Russia and China :—

"That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security, pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with each other, and, as occasion requires, with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of Nations". (Article 5.)

The maintenance of peace, Mr. Eden has said, depends upon close understanding between America, Russia and the nations of the British Commonwealth. "If we can achieve this understanding, then all our problems, however difficult, can be resolved; and if we cannot achieve it, I say to this House, there is, in my judgment, no hope of a lasting peace". (23rd February, 1944.)

### (ii) Responsibility of the Great Powers

Let us assume, then, that the three Great Powers will use their power collectively. Will they use it arbitrarily, for selfish ends, ignoring the rights and wishes of other nations?

On this point also the Moscow Declaration contains an assurance. It promises that they will consult not only with each other but also "as occasion requires, with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of Nations".

### (iii) Second Stage of Peace-Making

Assuming that these Great Powers do contribute their power, using it with a due sense of responsibility for the world's interest as well as their own, then the way will be clear for the second stage of peace-making—"the establishment of a system of general security".

Such is the end towards which the Atlantic Charter looks. It does not envisage one-sided disarmament lasting for ever. And in this system of general security, there would be a place, at an unspecified date, for a transformed Germany. No nation with great resources is likely to be content for ever to be denied that kind of security which comparable Powers claim for themselves. Germany's transformation will require more than the "physical" disarmament we have discussed: for real disarmament means not simply the scrapping of machines but the harnessing of the will of the people to purposes compatible with the world's peace and security.

In the next chapter we shall discuss the problem of this "general security".

## Chapter IV.

## “FREEDOM FROM FEAR”: LONG-TERM

### 1. Building a Durable Peace

In previous chapters we dealt with some of the measures that will be needed to keep the peace and rebuild international collaboration during the transitional period after the war.

#### (i) Aims of the First Stage

As regards this first stage of peace-making, was not the upshot of our discussions this?—

*First* (as we said in our opening chapter) in imposing peace terms the Allies will have the primary task of undoing the immense wrongs committed by the enemy, but will also have to avoid creating serious new wrongs in the process.

If the peace does not get a fair start in this respect, then sooner or later the task of peace-keeping will become unmanageable; for the new wrongs will presently generate new forces making for explosion, and the forces required for upholding the settlement will fall apart owing to the sense that injustice has been done.

*Secondly* (as the next chapter showed) there must be an orderly economic transition from war to peace conditions: and this must include first aid of various kinds and concerted action to increase world trade. Otherwise the peace will be undermined by economic chaos and social misery.

*Thirdly* (as the third chapter has shown) the enemy must be disarmed. There will be need, too, during the transition, for a shield of power—power ample in strength, reliable in application, and exercised with scruple “on behalf of the community of nations.” The British Commonwealth, Russia and the U.S.A. must accept their full share of this responsibility.

Now, in this final chapter, we come to the greatest question. What should be the permanent foundations of a peaceful international order?

#### (ii) Long-Term Policy

The United Nations, in their Atlantic Charter, look forward to the establishment of a “*wider and permanent system of general security*”; and the four principal Allies in the Declaration of Moscow, jointly declared “that they recognise the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a *general international organisation . . . for the maintenance of international peace and security.*”

#### (iii) What Does “General Security” Mean?

Both the Charter and the Moscow Declaration refer to “a system of general security.” Let us be clear at the outset what “general security” means. Security for whom? Security against what?

Obviously, it does not mean security for a few strong countries only; otherwise the security would not be “general.” It must be a kind of security which is available

for weak countries as well. Nor can it mean an assurance to any country that it will always be able to get its own way in international affairs. On the contrary, security can only be general if no country can be "judge, jury and executioner" in its own cause.

### *Security for All against Lawless Violence*

In Britain, each of us lives under a national "system of general security," "the King's Peace." It gives each individual certain protections for his life and rights under the law, whilst preventing him from being "a law unto himself." What we are now discussing is the establishment of something like "the King's Peace" for the community of nations.

"General security" for nations means security for all against lawless violence.

### (iv) **Is It Practicable?**

Before going on to discuss how this aim can be achieved, we had better be sure that we regard it as a desirable and practicable aim. Mr. Eden has defined the aim as "a durable peace." Britain, Russia and America described their aim, in the Teheran Declaration, as "an enduring peace," "a peace which will . . . banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

We can be sure that for hundreds of millions of people the world over, especially for those who have seen "total war" most nearly, "a durable peace" is one of the chief aims; peace, with good work and leisure, and the essential liberties for the individual and the nation.

### *The Nations Can Achieve It—*

Are all these people simply asking for the moon? We know that for ages past there have been prayers for peace on earth, and that some efforts have been made, notably through the League of Nations, to master international anarchy: yet here we are in the worst of all wars.

No, the task is not impracticable. War is not "an act of God" but the most laboriously contrived of all acts of human policy. And war is not due to something in "human nature" which we cannot hope ever to control. Already it plays no part in relations between very many nations. (See B.W.P. 15.)

### *—If They Will Pay the Price*

The real question, then, is whether the nations will be willing yet to pay the price of peaceful order. Will they accept such limitations of their "sovereign rights" and powers as are necessary to secure peace and a fair deal for all? Or will they insist on retaining a perfectly free hand to violate the essential laws of peaceful behaviour?

This much is certain. After this war's appalling demonstrations of what man's new powers of mass destruction can do, the peoples will bring to this task of establishing peaceful order a passionate resolution never shown before. This time it will be no ordinary post-war revulsion of feeling against war: this time what is at stake is the survival of civilisation in cities above ground. General security against war is incomparably more important now than ever before.

And this time the peace-builders will have before them the lessons of twenty years of the League of Nations.

## 2. Why Did the League of Nations Not Prevent this War?

The League's machinery did not prevent this war, and was not used for stopping it. Why?

Was the machine wrongly constructed? Or did the Governments chiefly responsible fail to use the machine? Did they fail to supply it with the fuel necessary for its working? Or a bit of both?

### (i) What It Did Achieve

Everyone who knows the facts agrees that on the social and economic side the League and the International Labour Organisation have done a most valuable job. And it might have been a much bigger achievement if these agencies had been more fully used. Far too little is known generally about that achievement.

In the political field, also, very useful work was done by the League up till about 1931, when the great slump had begun and when Japan struck in China. The Permanent Court of International Justice also did good service in the settlement of disputes of a legal character; and the League, before 1931, nipped in the bud several minor wars (which might have become big wars), though it did not prevent or undo some acts of violence.

### (ii) Manchuria: the Big Test

When the big test came in 1931 over the Japanese conquest of Manchuria, it came when the League's members were distracted and weakened by the great slump; and it came where the League was weakest—in the Far East. Neither the United States nor Russia were then members.

Many believe that if a firm stand against the Japanese militarists' gamble had been taken at the outset, they would not have persisted. But that stand was not taken; and so the aggression grew, and Japan got away with the spoils.

The crucial fact was that the League could not *prevent* that Japanese gamble, because it had not on its side enough power, *sure* to be used if required, and available at the decisive time and place; and that after the aggression began, the League's machinery was not used to stop it, since there was no resolute agreed leadership by the Great Powers.

### (iii) Other Aggressions Followed

Encouraged by the gangster's success in that case, Mussolini tried it on in Ethiopia. This time, the League Powers had adequate strength, but instead of applying effective sanctions (which might have caused Mussolini to hit back) or no sanctions, the Great Powers chose a policy of half-hearted, ineffective sanctions. So another aggressor triumphed: "collective security" was further discredited.

You remember the sequel, in Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Albania; and how finally Britain, in a desperate last-minute effort to retrieve something from the wreck, gave isolated guarantees to Poland, Roumania and Greece; guarantees which, as the events showed, could not be made effective until after fearful injury had been suffered by the countries guaranteed and after vast forces had been brought into play.

### (iv) What Is the Moral?

Is not the main lesson simply this, that the international organisation of the future must be able to count, much more surely than the League could count, upon ample power being available at its service, to prevent the success of gangster methods everywhere? The main burden for the protection of the peace must rest on the great World Powers, within some international system which affords security for the democratic rights of other "peace-loving" States.



### 3. What Are the Essentials of a Better Peace System?\*

First, is it practicable, at this stage in the world's history, to make a world federation—a "Parliament of Man," directly elected by all the peoples and directly controlling, through a World Executive or Council, all the world's coercive power? Surely the answer must be that, in the present state of the world, nothing like world-wide federation is practicable or is likely to become practicable for a long time, though federation in certain regions may be achieved.

#### (i) Confederation of States

The four principal Allies, in the Moscow Declaration, show that they regard world federation as out of the question. Here is what they said in full (we quoted only part of it before):—

"they recognise the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, *based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States*, and open to membership by all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

What is meant, evidently, is some kind of Confederation of States, but presumably with more effective control of power to protect the peace than the League has ever possessed.

#### (ii) Who Should Be Members?

Secondly, should membership of this organisation be open to all States, irrespective of their policy? Or should there be some test of admission?

The Moscow Declaration answers, in effect, that membership should be open only to those States which, in the judgment of the other members, really are "peace-loving"—really do share the essential purposes of the organisation.

States admitted may be "large or small," strong or weak; but within this organisation they are to be as equals before the law.

#### (iii) How Should It Work?

What machinery is needed? These details have not yet been filled in, of course, but there will be valuable guidance in the experience of the League of Nations.

The members must meet regularly, through some system of conference. It is no good waiting till a crisis has arisen; the aim is to prevent issues from reaching the critical stage. Representatives of all the members might meet once or twice a year in assembly, while some of them—an Executive Committee, including the Great Powers—could meet every few months.

As in the case of the League, there will have to be a permanent Secretariat; and various subsidiary organisations, dealing with the world's health, economic questions, airways, and so on. Some of these might be on a regional basis, e.g. for Europe or the South Pacific. The International Labour Organisation will presumably be retained and developed; so, too, will the Permanent Court of International Justice.

#### (iv) What Laws of Peace?

What laws of peace will be required?

One of them is indicated in loose terms in the Atlantic Charter, which calls for "the abandonment of the use of force" by nations. Of course, this is not a demand

\* To supplement this section, see the summary on pp. 576-8 of the tentative proposals of the Four-Power Conference at Dumbarton Oaks, issued since this chapter was originally published.

for absolute pacifism; it means that nations should be bound not to resort to force as a means of getting their own way. There can be no peaceful order if nations insist on retaining a self-judged right to resort to war.

But that is only a negative duty: there will have to be positive obligations as well, such as the obligation to take sides against aggression everywhere. That does not, of course, exclude the possibility of members having different duties with regard to any specific aggression. For example, those members who were close to the aggression, and more directly threatened by it, might be expected to undertake heavier responsibilities than those members who were more remote from it. But no member should be free to aid a State which has been declared to be an aggressor.

#### (v) What Services of Peace?

What can the organisation do, constructively, to promote the welfare of the peoples? A great deal: far more than the League and I.L.O. ever attempted, if it gets adequate support and a reasonably large budget. This side of the task of peace-making is of incalculable importance. In proportion as the international community succeeds in developing economic and social justice, its provision for policing against war will become less prominent.

As one possible development note the proposals (which are, of course, controversial) of the Australian and New Zealand Governments, in the Canberra Agreement (January 1944), that the international trunk air routes of the world should be owned and operated by an international air transport authority.\*

#### (vi) How to Settle Disputes?

How can international disputes be settled, if war is ruled out?

*First*, the nations must be willing to commit themselves to acceptance of impartial judgment on their claims. Britain and the Dominions have gone very far in this respect by various treaties and so have many other countries. But these obligations are suspended during the war.

*Secondly*, there must be an authority competent to pass judgment on legal disputes between States—disputes about their legal rights. The Permanent Court of International Justice exists for this.

*Thirdly*, there must be a body competent to help in adjusting political disputes—those not simply legal in character. The League Council did some good—and some bad—work in this field.

*Finally*, there is the very difficult problem of claims for change of the existing rights of States. The future world authority will have to develop a working system of "peaceful change"—which the League never really managed.

#### (vii) How to Regulate Armaments?

Next, what about national armaments?

There can be no general security unless there is ample power behind the laws of peace. And the anxious countries certainly will not reduce their armaments, if they can help it, unless there is a reliable system of general security.

But within such a system there can still be a general regulation of national armaments. Without regulation, confidence will be shaken by mutual fears, and economic recovery will be crippled.

Hence the final statement in Point 8 of the Atlantic Charter. Hence, too, the emphasis in the Moscow Declaration on the need for maintaining peace and

\* Compare the proposals of the British Government for the ordering of post-war international civil air transport in a White Paper (Cmd. 6561); H.M.S.O.; 1944; 1d.

security "with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments." And hence the promise of the four Powers at Moscow that "they will confer and co-operate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period."

If such regulation is agreed upon, many further questions will arise. Should it be internationally supervised? What should be done to deal with breaches of the agreement? And should anything be done, as recommended in the League of Nations Covenant, to control or prohibit the manufacture of armaments by private enterprise?

#### (viii) Who Will Provide the Power?

How is the peace of the community of nations to be protected against aggression?

All the members must accept a fair share of the risks and burdens of coercing the aggressor and protecting those attacked. But a special responsibility necessarily rests on those States which command great resources—notably the nations of the British Commonwealth, the United States, the Soviet Union, and presently China, which between them constitute two-thirds of the human race.

So we come back to the question: Will these great Powers act together, and use their power reliably and impartially, "on behalf of the community of nations"? The Moscow Declaration gives ground for hope that they will.

And beyond that lie further questions about the extent to which the Powers may be willing to pool some of their resources. Should the international organisation have the use of certain bases, leased to it as Britain has leased bases in the Caribbean to the U.S., and used for general security?

#### (ix) How Does This Concern Us?

Here is Mr. Eden's answer:

"No nation can hope to live alone; we have been taught that by the tragedy of this second world war. . . . Whether we will or not, the world grows ever smaller. We must either build an orderly law-abiding international society, in which each nation can live and work freely, without fear or favour, or we shall all be destroyed in a welter of barbaric strife.

"If we fail this time we are not likely to be given yet another chance."—*23rd July, 1942*).

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A :

### DOMESTIC RECONSTRUCTION

#### 1. White Paper on Educational Reconstruction and the Education Act, 1944

In July 1943, the Government published a White Paper on Educational Reconstruction\* which outlined plans for the comprehensive reform of the educational system in England and Wales.† A Bill to provide the necessary legislative sanction was published in December 1943, and passed by Parliament in August 1944.

The main changes made by the new Act and indicated in the White Paper are as follows :—

##### (i) Three Stages of Public Education

The public system of education will, in future, be organised in three progressive stages—primary, secondary, and further education, and each Local Education Authority will have the duty of securing adequate provision for each stage in its own area. Authorities will be required to submit to the Minister detailed “development plans” for primary and secondary education, and “schemes” for further education—i.e. full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age, including leisure-time occupation.

##### (ii) Children under Five

Improved nursery facilities must be provided by L.E.A.s for children under 5 wherever they are needed. Attendance will continue to be voluntary.

##### (iii) School-Leaving Age

The school-leaving age will be raised to 15 on the 1st April, 1945, without exemptions—unless, owing to the war situation, the necessary buildings and teachers are not ready by then, in which case the Minister may postpone the date for not more than 2 years. He must raise the age to 16 directly this is practicable.

##### (iv) Primary and Secondary Education

The term *elementary* education will be abolished and in future free full-time education will be available for all children in two stages—primary and secondary. This will involve the completion of the re-organisation of the present public elementary schools so that well-designed and equipped primary schools are available for all children up to the age of 11 and secondary schools, with varied facilities for advanced work, for all children over that age. There will be three main types of secondary school—the grammar school, the modern school and the technical school. All tuition fees will be abolished in secondary schools maintained from public funds.

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\* Cmd. 6458; H.M.S.O.; 6d.

† For a note of similar plans for Scotland see “Appendix: Education in Scotland” on pp. 343–4.

**(v) Abolition of Special Place Examination : Improvement of Secondary Schools**

The present Special Place examination for entry to the secondary school will be abolished when other arrangements have been made for the classification of children passing from primary to secondary schools. A common Code of Regulations will be introduced, applicable to secondary schools of all types, so framed as to secure that standards of accommodation and amenities generally are raised to the level of those of grammar schools.

**(vi) Religious Instruction**

The position of religious instruction is emphasised as an essential element in education and special provision is made in the Act to enable primary and secondary schools provided by the Churches and other voluntary bodies to play their full part in the new developments.

**(vii) Compulsory Part-Time "Further" Education**

A system of compulsory part-time education during working hours will be introduced for young people between the school-leaving age and 18 who are not in full-time attendance at school. "County Colleges" will be established by L.E.A.s for this purpose and attendance will be compulsory for one day a week or its equivalent.

**(viii) Technical and Adult Education**

There will be improved and properly co-ordinated facilities for technical and adult education.

**(ix) School Medical Service**

The school medical service will be expanded and improved and will be entirely free. It will cover not only children attending primary and secondary schools, but also young people attending County Colleges.

**(x) Mentally and Physically Defective Children**

Better and more varied facilities will be provided for the education of children suffering from mental or physical defects.

**(xi) Meals Service**

The present expansion of the meals service will be continued so that all children, whose parents wish them to do so, will be able to have a mid-day meal at school.

**(xii) Independent Schools**

All independent schools will be registered and inspected.

**(xiii) Changes in Local Administration**

The system of local administration will be adjusted to the new layout. Instead of two types of L.E.A.—the County and County Borough Councils responsible for all stages of education and certain Borough and Urban District Councils responsible for elementary education only—there will be one type only, the County and County Borough Councils. Certain powers relating to primary and secondary education will be delegated by the County Councils to District Councils, or groups of them, to ensure a continuance and development of local interest and responsibility.

**(xiv) Scholarships to Universities : Recruiting Teachers**

The arrangements for granting scholarships to the universities and elsewhere will be improved and extended and the present methods of recruiting and training teachers will be reformed.

**(xv) Youth Service**

There will be an expansion of the Youth Service.

**(xvi) "Minister of Education" : Central Advisory Councils**

The Act gives the President of the Board of Education the new title of Minister of Education. It gives him power to secure that these reforms are carried out and that, while wide scope is left for local initiative, every child wherever he lives has equal access to the benefits of the new education. To advise him on educational theory and practice there will be established two Central Advisory Councils, one in England and one in Wales.

**(xvii) Financial Arrangements**

The total additional cost of the reforms has been estimated at £5½ million in the financial year 1945-6, rising gradually to £47 million in 1951-52 and £80 million ultimately. The aggregate Exchequer grant to L.E.A.s will be raised by stages from the present 50 per cent. to 55 per cent. in 1948-49. The percentage payable to individual Authorities will, as in the case of the present grant for elementary education, vary according to local circumstances and will include an allocation of special grants, amounting in 1949 to some £2 million, to the poorest Authorities to help them to meet their new responsibilities.

## **2. White Paper on a National Health Service**

The White Paper\* was issued in February 1944. An abridged version of the proposals was also issued, "A National Health Service : The White Paper Proposals in Brief,"† from which the following summary is reprinted :—

**(i) Scope of the New Service**

(a) A National Health Service will be established. This service will be available to every citizen in England, Scotland and Wales.

(b) There will be nothing to prevent those who prefer to make private arrangements for medical attention from doing so. But, for all who wish to use the service, it will provide a complete range of personal health care—general and specialist, at home, in the hospital and elsewhere.

(c) The service will be free, apart from possible charges for certain appliances. (Questions of disability benefits will be dealt with in later proposals on social insurance.)‡

**(ii) Structure of the Service****(a) Central**

(i) Central responsibility to Parliament and the people will lie with the Minister of Health and the Secretary of State for Scotland.

\* Cmd. 6502 ; H.M.S.O. ; 1/-.

† H.M.S.O. ; 3d.

‡ See the summary of the White Papers on Social Insurance and Industrial Injury Insurance on pp. 563-9.

- (ii) At the side of the Minister there will be a professional and expert advisory body to be called the Central Health Services Council. The Council will be a statutory body and its function will be to provide professional guidance on technical aspects of the Health Service. There will be a similar body in Scotland.

(b) *Local*

- (i) Local responsibility will be based on the County and County Borough Councils, which are the major local government authorities now. They will administer the new service partly in their present separate capacities over their present areas, partly—as the needs of the service require—by combined action in joint boards over larger areas.
- (ii) Areas suitable for hospital organisation will be designated by the Minister after consultation with local interests.
- (iii) The County and County Borough Councils in each area will combine to form a joint authority to administer the hospital, consultant and allied services; in the few cases where the area coincides with an existing county area the authority will be the County Council of that area.
- (iv) At the side of each new joint authority there will be a consultative body—professional and expert—to be called the Local Health Services Council.
- (v) Each joint authority will also prepare—in consultation with the Local Health Services Council—and submit for the Minister's approval an "area plan" for securing a comprehensive Health Service of all kinds in its area.
- (vi) County and County Borough Councils combining for these duties of the new joint authority will also severally be responsible for the local clinic and other services in accordance with the area plan. Responsibility for child welfare will be specially assigned in whatever way child education is assigned under the current Education Bill.

(iii) **Hospital and Consultant Services**

(a) It will be the duty of the joint authorities themselves to secure a complete hospital and consultant service for their area—including sanatoria, isolation, mental health services, and ambulance and ancillary services in accordance with the approved area plan.

(b) The joint authorities will do this both by direct provision and by contractual arrangements with voluntary hospitals (or with other joint authorities) as the approved area plan may indicate.

(c) The powers of present Local Authorities in respect of these services and the ownership of their hospitals will pass to the joint authority.

(d) Voluntary hospitals will participate, if willing to do so, as autonomous and contracting agencies; if so, they will observe the approved area plan, and certain national conditions applying to all hospitals in the new service alike; they will perform the services for which they contract under the plan, and receive various service payments from both central and local funds.

(e) Special provision will be made for inspection of the hospital service through centrally selected expert personnel.

(f) Consultant services will be made available to all, at the hospitals, local centres, or clinics, or in the home, as required; they will be based on the hospital service, and arranged by the joint authority, either directly or by contract with voluntary hospitals under the approved area plan.

(g) Measures for improving the distribution of consultants, dealing with methods of appointment and remuneration, and relating the consultant service to other branches of the new service generally, will be considered after the report of the Goodenough Committee.

**(iv) General Medical Practice**

(a) Everyone will be free, under the new Health Service, to choose a doctor—the freedom of choice being limited, as now, only by the number of doctors available and the amount of work which each doctor can properly undertake.

(b) Medical practice in the new service will be a combination of grouped and separate practice.

Grouped practice means practice by a group of doctors working in co-operation.

Separate practice means practice by a doctor working on his own account—broadly similar to practice under the present National Health Insurance scheme, but with important changes.

(c) Grouped practice will be conducted normally, though not exclusively, in specially equipped and publicly provided Health Centres. In England and Wales, the Centres will be provided and maintained by County and County Borough Councils—in Scotland, by the Secretary of State with power to delegate to a Local Authority.

(d) General practice in the National Health Service will be in the main organised centrally under the responsible Health Ministers. All the main terms and conditions of the doctor's participation will be centrally settled, and much of the day-to-day administration will be the function of Central Medical Boards—one for England and Wales and one for Scotland—largely professional in composition, and acting under the general direction of the Health Ministers.

(e) The main duties of each Board will be :—

(i) to act as the "employer" of the doctors engaged in the public service.

Thus, the Board will be the body with whom every doctor will enter into contract. In the case of practice in Health Centres in England and Wales, however, there will be a three-party contract between the Board, the Local Authority and the doctor.

(ii) to ensure a proper distribution of doctors throughout the country. For this purpose the Board will have power to prevent the taking over of an existing public practice or the setting up of a new public practice in an area which is already "over-doctored."

(f) It is not proposed that there should be a universal salaried system for doctors in the new service. Doctors engaged in Health Centres will be remunerated by salary or the equivalent; doctors in separate practice normally by capitation fee. In some cases—e.g. grouped practice not based on a Health Centre—remuneration by salary or the equivalent could be arranged if the doctors concerned so desired. Rates of remuneration will be discussed with the medical profession.

(g) It is not proposed to prohibit doctors in public practice from engaging also in private practice for any patients who still want this. Where a doctor undertakes private in addition to public practice, the number of patients he is permitted to take under the National Service—and consequently his remuneration—will be adjusted.

(h) Young doctors entering individual practice in the public service for the first time will normally be required to serve for a period as assistants to more experienced practitioners, and the Board will be able to require them to give full time to the service if necessary.



(j) Compensation will be paid to any doctor who loses the value of his practice—e.g. by entering a Health Centre or because he is prohibited from transferring the practice to another doctor on the ground that there are too many doctors in the area.

Superannuation schemes will be provided for doctors in Health Centres and the possibility of providing them in other forms of practice will be discussed with the profession, and the practicability of abolishing the sale and purchase of public practices will be similarly discussed.

(k) Arrangements for the supply of drugs and medical appliances will be considered and discussed with the appropriate bodies.

#### (v) Clinics and Other Services

(a) It will be the duty of the joint authority to include in its area plan provision for all necessary clinics and other local services (e.g. child welfare, home nursing, health visiting, midwifery and others), and to provide for the co-ordination of these services with the other services in the plan.

(b) County and County Borough Councils will normally provide most of these local services. The exact allocation of responsibility between the joint authority and the individual County and County Borough Councils will be finally settled in each case in the approved area plan; but the principle will be that services belonging to the hospital and consultant sphere will fall to the joint authority while other local and clinic services will fall to the individual Councils.

(c) Child welfare duties will always fall to the Authority responsible for child education under the new Education Bill.

(d) New forms of service, e.g. for general dentistry and care of the eyes, will be considered with the professional and other interests concerned. In the case of dentistry the report of the Teviot Committee is awaited.

#### (vi) Organisation in Scotland

(a) The scope and objects of the service will be the same in Scotland as in England and Wales, but subject to certain differences due to special circumstances and the geography and existing local government structure in Scotland.

(b) The local organisation in Scotland will differ from that in England and Wales and will be on the following lines:—

- (i) Regional Hospitals Advisory Councils will be set up for each of five big regions. The Councils will be advisory to the Secretary of State on the co-ordination of the hospital and consultant services in each region.
- (ii) Joint Hospitals Boards will be formed by combination of neighbouring major Local Authorities (County Councils and Town Councils of large burghs) within the regions to ensure an adequate hospital service in their areas. The Boards will take over all responsibility for the hospital services of the constituent Authorities (including services like the tuberculosis dispensaries, which essentially belong to the hospital and consultant field) and will also arrange with voluntary hospitals.
- (iii) The Joint Boards will prepare a scheme for the hospital service in their areas and submit this to the Secretary of State, who will consult the Regional Hospitals Advisory Council before deciding to approve or amend it. The powers of the Secretary of State will be strengthened to enable him to require major Local Authorities to combine for any purpose proved necessary after local enquiry.

- (iv) Education Authorities (County Councils and Town Councils of four cities) will retain responsibility for the school health service and clinics, until the medical treatment part of the school service can be absorbed in the wider health service. Existing major health authorities (County Councils and Town Councils of large burghs) will normally retain responsibility for the ordinary local clinic and similar services; the necessary co-ordination will be secured through their membership of the Joint Hospital Boards and through the Local Medical Services Committees (below).
- (v) Local Medical Services Committees—advisory bodies consisting of professional and Local Authority representatives—will be set up over the same areas as the Joint Hospitals Boards. The Committees will advise the Secretary of State on local administration of the general practitioner service and will provide liaison between the different branches of the service.

(vii) **Finance**

It is estimated that the cost of the new National Health Service will be about £148,000,000 a year compared with about £61,000,000 spent from public funds on the present health services. The cost will be met from both central and local public funds. The arrangements as affecting the various Local Authorities and the voluntary hospitals are fully considered in the White Paper and more briefly in the abridged version of it.

### **3 (A). Reinstatement in Civil Employment Act, 1944**

(i) **Aims and Scope**

This Act is a limited measure designed to assist men and women who joined the armed forces or corresponding women's services for the present emergency, and who wish to return to the job they had immediately before their war service began. It applies to all persons who were called up or called out for service after 25th May, 1939, or who volunteered for such service. It also applies to certain persons compulsorily enrolled in a civil defence force under the National Service Acts.

(ii) **Obligations on Employers**

The Act lays certain obligations on employers to take back into employment former employees to whom the Act applies, who make proper application under the Act when their war service comes to an end. Where an applicant has been taken back into employment under the Act, the employer is required to continue him in employment for the following 26 weeks (in certain cases 52 weeks). These obligations are, however, subject to the proviso that it is reasonable and practicable for the former employer to reinstate the applicant or to continue him in employment.

(iii) **Grievances to Reinstatement Committees**

The Act further provides that persons, who claim that they have rights under the Act which are denied them, may apply to Reinstatement Committees set up under the Act, who shall determine any question relating to these rights.

(iv) **Commencement of Act**

The Act comes into operation on 1st August, 1944, and covers persons whose war service under the Act ends on or after 1st February, 1944.

### **3 (B). Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944**

A scheme of a temporary nature designed to meet wartime needs has now been replaced by an Act of Parliament which makes permanent provision for the future. This Act was passed on 1st March, 1944, and an outline of its main provisions is given in the following paragraphs.

#### **General**

(i) Disablement for the purpose of the Act means something which constitutes a substantial handicap in getting or keeping suitable employment or work and it includes disablement resulting from disease, as well as injury; it does not matter whether or not it occurred during service, and whether or not it qualified for pension.

The Act applies to civilians as well as to ex-Service men and women, but there is a preference for those who have served in the Forces or in certain of the women's services, or in the Merchant Navy.

A National Advisory Council will be established to advise and assist the Minister of Labour and National Service on matters arising out of the operation of the Act.

#### **Further Education, Vocational Training and Industrial Rehabilitation**

(ii) Under the Act, courses of training can be provided for men and women over 16 years of age who, on account of disablement, need such training to help them to get employment or to take up work on their own account. Courses of industrial rehabilitation can also be provided for those who, after a long period in hospital, are not fit to go immediately into full-time employment or training.

The courses will be provided free and persons undertaking them will receive a maintenance allowance, together with an allowance for dependants and travelling expenses. These allowances will be paid irrespective of any pension or other payment for a disability.

#### **Registration**

(iii) A Register of disabled persons will be kept at the local offices of the Ministry of Labour and National Service. The main condition for registration is that the disablement causes a substantial handicap to employment and work, and that it is likely to last for at least six months. The decision in any case will therefore depend upon the nature of the disablement and also its effect upon employment.

(iv) Registration is entirely voluntary, but those who are registered will have the special advantages in getting and keeping employment as described in the paragraphs below.

Application for entry in the Register will have to be made on a special form which will be available at any local office of the Ministry. The application may be accepted forthwith, but if there is any doubt it will be referred to an Advisory Committee. These Committees, which will be set up throughout Great Britain, will be composed of equal numbers of employers and workers, together with a doctor and representatives of ex-Service organisations and other persons with a special knowledge of the problem of disablement.

#### **Obligations on Employers**

(v) All employers with 20 or more workers will be required to employ a quota of registered disabled persons—the quota for each employer being a percentage of his total employees. An employer who has less than his quota may not take on a

non-registered person without a special permit from the Minister, and a registered disabled person may not be discharged from his employment without reasonable cause if the discharge would bring the employer below his quota.

(vi) In addition, certain occupations which are thought to be specially suitable for disabled persons may be earmarked for them under the Act, and vacancies occurring in those occupations may not be filled by persons who are not registered, without a permit from the Minister.

(vii) The scheme for assisting the disabled will not adversely affect the re-engagement of an ex-Service man or woman who has a statutory right under the Reinstatement in Civil Employment Act, 1944, to reinstatement in his pre-service job or if the employer has made a definite agreement for reinstatement. In such cases the employer may re-engage his ex-Service employee, whether or not he is disabled, even if he has not his full quota of disabled persons in his employment.

### **Employment for Special Cases**

(viii) Special arrangements will be made for the provision of employment or work on their own account for persons who are so seriously disabled as to prevent their employment under ordinary conditions. Schemes of this kind will be started or assisted by the Ministry of Labour and National Service, and they will include courses of training and maintenance allowances.

### **Northern Ireland**

(ix) The Act enables a similar scheme to be introduced in Northern Ireland and the two schemes will work together and disabled persons will be able to qualify under either scheme.

### **Commencement of Act**

(x) The Act will be brought into operation as circumstances require. The sections dealing with training and rehabilitation courses will start during 1944, and the National Advisory Council is also being set up. The other sections dealing with the Register and the quota will come into force later on when the need for them arises.

## **4. White Paper on Employment Policy**

This White Paper\* was issued in May 1944. The following is a summary of the main proposals.

### **General**

(i) The Government accept as one of their primary aims and responsibilities the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment after the war.

(ii) Employment cannot be created by Act of Parliament or by Government action alone. The White Paper, therefore, is not primarily an outline of projected legislation, but of the conditions on which work can be found for all who want to work, the evil of mass unemployment be abolished, and a progressive increase in national prosperity achieved without sacrifice of the freedom of the citizen.

(iii) Once the war has been won, concerted action can be taken to achieve this end, and all preparations that can be made without impairing the war effort must be made now.

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\* Cmd. 6527; H.M.S.O.; 6d.

(iv) The success of the policy will depend on the efforts of individuals in all parts of society, but especially on progressive improvement in the efficiency of employers and workers, and on the general adoption by them of expansionist, not restrictive, policies.

### **Maintenance of Total Expenditure**

(v) First, the volume of total expenditure, both on capital and consumption goods and services, must be maintained at a high level. If consumers are in a position to make their demands continuously effective, production (and therefore employment) will be maintained. The proposals in paragraphs (vi) to (xi) below are designed to serve this purpose.

(vi) By concerted action between the Treasury, the Bank of England and the Joint Stock Banks, variations in the rate of interest will be used to influence the volume of capital expenditure.

(vii) Private enterprise will be encouraged to expand or contract its own capital expenditure in accordance with a general policy of stabilisation.

(viii) Capital expenditure by the Government and by local and other public authorities will be timed to offset such swings in private investment as cannot be prevented. Thus the Government will set a target for the volume of public work each year. When private enterprise shows signs of slackening, the opportunity will be seized to improve the equipment of society through increased public investment in building, communications, power supply, etc.

(ix) The volume of consumers' purchasing power could be directly influenced by increasing (when trade is brisk) and reducing (when trade slackens) the weekly contribution payable by employers and employed under the new social insurance scheme. The Government suggest the adoption of this policy, but not in the transition period since it would not be a suitable corrective for the type of unemployment that may appear during that period, and time must be allowed for the new social insurance scheme to get working.

(x) Variation of taxation rates might also be used for this purpose. The Government will continue to study this and other methods of influencing the volume of consumption but are not at present prepared to propose their adoption.

(xi) Fiscal policy will be based on the principle that the Budget must be balanced over a period of years, without rigid insistence on striking a balance each year regardless of the state of trade. The aim will be to relate increases in the national debt to growth of real national income. The Government will have equally in mind the need to maintain a high level of total expenditure and the need for a policy of budgetary equilibrium, such as will maintain the confidence in the future which is necessary for a healthy and enterprising industry.

### **Stability of Prices and Wages**

(xii) The second essential condition of a successful policy of work for all is that the level of prices and wages be kept reasonably stable. Otherwise the Government would soon be faced with the alternatives of allowing inflation to develop or abandoning their employment policy. General wage increases are not ruled out, but must be related to increased output per head. So, too, the employment policy would be frustrated if employers chose to increase their profit margins by raising prices and restricting output.

The Government for their part will help to avoid or mitigate price changes (not rendered inevitable by higher cost either of imports or production at home), even by some use of subsidies to the cost of living during the transition period.

(xiii) Employers must look to larger output rather than higher prices for the reward of enterprise and good management.

The Government must be in a position to inform themselves of the extent and effect of restrictive agreements and of the activities of combines.

### **Mobility of Labour**

(xiv) Both "structural" unemployment and short-term unemployment arising from change in the purposes and technique of industry and trade, can be reduced to a minimum only if individual workpeople show initiative and adaptability, and move freely between one occupation and another.

Various measures are specified whereby the Government will encourage the appropriate distribution of labour, e.g. by training and re-settlement schemes, by completely divorcing unemployment benefit from the allowances granted to trainees\* and by ensuring the availability of houses at reasonable rents.

### **Balanced Distribution of Industry**

(xv) Special measures will be taken to ensure the maintenance of employment in areas where structural unemployment was serious before the war, owing to their dependence on declining export trades, such as cotton and coal, or on heavy industries which had been greatly expanded during the last war. These measures are designed :—

- (a) To encourage new enterprise and so diversify the industrial position of the areas.
- (b) To remove obstacles to the transfer of workers.
- (c) To provide training and so fit workers from declining industries for other work.

The pre-war concept of a Special Area should disappear and the relevant legislation be repealed.

(xvi) This part of the policy is in line with the main gist of the Barlow Report and also with some recommendations of the Scott Report.

### **Machinery for Applying the Policy**

(xvii) The Government must have fuller and more up-to-date information about current economic movements than before the war. The statistics must come mainly from industry but a small central staff will be needed to classify and analyse the facts and figures.

(xviii) The scope of the annual White Paper on National Income and Expenditure will be widened to include a more complete analysis of the country's total expenditure. In particular, direct estimates will be made of capital expenditure and of savings, to make up the Capital Budget of total national investment.

(xix) A complementary Man-power Budget will be drawn up, indicating the probable supply of labour over the coming year, the prospective changes in employment in the different industries, and the effects upon employment of any Government action designed to modify the volume of investment or expenditure.

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\* See the summary of the White Paper on Social Insurance on pp. 563-7.

### The Transitional Period

(xx) As an introduction to the main body of the White Paper, Chapter II covers the special employment problems of the transition from war to peace and the measures proposed to solve them.

(xxi) Various measures are specified to forestall the danger of patches of unemployment, resulting from failure of the industrial system to adapt itself quickly enough to peacetime production.

(xxii) Measures are specified to prevent demand outrunning supply and thus creating an inflationary rise in prices, and to ensure that, as production for civilian needs is gradually resumed, it devotes itself to the right tasks in the right order from the point of view of national needs (e.g. of exports).

### External Economic Policy

(xxiii) Chapter I enters a caveat that, though the White Paper is concerned only with internal policy, the level of employment and the standard of living in Britain do not depend only upon conditions inside the country. The Government has already given proof of their intentions to collaborate with Dominion and foreign Governments with the aim of promoting the beneficial exchange of goods and services between nations, providing a stable medium of exchange, checking violent swings in world commodity prices and enabling countries, faced with balance of payments difficulties, to overcome them.

## 5. Electoral Reform and Redistribution of Seats

In February 1944 a Conference of M.P.s and Peers, roughly in proportion to the party strength in the House of Commons and presided over by the Speaker, was set up with the following terms of reference:—

“To examine and, if possible, submit agreed resolutions, on the following matters:—

- (a) Redistribution of seats.
- (b) Reform of franchise (both Parliamentary and local government).
- (c) Conduct and costs of Parliamentary elections, and expenses falling on candidates and Members of Parliament.
- (d) Methods of election.”

### (i) Interim Report\* : Recommendations

In May 1944 the Conference submitted an interim report, covering (a), (b) and (d) of the terms of reference. The following are its chief recommendations:—

#### (a) *Redistribution of Seats*†

(i) The appointment of four permanent Boundary Commissions—one each for England, Scotland, Wales and Monmouthshire, and Northern Ireland.

(ii) An immediate temporary scheme for the subdivision of abnormally large constituencies, under which there may be a temporary increase of M.P.s not exceeding twenty-five. This is an emergency measure designed to remove the more glaring anomalies before a full-scale redistribution can be effected.

(iii) The Boundary Commissions to begin to prepare a full redistribution scheme immediately after the completion of the temporary scheme. Under the full scheme, the total membership of the House of Commons shall remain substantially as at present.

\* Cmd. 6534; H.M.S.O.; 2d.

† The recommendations in para. (a) have, in the main, been embodied in the House of Commons (Redistribution of Seats) Act, 1944.

Double-member constituencies (except for the City of London) shall, in general, be abolished.

(iv) The Boundary Commissions to be required to undertake, at intervals of not less than three years and not more than seven years, a general review of the constituencies, and, in addition, to have power to submit special reports at any time in respect of any particular constituency or group of constituencies. This proposal is designed to ensure that the state of the constituencies is in future considered automatically from time to time and any necessary remedial measures taken.

*(b) Reform of Franchise*

(i) Local government elections to be held on the same register as Parliamentary elections.

(ii) The qualification for a Parliamentary vote through the ownership or occupation of business premises to be retained, but a wife no longer to qualify for a business premises vote merely because her husband is entitled to such a vote. The suggestion that a business man should not vote twice—once by virtue of his residence, once by virtue of his ownership or occupancy of business premises—was rejected.

(iii) The retention of the existing university representation. Graduates to be automatically put on the register without fee; and to continue to have a second vote in their own university constituencies. (University constituencies return twelve Members to Parliament.)

*(d) Methods of Election*

(i) No adoption of "Proportional Representation" in any constituency where it does not at present apply.\*

(ii) No adoption of the "Alternative Vote."†

**(ii) Second Report : Recommendations**

In July 1944, the Conference submitted its Second Report covering (c) of its terms of reference (that is, conduct and costs of Parliamentary elections, and expenses falling on candidates and Members of Parliament).

The following are the chief recommendations:—

*(a) Election Expenses*

(i) At present, candidates are permitted to spend at elections up to 5d. per elector in borough constituencies and 6d. per elector in county constituencies.

\* "The country would be divided into large constituencies returning several Members. To be elected, a candidate must obtain a 'quota' of votes varying with the number of Members to be returned; in a five-Member constituency, the quota would be just over one-sixth of the votes cast; in a six-Member constituency, just over one-seventh, and so on. The voter records a Transferable Vote" (i.e. he puts the figure 1 against his first choice and 2, 3, etc., against the others in order of preference). "Candidates with more than the quota of first choices are elected, and their surplus over the quota is distributed among the other candidates in the proportions which second or later choices indicate. The votes of the candidates at the bottom are similarly distributed until the required number of persons obtain the quota and are elected."—(The British Approach to Politics; Michael Stewart; p. 182.)

† The Alternative Vote is designed to ensure that the candidate returned has an absolute majority, i.e. more than half the votes cast. The voter, instead of entering only one choice on the ballot paper, would put down the numbers, 1, 2, 3, etc., against the candidates in his order of preference. The candidate with the lowest number of votes as first choices would be eliminated, the second choices shown on his papers distributed among the other candidates and so on, until one of them has an absolute majority.



The Conference recommended that in future the legal maximum scale of candidates' expenses in Great Britain should consist partly of a basic figure and partly of an allowance in respect of each elector. In all cases, the basic figure should be £450; and the allowance in borough constituencies should be at the rate of 1d. for each elector, and in county constituencies at the rate of 1½d. for each elector.

This change would have the double effect of considerably reducing the total of permitted expenses, and of securing that, proportionately, more is available per elector in the smaller constituencies and less in the larger constituencies.

This alteration should not extend to Northern Ireland, where the permitted maximum had already been reduced in 1920.

(ii) At present, a special fee for agents is permitted, in addition to the legal maximum scale of candidates' expenses referred to above.

The Conference recommended that in future the whole of the fees paid to agents should be included in the permitted maximum.

(iii) At present, poll cards (that is the cards telling the elector who the candidates are, where he should vote, and what his election number is) are issued by each of the candidates.

The Conference recommended that in future it should be the duty of the Returning Officer to issue poll cards to the electors, at public cost, in adequate time before an election.

(iv) The Conference recommended that in future it should be permissible to pay speakers' expenses, such expenses to be included in the candidates' return of expenses.

(v) The Conference agreed that, apart from the issue of poll cards, no postal and printing facilities should be afforded to candidates by the State in addition to those already provided.

#### *(b) Subscriptions to Charities and Contributions to Party Organisations*

The Conference felt that abuses in these matters could not be dealt with effectively by legislation, but agreed to place on record, as a help to candidates and to Members of Parliament, and as a deterrent to Party organisations inclined to attach undue importance to the financial contributions of a candidate or Member:

(i) Their view that it was to be deprecated that a prospective or adopted Parliamentary candidate or a Member of Parliament should give any substantial donation or contribution to any charitable, social or sporting organisation in the constituency, or to any charitable fund specifically benefiting the constituents:

(ii) That they regarded with disapproval the direct or indirect payment or promise of payment of substantial contributions or annual subscriptions to party organisations (including local party organisations), designed to influence the action of such organisations in selecting any particular individual as a Parliamentary candidate.

#### *(c) Candidates' Deposits*

(i) The Conference recommended that where there were two or three candidates, the existing rule should be retained that a candidate who failed to poll one-eighth of the total votes cast should forfeit his deposit.

The Conference recommended, however, that where there were more than three candidates, a candidate should only forfeit his deposit if he failed to poll one-tenth of the total votes cast.

(ii) The Conference rejected a resolution that there should be any change in the present amount of the deposit (that is, £150).

*(d) Polling Facilities*

(i) The Conference recommended that increased polling facilities should be provided, particularly in rural areas.

(ii) The Conference recommended that there should be fixed hours of polling throughout the United Kingdom, which would not be subject to local variation; and that these hours should be 7 a.m. to 9 p.m.

*(e) Absent Voting by Persons Physically Incapacitated*

The Conference recommended that the categories of persons entitled to be placed on the Absent Voters' List should be enlarged to cover persons who are physically incapacitated; and that Registration Officers should be authorised to place an elector on this list on being satisfied that on grounds of physical infirmity the elector was unlikely to be able to vote in person at a forthcoming election.

*(f) Broadcasting*

(i) The Conference recommended that it should be made an offence for any British subject to promote any broadcast affecting Parliamentary elections from wireless stations outside the United Kingdom.

(ii) The Conference felt that in view of the impossibility of forecasting future developments, it would be out of place for them to make any recommendations with regard to the regulation of broadcasting within the United Kingdom for election purposes.

*(g) Service Voters*

(i) The Conference passed a resolution to the effect that they attached great importance to the exercise of the franchise by members of the Services and merchant seamen, and asked the Government to keep the whole matter under constant review (including the possibility of arranging postal votes by Service voters overseas or for elections in the field).

(ii) The Conference, while aware that this was a matter outside their terms of reference, placed on record their opinion that the present method of registering Service voters should be improved by the introduction of automatic registration.

## **6 (A). The Town and Country Planning Bill, 1944\***

The main purpose of this Bill, published in June 1944, is to provide for the reconstruction of town areas which need to be laid out afresh and redeveloped either because of war damage or because of their bad layout and obsolete character. The special needs of both these types of areas were emphasised in the Uthwatt Report which said, "it is essential to invest the planning authority with the power to cut through the tangle of separate ownerships and boundary lines and make the whole of the land in the area immediately available for comprehensive replanning as a single unit." The Bill is intended to give the planning authority the power they require for that purpose.

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\* This Bill received the Royal Assent on 17th November, 1944. During its passage, two important changes were made. (i) The procedure for acquiring land has been simplified and the Minister is empowered to dispense with a public enquiry in certain circumstances. (ii) The sums payable on acquisition of land over and above the 1939 standard of value are limited to an additional 30%, but are now extended to *all* owner-occupied buildings and farmland. Owner-occupier is widely defined and covers, for example, cases where the owner would be in occupation but for being on war service.

(i) **"Blitzed," "Blighted" and "Overspill" Areas**

The needs of the war-damaged (*blitzed*) areas, and the areas of bad layout and obsolete development (*blighted* areas), are dealt with separately in the Bill; blitzed areas being treated as a relatively short-term and urgent programme, and blighted areas as a long-term, continuing programme.

To lessen the housing density and provide sufficient open spaces when replanning an area, it will often be necessary to acquire land outside the area. The County of London Plan, for instance, would require provision of accommodation for at least half a million people outside the county. The Bill, therefore, provides for the acquisition of land for what are termed *overspill* areas.

(ii) **Acquisition of Required Land**

If the Minister is satisfied, on the application of a Local Planning Authority, that an area, as a result of extensive war-damage, needs to be redeveloped as a whole, he may by Order make the land in question subject to compulsory purchase by expedited procedure. Grants from the Exchequer will be paid towards the acquisition and clearance of land in a designated area of war-damage, or an overspill area associated with it. It is estimated that the acquisition and clearance of land for redevelopment in war-damaged areas will cost about £575,000,000.

In the case of a blighted area the Bill does not provide for the designation of the whole area which is to be redeveloped. Instead, the Local Planning Authority will apply from time to time for a compulsory purchase order for the land they are ready to redevelop, and a public enquiry will be held into each application.

The procedure for acquisition, once the powers have been obtained under a compulsory purchase order, is the same for blitzed and blighted areas and is more expeditious than under existing powers. This is necessary because the process of redevelopment, once it starts, must be carried through quickly, although in the case of blighted areas there may be a long interval before redevelopment can be started.

(iii) **Financial Provisions**

For five years after the passing of the Bill the price paid for land on acquisition will be based on the standard of values at 31st March, 1939. Additional sums may be paid in respect of (a) residential properties below the rateable values prescribed by the Rent Restriction Acts and occupied by the owner or his family, and (b) agricultural land and buildings, farm-houses and farm cottages subject to certain conditions as to their occupation.

(iv) **Private or Public Development of Acquired Land**

It is contemplated that the Planning Authority, having by acquisition cut through the tangle of separate ownership, will then lease the land in suitable plots for private development except, of course, where the land is required for development for the government service or by Local Authorities for houses, schools, roads, etc. The Bill accordingly provides for the leasing to private interests of the land acquired.

(v) **Provision for Any Special Powers Needed**

In order to furnish the Planning Authorities with all necessary powers for dealing with blitz and blight, the Bill enables them to carry out, with the consent of the Minister of Town and Country Planning, any development which would not otherwise be carried out in the manner, and at the time, requisite.

## 6 (B). White Paper on the Control of Land Use

### (i) The Problem

The White Paper\* on "The Control of Land Use," published in June 1944, sets out the Government's general scheme for the future control of land use in town and country. Provision for the right use of land, in accordance with a considered policy, is an essential requirement of the Government's programme of post-war reconstruction. Housing, education, industry, agriculture, highways, national parks and facilities for enjoyment of the sea and countryside all involve various claims on the land and these must be harmonised. To do this, it will be necessary to remedy the law regarding the payment of compensation to landowners and the collection of improved values (betterment) resulting from planning activities.

### (ii) Recommendations by the Uthwatt Committee

These problems were considered by the Uthwatt Committee which published a Report in 1942. That Committee considered the two factors of "floating value" and "shifting value" to be the core of the compensation and betterment problem in the unbuilt areas outside towns. "Floating value" is that element in the market value of undeveloped land depending on the possibility of that particular land being selected for development. The prohibition of development on a piece of land may reduce the value of that land. Generally the effect of such prohibition is that building takes place elsewhere, and thus adds to the value of other land; hence the term "shifting value."

#### *Unification of Control : Compulsory Purchase : Levy on Betterment*

The Uthwatt Committee considered the only solution of the problem to be unification in the State of all development rights in unbuilt-on land outside towns.

As regards towns and cities, the Committee recommended that the Local Authority should have power to purchase compulsorily the whole of any areas needing redevelopment as a whole. They also recommended that a levy on betterment should be imposed.

### (iii) Proposals of the White Paper

The Government accept as substantially correct the Uthwatt Committee's analysis of the problems, but consider there would be serious practical difficulties in adopting as a whole the particular proposals suggested by the Committee. The White Paper, therefore, gives alternative proposals for discussion by Parliament and the public, and the Government reserve the right to modify the proposals in the light of subsequent discussion.

#### *(a) Power of Purchase and Control of Development*

The general scheme now put forward would give Local Authorities power of public purchase of land, with the consent of the Minister concerned. The price to be paid for such public acquisition of land will, for a period of five years, be fixed on the standard value at 31st March, 1939.

Development rights will be subject to a statutory restriction so as to secure that, although they remain vested in the owner, they cannot be exercised without the approval of the Planning Authority.

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\* Cmd. 6537; H.M.S.O.; 3d.

*(b) Levy of Betterment Charge*

Increases in land value generally arise from changes in the use of land. In the view of the Government, the greater part of these increases should go into the public purse and be available to meet expenditure on compensation. Some percentage of the increased value, it is considered, should be left with the landowner as an economic incentive and to facilitate voluntary agreement. Owners of land, therefore, will, whenever permission is granted to develop, be subject to a Betterment Charge of eighty per cent. of the increase in the value of the land due to the granting of the permission.

*(c) Payment of Compensation*

Owners of land, which had some development value on 31st March, 1939, will, upon any future refusal of permission to develop, be entitled (except where under the present law either no compensation or only restricted compensation would have been payable) to fair compensation. They will not, however, be entitled to compensation in respect of any further development value accruing after 31st March, 1939. The precise formula for determining compensation will be settled after a period of five years. More information will then be available to assist the Government in avoiding any excess over fair compensation due to the element of "floating value."

*(d) Assessment of Compensation and Betterment*

It is essential that the finances of compensation and betterment should be centralised in a single authority. A Land Commission will therefore be set up to undertake, subject to arbitration in the case of dispute, the assessment and payment of compensation, and the assessment and collection of betterment charge.

The Government believe that legislation on these lines, together with the Bill now before Parliament, will provide the statutory basis of an effective planning policy, which will enable landowners, Local Planning Authorities and the Minister of Town and Country Planning and the Secretary of State for Scotland to collaborate in securing a well-ordered use of the land, both urban and rural.

## 7(A). White Paper on Social Insurance

Social insurance was among the earliest reconstruction topics to which the Government turned their attention. In 1941, they invited Sir William Beveridge to take charge of a survey of existing schemes and his Report was the subject of a full debate in Parliament in February 1943.\* Thereafter the innumerable questions of policy and detail were worked out and two White Papers on Social Insurance and Industrial Injury Insurance,† respectively, were issued in September 1944. Reference should be made to these White Papers for the details of the schemes.

A comprehensive economic policy must have two sides. First, it must deal with the production of wealth, so as to enable the nation as a whole to earn the best possible living in the most efficient way. And secondly, it must make provision

\* For a summary of the Report and of the Government's proposals as announced in the debate, see "Current Affairs" No. 45.

† Cmd. 6550 and Cmd. 6551; H.M.S.O.; 6d. and 3d. In addition H.M.S.O. has published a brief guide to the Government's plan, "Social Insurance," including Industrial Injury Insurance, price 3d., on which the summaries here printed are based.

for those who are in want through illness, unemployment, injury at work, or the other chances and changes of life. This second aim is the province of social insurance and the other services described in the White Papers.

The following is a summary of the main proposals in the first of the White Papers. The second is dealt with below at pp. 568-9.

### (i) Scope and Organisation

The scheme will be *compulsory* and *universal*—it will include everybody, although persons whose income is less than £75 a year and who are not employees may claim to be exempted; and it will be *unified in administration* :—

(a) A *Ministry of Social Insurance* will be set up which will be responsible for the whole of Social Insurance including Industrial Injury Insurance. A wide network of local offices will be established. The Assistance Board will pay cash assistance payments now made by the Local Authorities (see below); the Board will remain separate but responsible to the Minister of Social Insurance.

The approved societies will not be retained within the scheme, either as independent financial units or as agents in the administration of the scheme.

(b) There will be a *single weekly contribution* from each contributor paid by one stamp on the insurance card.

### (ii) Classification and Contributions

The population will be divided into six classes. In the following table the classes are defined and the amount of the weekly contribution from each shown, including for Class I the contribution under the Industrial Injury Insurance scheme (see summary below) :—

Classes	Contributions			
	For Men		For Women	
	By Insured	By Employers	By Insured	By Employers
Class I. Employees				
Age 18 and Over ... ..	3/10	3/1	3/-	2/5
16 to 18 ... ..	2/5	2/1	2/-	1/7
Class II. Others Earning Money				
Age 18 and Over ... ..	4/2	—	3/6	—
16 to 18 ... ..	2/9	—	2/5	—
Class III. Housewives	Covered by Husband's Contribution			
Class IV. Other Persons of Working Age Not Earning Money				
Age 18 and Over ... ..	3/4	—	2/8	—
16 to 18 ... ..	2/2	—	1/10	—
Class V. Children	Do Not Pay Contributions			
Class VI. Persons above Working Age Who Have Retired	Do Not Pay Contributions			

### (iii) Social Insurance Benefits

Not more than one Social Insurance benefit or pension will be payable to an individual at any one time, and there may be an adjustment in benefit when the person eligible is already in receipt of a war or industrial pension.

#### (a) Unemployment and Sickness Benefit

- (i) *Standard Rates for Unemployment or Sickness Benefits.*—40s. for a married couple ; 24s. for a single man or woman ; 5s. for the eldest child ; 15s. under 18.
- (ii) *Scaling of Rates.*—Benefit will be reduced or withheld when the contributor has not satisfied the prescribed contribution conditions.
- (iii) *Duration.*—Both unemployment and sickness benefits are limited in duration but in different ways ; unemployment benefit will run for 30 weeks ; sickness benefit will run for 3 years, when invalidity benefit may be substituted. After the end of unemployment, sickness or invalidity benefit, further contributions must be paid before an insured person can re-qualify for a fresh spell on benefit.
- (iv) *Self-Employed Persons.*—Those working on their own account are entitled to sickness (and later invalidity) benefit after the first four weeks of any illness. They do not get unemployment benefit.
- (v) *Married Women.*—Employed married women, earning more than 20s. a week, can choose whether to be insured in their own right or to be exempt. For those who choose to be insured the standard rate of unemployment benefit will be 20s. weekly, and of sickness (and invalidity) benefit 16s. weekly.
- (vi) *Training Allowance.*—An unemployed person taking a course of approved training will receive a training allowance at a rate higher than unemployment benefit.
- (vii) *Dependant's Allowance.*—One additional allowance of 16s. a week will be payable to a person (whether married or single) entitled to single rate sickness or unemployment benefit who has an adult dependant. For persons on invalidity benefit the figure will be 15s.

#### (b) Retirement Pensions

- (i) *Standard Rates* (on satisfaction of contribution conditions).—35s. for man and wife ; 20s. for a single person. Pensions will be reduced when the contribution record shows a deficiency.
- (ii) *Minimum Retiring Age.*—65 for men, 60 for women ; joint pension payable when a man retires at 65 even if his wife is under 60 (unless she is working).
- (iii) *Earnings after Minimum Retirement Age.*—Those drawing pensions may earn up to 20s. weekly without reduction of pension ; if they earn over 20s. the pension will be reduced by the amount of the excess. Those who postpone retirement do not draw a pension but, when they do retire, their pension is increased by 2s. (joint) and 1s. (single) for every year worked after the minimum retirement age.

- (iv) *Married Women*.—There will be special arrangements allowing married women to insure in special circumstances for a personal retirement pension of 20s. in lieu of their share in a joint retirement pension.

(c) *Maternity Grant and Benefits*

Subject to certain qualifying conditions, a maternity grant of £4 and either, in the case of women earning money, maternity benefit at 36s. weekly for 13 weeks (if not working) or, in the case of women not eligible for maternity benefits, attendant's allowance of £1 weekly for four weeks.

(d) *Widows' and Guardians' Benefits*

- (i) *Those Widowed after the Scheme Begins*.—The main provisions are :—

—Widow's benefit of 36s. weekly for first 13 weeks (if under 60 or if over 60 and husband has not qualified for retirement pension), together with 5s. for the first child, if there is one.

—After widow's benefit, guardian's benefit of 24s., if there is a dependent child or children, together with 5s. for the first of them.

—After widow's benefit or guardian's benefit, if payable, widow's pension of 20s. if over 50 when widowed, or when children cease to be dependent, provided that marriage was ten years earlier.

- (ii) *Other Cases*.—There will be special provisions for women who are already receiving widow's pensions and for women who at the start of the new scheme are married to men already insured for widow's pensions.

- (iii) *Scaling of Benefits*.—All benefits will be subject to reduction if the appropriate contribution conditions have not been fulfilled by the husband. All end on re-marriage. Guardian's benefit and widow's pension (but not the present pension of 10s.) will be reduced for earnings over 20s. a week.

(e) *Death Grants*

The grants will be :—

Under 3 at death	...	...	£6	Between 6 and 18	...	...	£15
Between 3 and 6	...	...	£10	Over 18	...	...	£20

No grant will be payable for those over 65 when the scheme begins ; £10 for those between 55 and 65 when the scheme begins ; and no grant for a child born before the scheme begins and dying before reaching the age of 10.

(iv) *Family Allowances*

(a) *Services in Kind*.—These services, including free meals and milk at schools, will be extended.

(b) *Cash Allowances*.—5s. per week for each child in the family except the first. (Where the parent is receiving benefit, 5s. will be added in respect of first child.)

(c) *Orphan Allowances*.—12s. weekly (including a first child).

(v) *National Assistance*

At present this is confined, on proof of need, to old age pensioners, widow pensioners with children and able-bodied persons normally in insurable occupations. Others requiring assistance apply to the local public assistance committees.

Under the new plan national assistance will be extended to all on proof of need.



**(vi) Health Service**

Under the proposals of the White Paper on a National Health Service (see the summary above, pp. 548-52), the health service will be free to all citizens. Estimates of its cost are included in the table below.

**(vii) Finance**

The cost of the schemes will be met by the contributions from insured persons and their employers (where they have one) and the exchequer.

For the purpose of comparison in the following estimates, 1945 has been taken as the first year, although the scheme cannot in fact be in operation in that year :—

**ESTIMATED INCOME***(in millions of pounds)*

	Present Schemes 1945	New Scheme 1945	New Scheme 1975
Receipts from contributions ... ..	136	283	259
Interest on existing funds ... ..	15	15	15
Payment from exchequer (or local rates) ...	278	352	557
Total ... ..	429*	650	831

\* This is £18m. greater than the total of Estimated Expenditure. See White Paper, Appendix 1, Table VII, footnote.

**ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE***(in millions of pounds)*

	Present Schemes 1945	New Scheme 1945	New Scheme 1975
<i>Social Insurance Benefits</i>			
Retirement pensions ... ..	106*	169	324
Widows' and Guardians' benefits ... ..	14†	34	36
Unemployment benefit ... ..	64	87	80
Sickness and invalidity benefits ... ..	27	55	65
Maternity grant and benefits ... ..	3	9	7
Death grant ... ..	—	4	14
<i>National Assistance</i>			
Assistance pensions ... ..	57‡	37	37
Unemployment assistance ... ..	23	22	20
Other assistance ... ..	15	6	6
Family Allowances§ ... ..	4	57	50
Administrative Costs ... ..	18	22	22
Health Service ... ..	80	148	170
Total ... ..	411	650	831

\* Old age pensions, widows' pensions over 60, and non-contributory pensions.

† Widows' pensions under 60.

‡ Supplementary pensions.

§ Does not include benefit for a first child, payable when the parent is on benefit: the cost of this is included in the cost of the benefit in question.

## 7(B). White Paper on Industrial Injury Insurance

The Government as part of their extension and recasting of the Social Insurance scheme propose that provision for disablement or loss of life from industrial injury shall become a social service. This special scheme for Industrial Injury Insurance will replace the present system of Workmen's Compensation.

### (i) Scope

The scheme covers broadly all employed persons, including non-manual workers, that is, Class I as defined in the general Social Insurance scheme. It applies to personal injury by accident arising out of and in the course of employment. Certain specified industrial diseases are also covered.

### (ii) Administration

The scheme will be separate from the general Social Insurance scheme but will be administered by the Ministry of Social Insurance. Benefits will be paid out by a Central Fund maintained by contributions from employers and workers with a contribution from the exchequer.

### (iii) Contributions : Weekly Rates

		<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
		<i>18 and Over</i>	<i>Under 18</i>	<i>18 and Over</i>	<i>Under 18</i>
By Insured	...	3d.	1½d.	2d.	1d.
By Employers	...	3d.	1½d.	2d.	1d.

These contributions will be collected by stamp together with the contributions under the general scheme, i.e. there will be a single stamp on a single card.

### (iv) Benefits in Disablement Cases

Benefits will be paid weekly at flat rates with supplements for family responsibilities. They will not depend on contribution records.

(a) *Injury Allowances*.—These are payable during incapacity for work. For men of 18 and over, the rates for the first 13 weeks are 35s. weekly plus 8s. 9d. weekly for a wife plus 5s. weekly for a first child.\* After 13 weeks they are the 100 per cent. pension rates: see below.

(b) *Pensions*.—Where the injury causes permanent or prolonged disablement, the injury allowances will be replaced by an industrial pension based on the degree of disablement caused by the injury as assessed by a medical board. The pension will not be affected by any subsequent earnings of the workman. For men of 18 and over the rates are:—

(i) *100 per cent. Disablement*.—40s. weekly, plus 10s. weekly for a wife, plus 7s. 6d. weekly for a first child.\*

(ii) *Scaling of Pensions*.—Where the degree of disablement is assessed at less than 100 per cent., the pension will be proportionate to the degree of disablement.

(iii) *Minor Disablement*.—Where the injury results in only a minor degree of disablement, provision will be made for a financial settlement by the award of a gratuity or a temporary allowance.

### (c) Special Provisions

(i) Where no wife's allowance is payable, provision is made for payment of an allowance at the rate for a wife in respect of one adult dependant, so long as the industrial pensioner remains incapable of work as a result of his injury.

\* Allowances for the other children will be payable under the scheme of Family Allowances, see above.

- (ii) Where a pensioner becomes, by reason of his industrial injury, virtually unemployable, a personal supplement of 10s. a week will be paid.
- (iii) Where an 100 per cent. pensioner needs constant attendance on account of the disablement a special allowance; not exceeding 20s. a week, may be paid.

(d) *Women*.—Women of 18 and over will be entitled to injury allowance and pension at the same basic rates as men. They will also be entitled to dependants' allowances on conditions applicable to men.

(e) *Juveniles*.—Juveniles of under 18 will receive half the rates, to be raised to adult rates on attaining 18 years of age. Any dependants' allowances payable will be at the full rates.

#### (v) Benefits in Fatal Cases

In fatal cases provision will be made for the payment of pensions to dependants who were wholly or mainly maintained by the workman. The following rates will be payable where the dependants were *wholly* maintained.

##### (a) Widow.

Temporary benefit for first 13 weeks if qualified under the general scheme ... .. 36s. weekly

Thereafter, or if not so qualified—

(i) if 50 or over or has a dependent child or cannot support herself ... .. 30s. weekly

(ii) otherwise ... .. 20s. weekly  
plus allowance for first child ... .. 7s. 6d. weekly

(b) Orphaned Children—each ... .. 12s. weekly

(c) One Parent, incapable of self-support ... .. max. 20s. weekly

(d) Two Parents, incapable of self-support ... .. max. 30s. weekly

(e) One other member of family, incapable of self-support (if no widow's or parent's pension) ... .. max. 20s. weekly

(f) Women having care of deceased workman's child, if no other pension as above payable ... .. max. 20s. weekly

(g) Dependent member of deceased workman's family not entitled to pension ... .. 36s. for 13 weeks

These pensions will be payable at maximum rates where the dependant had been wholly maintained by the workman: in other cases the amount will be proportionate to the degree of maintenance which had been given. A widow and first child will be treated as wholly dependent if they were residing with the deceased at the time of death. Pensions for widows and female dependants cease on marriage, but the widow on re-marriage will receive a gratuity equal to one year's pension.

#### (vi) Cost

Benefits about 20 *million pounds* a year.

Administration about 3 *million pounds* a year.

#### (vii) Past Cases

Past cases will continue on their existing basis, the liability for the weekly payment remaining on the employer, subject to any modification necessitated by the provisions of the scheme of Family Allowances (see above). A supplementary allowance of 10s. weekly will, however, be payable, on application, out of the Central Fund to a workman who is virtually unemployable.

## Appendix B : INTERNATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

### 1. The Atlantic Charter

*14th August, 1941*

"The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other.

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live ; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Fourth, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

Eighth, they believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments."

### 2. United Nations' Declaration

*1st January, 1942*

"The Governments signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common programme of purposes and principals embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, dated 14th August, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to preserve life, liberty,

independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare :—

- (1) Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such Government is at war.
- (2) Each Government pledges itself to co-operate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism."

#### Signatories to 18th November, 1944

United Kingdom	Colombia	Haiti	New Zealand
United States	Costa Rica	Honduras	Nicaragua
U.S.S.R.	Cuba	India	Norway
China	Czechoslovakia	Iran	Panama
Australia	Dominican Republic	Iraq	Philippines
Belgium	El Salvador	Liberia	Poland
Bolivia	Ethiopia	Luxembourg	South Africa
Brazil	Greece	Mexico	Yugoslavia
Canada	Guatemala	Netherlands	

France and the French Empire, as represented by the Provisional Government, had already been counted as one of the United Nations before the Provisional Government was formally recognised by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and the U.S.S.R. on 23rd October, 1944.

### 3. Mutual Aid Agreements

The agreements were a sequel to the Lend-Lease Act of March 1941, by which the U.S. provided for the supply of defence goods, including food, from the U.S. to any countries whose defence might be considered by the U.S. to be necessary for America's own defence. This supply has been one of the decisive factors in the war.

But more precision was needed as to how the final settlement of Lend-Lease accounts was to be reckoned after the war ; so in February 1942 the U.S. made an agreement with Britain about this. This "Mutual Aid Agreement" says that goods not used up in the war may be returned to America, that aid rendered to the U.S. shall be offset against the American aid supplied, and that, in making the final reckoning, the President of the U.S. shall be governed by the principles of Article VII (quoted below).

Since then, identical agreements have been made by the U.S. with the Soviet Union, China and many other United Nations.

#### Article VII of the Anglo-American Agreement

"In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the Government of the United States of America by the Government of the United Kingdom in return for aid furnished under the Act of Congress of the 11th March, 1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of world-wide economic relations. To that end, they shall include provision for agreed action by the United States of America and the United

Kingdom, open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion by appropriate international and domestic measures of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples ; to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers ; and, in general, to the attainment of all the economic objectives set forth " in the Atlantic Charter " by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

At an early convenient date conversations shall be begun between the two Governments with a view to determining, in the light of governing economic conditions, the best means of attaining the above stated objectives by their own agreed action and of seeking the agreed action of other like-minded Governments."

#### **4. Anglo-Russian Treaty of Alliance**

*26th May, 1942*

Britain and the Soviet Union in this Treaty of Alliance of twenty years' duration declared their intention " to collaborate closely with one another as well as with the other United Nations at the peace settlement and during the ensuing period of reconstruction on a basis of the principles enunciated " in the Atlantic Charter.

Article 5 of the Treaty underlines this by saying that the two countries :—

" Agree to work together in close and friendly collaboration after the re-establishment of peace for the organisation of security and economic prosperity in Europe.

They will take into account the interests of the United Nations in these objects and they will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandisement for themselves and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States."

#### **5. United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture**

*18th May — 3rd June, 1943*

All the United Nations were represented at the Conference and its thirty-three recommendations were passed unanimously. The following is the first Resolution :

##### **1.—Declaration**

" This Conference, meeting in the midst of the greatest war ever waged, and in full confidence of victory, has considered the world problems of food and agriculture, and declares its belief that the goal of freedom from want of food, suitable and adequate for the health and strength of all peoples, can be achieved.

1. The first task is to complete the winning of the war and to deliver millions of people from tyranny and from hunger. During the period of critical shortage in the aftermath of war, freedom from hunger can be achieved only by urgent and concerted efforts to economise consumption, to increase supplies and distribute them to the best advantage.

2. Thereafter we must equally concert our efforts to win and maintain freedom from fear and freedom from want. The one cannot be achieved without the other.

3. There has never been enough food for the health of all people. This is justified neither by ignorance nor by the harshness of nature. Production of food must be greatly expanded ; we now have knowledge of the means by which this can be done. It requires imagination and firm will on the part of each government and people to make use of that knowledge.

4. The first cause of hunger and malnutrition is poverty. It is useless to produce more food unless men and nations provide the markets to absorb it. There must be an expansion of the whole world economy to provide the purchasing power sufficient to maintain an adequate diet for all. With full employment in all countries, enlarged industrial production, the absence of exploitation, an increasing flow of trade within and between countries, an orderly management of domestic and international investment and currencies, and sustained internal and international economic equilibrium, the food which is produced can be made available to all people.

5. The primary responsibility lies with each nation for seeing that its own people have the food needed for life and health ; steps to this end are for national determination. But each nation can fully achieve its goal only if all work together.

6. We commend to our respective governments and authorities the study and adoption of the findings and recommendations of this Conference, and urge the early concerted discussion of the related problems falling outside the scope of this Conference.

7. The first steps towards freedom from want of food must not await the final solution of all other problems. Each advance made in one field will strengthen and quicken advance in all others. Work already begun must be continued. Once the war has been won decisive steps can be taken. We must make ready now."

#### Statement by British Government

The Minister of Food (then Lord Woolton) stated in the House of Lords on 6th July, 1943:—

"H.M. Government accept without reserve the view that the co-ordination for the procurement of supplies of food must go on as long as the shortage continues. . . . There must be no world scramble for food resulting in an upsurge of prices with speculation in foodstuffs. . . . The people of this country and of all lands must face the fact that we shall have to act together in the common interest for some time after hostilities cease."

The Minister said that H.M. Government had been much impressed by the urgency of the problem of increasing food production and were "determined to do all they can for their part to give effect to the resolutions of the Conference on the subject."

The Conference recommended that the Governments of all countries should declare their intention to secure more and better food for their people. "President Roosevelt," the Minister said, "has already accepted this declaration on behalf of the United States. H.M. Government have no hesitation in accepting it on behalf of this country."

The Minister emphasised that to achieve freedom from want was not just a question of producing more food—people must find a means to acquire enough purchasing power.

"It was not because of ignorance or the stubbornness of nature that so large a proportion of the people in this and other countries were suffering from malnutrition in the pre-war world in which we lived. Under-nourishment will not disappear as a result of having a Conference. It will only disappear so far as men and the material resources of the world are usefully and fully and steadily employed. Before there can be freedom from want there must be widespread measures by sound industrial as well as agricultural development to promote full employment and a general advance in standards of living. International trade must be encouraged and developed."

## 6. The Moscow Conference

*19th-30th October, 1943*

The Conference was attended by Mr. Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hull, Secretary of State of the U.S.A., and Mr. Molotov, Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

The main results were :—

- (i) Plans for shortening the war in Europe examined.
- (ii) A European Advisory Commission to be set up in London to examine questions arising as the war develops and to make joint recommendations to the British, American and Soviet Governments.
- (iii) An Advisory Council on Italy to be formed with British, American, Russian, Greek and Yugoslav representatives, and a representative of the French Committee of National Liberation.
- (iv) China joined with Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in expressing determination to disarm their enemies and in recognising the need for a wider system of post-war security and co-operation.
- (v) Italy to have every opportunity of restoring a democratic régime.
- (vi) A free and independent Austria to be re-established.
- (vii) War criminals to be handed over for trial in the countries in which their crimes have been committed.

## 7. Four-Power Declaration of Moscow on General Security

*1st November, 1943*

"The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and China : united in their determination, in accordance with the declaration by the United Nations of 1st January, 1942, and subsequent declarations, to continue hostilities against those Axis Powers with which they respectively are at war until such Powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender ; conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the people allied to them from the menace of aggression ; recognising the necessity of ensuring rapid and orderly transit from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments ; jointly declare :

- (1) That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organisation and maintenance of peace and security :
- (2) That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy :
- (3) That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed on the enemy :
- (4) That they recognise the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to membership by all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security :



(5) That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security they will consult with each other, and, as occasion requires, with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of Nations :

(6) That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other States except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation, and :

(7) That they will confer and co-operate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period."

## **8. Cairo Declaration by the United States, the United Kingdom and China**

*Announced 1st December, 1943*

"The several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan. The three great allies expressed the resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by land, sea and air. This pressure is already rising.

The three great allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves, and have no thought of territorial expansion. It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the lands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first world war in 1914, and that all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China. Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.

The aforesaid three Great Powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

With these objectives in view the three allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan."

## **9. Teheran Declaration**

*1st December, 1943*

"We, the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met in these few days past in this the capital of our Ally, Iran, and have shaped and confirmed our common policy.

We express our determination that our Nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow.

As to the war, our Military Staffs have joined in our Round-Table discussions and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the East, West and South.

The common understanding which we have here reached, guarantees that victory will be ours.

And as to peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognise fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the goodwill of the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed the problems of the future. We shall seek the co-operation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and in mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into the world family of democratic nations.

No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing.

From these friendly conferences we look with confidence to the day when all peoples of the world may live free lives, untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose."

## 10. Four-Power Conference at Dumbarton Oaks

*21st August—7th October, 1944*

The tentative proposals of the Dumbarton Oaks conference of representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the U.S.S.R. and China, for the establishment of a general international organisation, were published on 9th October, 1944. The British, United States, Russian and Chinese Governments have agreed that, after further study of the tentative proposals, they will as soon as possible take the necessary steps with a view to the preparation of complete proposals, which could then serve as a basis of discussion at a full conference of the United Nations.

The tentative proposals indicate that, despite some setbacks, the conversations at Dumbarton Oaks have been most valuable and useful. The U.S. President's summing-up "90 per cent. darned good!" does not seem exaggerated. Briefly summarised, the main outlines of the tentative proposals are as follows:—

### (i) General International Organisation

It is recommended that an international organisation should be established under the title of "The United Nations." The main purpose of the organisation should be to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, and to further international co-operation in the solution of economic and social problems.

### (ii) Membership

The organisation should be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and membership should be open to all such States.

**(iii) Principal Organs**

It should have as its principal organs a General Assembly, a Security Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat. It should also have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

**(iv) The General Assembly**

All members of the organisation should be members of the General Assembly, with one vote each. The General Assembly would be a forum for the discussion of the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including disarmament and the regulation of armaments; but it should refer any such questions on which action is necessary to the Security Council. The General Assembly should be empowered to admit new members and to suspend or expel offending members, on the recommendation of the Security Council. It should elect non-permanent members of the Security Council, members of the Economic and Social Council, and (upon the recommendation of the Security Council) the Secretary-General. It should supervise the finances of the organisation and initiate studies and make recommendations in the international economic and social field.

**(v) The Security Council**

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of eleven members. Representatives of the United States, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, China and, in due course, France should have permanent seats. The remaining six seats should be filled by other States elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years. Primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security should be conferred upon the Security Council, and all other member States should be obliged to accept and carry out its decisions. Provision should be made for non-members of the Security Council to participate in the discussion of matters in which they are themselves involved.

**(vi) The International Court of Justice**

The International Court of Justice should be constituted and function in accordance with a Statute which should be part of the Charter of the organisation. The Statute should be either the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, suitably amended; or a new Statute based on it.

**(vii) Provisions for Peace and Security**

The proposed arrangements for the maintenance of international peace and security are set out in some detail. Various methods of peaceful settlement of disputes are indicated. Provision is also made for determining threats to the peace and acts of aggression, and for taking effective action to deal with them. Diplomatic, economic and other measures short of the use of armed force are indicated. In case such measures prove inadequate various forms of military action are specified.

*Arrangements for Military Action*

Members of the organisation should undertake to give (in accordance with a special agreement or agreements made among themselves) various forms of military assistance. In order to enable urgent military action to be taken, members should hold national air force contingents immediately available for "combined international enforcement action." Plans for the application of armed force should be made by the Security Council with the assistance of a Military Staff Committee, the

functions of which should be to advise the Council on all military questions and to direct any forces placed at the Council's disposal. The Military Staff Committee should consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Provision is made for regional arrangements.

**(viii) Provisions for Economic and Social Co-operation**

With a view to creating conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly international relations, it is suggested that the organisation should "facilitate solutions of international economic and social problems," and to this end an Economic and Social Council should be set up under the authority of the General Assembly. The various international economic and social bodies should be brought into relationship with the organisation through the Economic and Social Council, which should be composed of representatives of eighteen member States of the organisation.

That agreement should have been reached on so many matters is gratifying, but it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of the main point of difference which is still outstanding. Agreement has yet to be reached on voting rights and procedure in the Security Council. The Soviet Government remain unshaken in their view that, as agreement between the Great Powers is a *sine qua non* in an organisation of this kind, decisions of the Security Council should require the assent of all the permanent members, even when a permanent member is directly involved in a particular dispute.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

On many B.W.P. and related topics the "Current Affairs" Bulletins issued by ABCA will provide valuable supplementary information. The following select bibliography lists and classifies books useful for further reading by both instructors and members of B.W.P. groups. It should not be assumed, of course, that these books are the only ones suitable nor is it implied that the opinions which they express are necessarily accepted.

To obtain books listed, apart from purchases for educational purposes authorised under current regulations, full use should be made of the help of public libraries.

In the release period, those books marked with an asterisk should be found in the Unit Libraries, which are to be made as widely available as possible; some other books in the bibliography, as well as books not included but relevant, may be obtained through the Unit Librarian.

### *Section*

1. General Reference.
2. The Setting to Present Britain.
3. Population.
4. Government.
5. Information and Propaganda.
6. Work.
7. Social Security.

### *Section*

8. Health.
9. Homes.
10. Education.
11. Christian Faith and Action.
12. Commonwealth and Empire.
13. International Affairs.

Publications for which details have been given in the text of the volume have not been included in the bibliography. For each entry the date given is that of the latest known edition or impression. The prices have been brought up to date as far as possible, but are at present especially subject to change. Where the title of the book does not give adequate guidance as to its contents, or where the date of publication might mislead expectation of its contents, a brief annotation has been added.

The following abbreviations have been used throughout :—

A. & U.	Allen and Unwin.	O.U.P.	Oxford University Press.
C.U.P.	Cambridge University Press.	P.E.P.	Political and Economic Planning.
E.U.P.	English Universities Press.	R.I.I.A.	Royal Institute of International Affairs.
H.M.S.O.	His Majesty's Stationery Office.	S.C.M.	Student Christian Movement.
I.L.O.	International Labour Office.	U.L.P.	University of London Press.
O.P.H.A.	Oxford Pamphlets on Home Affairs.		
O.P.W.A.	Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs.		

In seeking a reference to further information from the bibliography, there is truth as well as triteness in the advice :—"if at first you don't succeed . . .". If what appears to be the most appropriate Section doesn't yield what you want, try the next most likely. In particular, where information is wanted for a comparison of institutions and developments in other countries with our own, and if no specific reference is given in the Sections on domestic affairs, Sections 12 and 13 should be consulted.

## 1. GENERAL REFERENCE

- The Daily Mail Year Book** . . . . . Associated Newspapers, Ltd. Yearly 1/6  
A handy reference book to all questions of the day.
- \*Whitaker's Almanack** . . . . . J. Whitaker Yearly 6/- & 10/-  
Information regarding the Government, Finances, Population, Commerce and General Statistics of the various nations of the world ; the cheaper edition omits the more detailed information of the countries of the Commonwealth and Empire and of foreign countries.
- \*The Statesman's Year Book** M. Epstein (Ed.) . . . . . Macmillan Yearly 20/-  
Statistical and historical annual of the States of the world.

## 2. THE SETTING TO PRESENT BRITAIN

### (i) General History and Geography

- A Short History of the World** (294 pp.) . . . . . H. G. Wells . . . . . Pelican . . . . . 1943 . . . . . 9d.  
From the Beginning of Life to the Second World War.
- \*The Geography behind History** (200 pp.) . . . . . W. G. East . . . . . Nelson . . . . . 1943 . . . . . 3/-  
With many examples, largely from ancient and mediæval times.
- Britain and the British Seas** . . . . . H. J. Mackinder . . . . . O.U.P. . . . . 1907 . . . . . 10/6  
(375 pp.)  
Deals with the physical conditions of Britain and their influence on the human society within it.
- \*An Outline of British Military History** (448 pp.) . . . . . Cole & Priestley . . . . . Sifton Praed . . . . . 1937 . . . . . 12/6  
From 1660 to 1936.
- \*History of England** (723 pp.) . . . . . G. M. Trevelyan . . . . . Longmans . . . . . 1926 . . . . . 12/6  
From the earliest times to 1919.
- \*A History of Europe** (1301 pp.) . . . . . H. A. L. Fisher . . . . . Arnold . . . . . 1942 . . . . . 14/-  
From earliest times to 1935.
- \*English Social History** . . . . . G. M. Trevelyan . . . . . Longmans . . . . . 1944 . . . . . 21/-  
(628 pp.)  
"The daily life of the inhabitants," from about 1340 to 1900.
- \*The British Isles** (719 pp.) . . . . . Stamp and Beaver . . . . . Longmans . . . . . 1933 . . . . . 25/-  
A geographic and economic survey.

### (ii) Special Periods and Topics

- Wales : A Study in Geography and History** . . . . . E. G. Bowen . . . . . University of Wales Press . . . . . 1941 . . . . . 3/6  
(182 pp. : ill.)
- A Short History of Scotland** . . . . . R. L. Mackie . . . . . O.U.P. . . . . 1931 . . . . . 5/-  
(428 pp. : ill.)
- \*Modern Britain 1870-1939** . . . . . D. C. Somervell . . . . . Methuen . . . . . 1944 . . . . . 6/-  
(209 pp.)
- \*The Common People 1746-1938** (671 pp.) . . . . . Cole & Postgate . . . . . Methuen . . . . . 1938 . . . . . 8/6  
Their history in its political and economic aspects.
- Our Freedom and Its Results** . . . . . R. Strachey (Ed.) . . . . . Hogarth Press . . . . . 1936 . . . . . 8/6  
(285 pp.)  
Five women on the freedom of women—on Changes in Public Life, in Law, in Employment, in Sex Morality and in Social Life.

- \***A History of Everyday Things in England. Fourth Part 1851-1942** (214 pp. : ill.) M. & C. H. B. Quennell Batsford 1942 10/6
- \***Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century** (308 pp.) C. R. Fay C.U.P. 1943 10/6
- \***British History in the 19th Century and After. 1782-1919** (512 pp.) G. M. Trevelyan Longmans 1937 12/6

(iii) **National Character**

- The Illusion of National Character** (274 pp.) Hamilton Fyfe Watts 1940 8/6  
Makes interesting comparison with "National Character" below.
- National Character** (288 pp.) E. Barker Methuen 1927 10/6  
The material and spiritual factors in the formation of the British character.

(iv) **The Present Scene**

- Britain and the British People** (141 pp.) E. Barker O.U.P. 1942 3/6  
Chapters on the British Community, British Parliamentaryism, Government, System of Law, Religion and the Churches, Matters of the Mind and the Community's Care for its Members : illustrated.
- Social Structure** (130 pp.) Henry A. Mess A. & U. 1942 6/-  
Account of the main elements in social structure and of their interrelation.
- \***The Social Structure of England and Wales** (235 pp.) Carr-Saunders & Caradog Jones O.U.P. 1937 10/-  
A picture of the more important aspects of social life in this country, so far as they can be illustrated by statistics ; specially valuable for reference in connection with Sections 3, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 below.
- \***The English People** (260 pp.) D. W. Brogan Hamilton 1944 10/6  
Written to explain some odd features of English life to Americans.

**3. POPULATION**

- Current Trend of Population in Great Britain** (12 pp.) H.M.S.O. 1942 2d.  
A largely technical report prepared shortly before the war ; Cmd. 6358.
- Problems of Population** (21 pp.) R. M. Titmuss E.U.P. 1943 4d.  
Recent trends and the prospects ; the world problem and the policies in Germany, Italy, Japan and Sweden ; causes, consequences and solutions.
- Britain's Future Population** (32 pp.) R. F. Harrod O.P.H.A. 1943 6d.  
How the future trend of population is calculated ; the alarming trend in Britain ; the causes and consequences ; and a proposal for a scheme of compulsory insurance.
- Changes in Family Life** (160 pp.) Beveridge & Others A. & U. 1932 3/6  
Reprint of seven wireless talks and discussions.
- Marriage Past and Present** (306 pp.) M. Cole Dent 1938 4/6  
Especially Chapter V, "Marriage, Women and the Family in England Today" and Chapters VI-VIII, "The Purposes of Marriage Today."
- \***The Social Structure of England and Wales** (235 pp.) (See Section 2 (iv) above)  
Especially Chapter I, "Age, Sex and Marriage," and Chapter XX, "The Recruitment of the Population."
- World Population** (336 pp.) A. M. Carr-Saunders O.U.P. 1936 12/6  
Past growth and present trends

## 4. GOVERNMENT

## (i) Political Theory

- Introduction to Politics** (112 pp.) H. Laski A. & U. 1931 2/6  
 Chapters on the Nature of the State, its Place in Society, its Organisation and its Relation to the International Community; designed for the average, interested citizen.
- \*The Essentials of Democracy** A. D. Lindsay O.U.P. 1929 3/6  
 (82 pp.)
- Government and the Governed** (306 pp.) R. H. S. Crossman Christopher 1939 7/6  
 A history of political ideas and political practice, from mediæval times to the totalitarian State.
- \*The Modern State** (320 pp.) Mary Adams (Ed.) A. & U. 1933 7/6  
 Based on a series of broadcast talks on the changes in the modern State since 1900; in four parts—Can Democracy Survive? Social Institutions. Has Parliamentary Government Failed? World Government.

(For further reading on Nazism, Fascism and Communism, see the books listed under Europe and Russia in Section 13.)

## (ii) Parliamentary Government

- Daily Life in Parliament** H. Snell, M.P. Routledge 1930 6d.  
 (74 pp.)
- Government by the People** Beggs and Philips 1941 1/6  
 (90 pp.) Humphreys  
 A discussion, mostly in the form of a conversation between three young people, of central and local government, the courts and the news; illustrated.
- Citizenship through the Newspaper** (186 pp.) K. Gibberd Dent 1944 3/-  
 Takes the various kinds of news and explains the more permanent features behind it, e.g. Parliament, Law Courts, Industrial System; illustrated.
- The British Approach to Politics** (426 pp.) M. Stewart A. & U. 1938 7/6  
 Covers comprehensively central and local government, the Empire and Commonwealth and international affairs; designed for citizens beginning the study of politics.
- The British Civil Servant** (254 pp.) W. A. Robson (Ed.) A. & U. 1937 7/6  
 Includes chapters on Local Government Service, the Foreign Service, the Indian Civil Service and the Colonial Service.
- \*The British Constitution** (232 pp.) W. Ivor Jennings C.U.P. 1941 8/6  
 Chapters on Government by the People, Government by Party, the House of Commons, the House of Lords, the Monarchy, Administration, Cabinet Government, Government in Wartime, British Democracy; illustrated.
- \*Outlines of Central Government** (324 pp.) J. J. Clarke Pitman 1943 9/-  
 Includes the Judicial System of England and Imperial and Foreign Relations; invaluable for reference to Parliamentary procedure, the powers and functions of the Government Departments and summaries of major Acts.
- The Law and the Constitution** (322 pp.) W. Ivor Jennings U.L.P. 1943 10/6  
 Includes introduction on wartime developments.
- The Government of Northern Ireland** (335 pp.) N. Mansergh A. & U. 1936 12/6  
 Analyses the system of government established after the Great War.

(For comparisons with the systems of government in other countries, see Sections 12 and 13.)



## (iii) The Three Major Parties

- \***Will Conservatism Survive?** R. V. Jenner      Staples      1944      2/-  
(40 pp.)  
General survey by a young Conservative of modern problems in home, imperial and international affairs.
- \***The Framework of the Future** (159 pp.)      L. S. Amery      O.U.P.      1944      6/-  
Collection of speeches and articles by a leading Conservative statesman.
- \***Practical Socialism for Britain** (401 pp.)      H. Dalton      Routledge      1935      2/6
- The Labour Party in Perspective** (287 pp.)      C. R. Attlee      Gollancz      1937      7/6  
Its historical setting, constitution, methods and policies.
- \***Let's Try Liberalism** (98 pp.)      Elliott Dodds      Simpkin, Marshall      1943      2/6
- \***Liberalism**      L. T. Hobhouse      O.U.P.      1945      3/6

## (iv) Local Government

- \***The A.B.C. of Local Government** (208 pp.)      C. K. Wright      Evans      1939      4/6  
Simple account of the activities of Local Authorities in this country; illustrated.
- \***A City Council from Within** (246 pp.)      E. D. Simon      Longmans      1926      7/6  
Discussion of the work of Manchester City Council by an ex-Lord Mayor.
- Outlines of Local Government of the United Kingdom** (369 pp.)      J. J. Clarke      Pitman      1939      9/-  
Invaluable for reference; includes summaries of the Acts concerned with the powers and duties of Local Authorities.
- A Century of Municipal Progress** (511 pp.)      Laski, Jennings & Robson (Eds.)      A. & U.      1935      21/-  
Survey of local government and of achievement in its various activities from 1835 to 1935.

## (v) Law and Justice

- The Nazi Conception of Law** (32 pp.)      J. W. Jones      O.P.W.A.      1940      6d.
- \***English Justice** (224 pp.)      "Solicitor"      Pelican      1941      9d.  
Critical discussion of what goes on in our courts and suggestions for improvement.
- Common-Sense in Law** (256 pp.)      Sir P. Vinogradoff      O.U.P.      1934      3/6  
Chapters on Social Rules, Legal Rules, Legal Rights and Duties, Facts and Acts in Law, Legislation, Customs, Judicial Precedents, Equity and the Law of Motive.
- Courts and Judges in France, Germany and England** (144 pp.)      R. C. K. Ensor      O.U.P.      1933      6/-
- Meet the Prisoner** (303 pp.)      John A. F. Watson      Cape      1939      8/6  
Survey of the English prison system; mainly of present conditions but with historical introduction.
- The Child and the Magistrate** (207 pp.)      John A. F. Watson      Cape      1943      10/6  
Describes the working of a juvenile court, over which the author presides, the type of children who come before it and the problems it deals with.

## 5. INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA

- The Voice of the Nazi** (64 pp.) W. A. Sinclair Collins 1940 6d  
Analysis of Nazi wireless propaganda.
- \*The Press** (250 pp.) Wickham Steed Penguin Special 1938 9d  
In the main a survey of the British Press and the postulates of its freedom.
- \*Film** (166 pp.) Roger Manvell Pelican 1944 9d  
Part One: The Film as a New Art Form. Part Two: Influence of the Film on Present-day Society; also suggestions on how to start a film society, a book list, a note on the National Film Library and a list of some of the best films; illustrated.
- B.B.C. Year Book** B.B.C. Yearly 2/6  
Description of work of the year and some articles on aspects of broadcasting.
- Political Propaganda** (156 pp.) F. C. Bartlett C.U.P. 1940 3/6  
Mainly from the point of view of the psychologist: the aims of political propaganda, its growth in the modern world, its general principles and special tricks and devices, its effects and its place in and for democracy.
- \*Clear Thinking** (195 pp.) R. W. Jepson Longmans 1943 3/9  
Chapters on How Judgments Are Made and Tested, Scientific Method, Common Fallacies, Prejudice, the Popular Press and Language, with many questions and examples.
- Radio Goes to War** (245 pp.) C. J. Rolo Faber 1943 8/6  
Survey of broadcasting as a weapon of warfare and its use by the Axis and by the United Nations.
- Report on the British Press** P.E.P. P.E.P. 1938 10/6  
(342 pp.)  
Survey of current operations and problems, with special reference to national newspapers and their part in public affairs.
- The Power behind the Microphone** (255 pp.) P. P. Eckersley Cape 1941 10/6  
A largely personal account by an author with experience as a B.B.C. engineer; with criticisms of the present system and suggestions for improvement.

## 6. WORK

## (i) General

- \*From Wants to Satisfaction** H. A. Jones Arnold 1934 2/6  
(191 pp.)  
An outline of economics in simple terms.
- Nation's Livelihood Books** Pitman 1937-38  
Processes and uses simply explained; well illustrated.
- I. Hidden Treasure** (125 pp.) H. M. Findlater 2/9  
Agriculture, quarrying, mining and fishing.
- II. In Workshop and Factory** (160 pp.) G. H. Holroyd 3/-  
Iron, steel, ship-building and light industry.
- III. Distributing the Gifts** (144 pp.) A. H. Thomas 2/6  
Covers shops and markets, the role of London, advertising and communications.
- Studies in War Economics** I.L.O. King 1941 4/-  
(199 pp.)  
Studies of Economic Organisation for Total War, Paying for the War, Relative Wages, Control of Food Prices, the Place of Housing Policy and the Effect of the War on the Relative Importance of Producing Centres.
- \*Ways and Means** (207 pp.) Geoffrey Crowther Macmillan 1936 4/6  
Broadcast talks describing the economic structure of Great Britain in 1935.
- \*Economics** (522 pp.) N. B. Dearle Longmans 1939 7/6  
An introduction on both the practical and theoretical aspects.
- \*The Social Framework** (212 pp.) J. R. Hicks O.U.P. 1942 7/6  
An introduction to economics, by way of the study of "Social Accounting," i.e. the accounting of the whole community or nation; useful tables and charts on population, occupations, distribution of income in Britain, etc.

## (ii) Organisation of Industry

- Private Enterprise or Public Control** (22 pp.) Joan Robinson E.U.P. 1943 4d.  
Affords an interesting comparison with the booklet below.
- Why Planning?** (40 pp.) G. L. Schwartz Signpost Press 1944 1/-  
From a series chosen or commissioned by a committee of Conservatives.
- \*Industry after the War : Who Is Going to Run It?** (64 pp.) C. Madge Pilot Press 1943 3/6  
Includes survey of industrial developments in other countries, of plans put forward by industry and of relations between industry, on the one hand, and the State and the trade unions on the other ; illustrated.
- \*The Control of Industry** (169 pp.) D. H. Robertson C.U.P. 1923 5/6  
Includes discussion of the growth of large-scale industry, industrial combinations, consumer's co-operation, monopoly, collectivism and communism, workers' control and joint control.
- \*British Industries and their Organisation** (338 pp.) G. C. Allen Longmans 1939 12/6  
Chiefly concerned with the condition and organisation of British industry since 1918.

## (iii) Agriculture

- British Agriculture** (288 pp.) Astor & Rowntree Pelican 1939 9d.
- Agriculture** (90 pp.) King & Staples 1944 2/-  
A digest of 15 Reports on Agricultural Policy and Reconstruction, including sections on Nutrition Policy, Housing, Rural Water Supply, Education and Research, and an Appendix outlining the Agriculture (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1944.
- Reconstruction and the Land** A. Daniel Hall Macmillan 1941 12/6  
(287 pp.)  
Survey of past and present and proposals for the future.

## (iv) Money

- Will the War Make Us Poorer?** (32 pp.) Young & Bunbury O.P.H.A. 1943 6d.
- \*How the City Works** (149 pp.) O. R. Hobson News Chronicle 1939 3/-  
Attempts to provide an untechnical account of the workings of the financial machine housed in the City of London.
- \*The Meaning of Money** (305 pp.) H. Withers Murray 1932 3/6
- Principles of Public Finance** (297 pp.) H. Dalton Routledge 1929 5/-
- An Outline of Money** (459 pp.) G. Crowther Nelson 1942 12/6

## (v) Labour and Labour Relations

- Manpower** (60 pp.) M. of I. H.M.S.O. 1944 9d.  
The story of Britain's mobilisation for war ; illustrated.
- British Trade Unions** (45 pp.) John Price Longmans 1942 1/-  
Their development and their contribution to industrial relations and social progress ; illustrated.
- Women in War Factories** (95 pp.) Amabel Williams-Ellis Gollancz 1943 1/-

- Wartime Developments in Government-Employer-Worker Collaboration** (152 pp.) I.L.O. King 1941 4/-  
 In the U.K., the Dominions, the U.S.A. and Europe.
- Industrial Relations in Great Britain** (272 pp.) J. H. Richardson I.L.O. & King 1933 5/-  
 Survey of collective relations and, in addition, of methods applied in progressive undertakings.
- Women at Work** (188 pp.) Mary A. Hamilton Labour Book Service 1941 5/-  
 Relates the argument for trade unionism to the needs of women who work, whether in their homes or outside them; its facts and figures are pre-war.
- Wages** (205 pp.) M. Dobbs C.U.P. 1938 5/6
- British Trade Unionism Today** (591 pp.) G. D. H. Cole & Others Gollancz 1939 7/6  
 Includes also a brief historical outline and a short survey of recent developments in France and the U.S.A.
- War Factory** (127 pp.) Mass-Observation Gollancz 1943 7/6  
 Examination of conditions in a wartime key factory.

(vi) **Tariffs**

- This Tariff Question** (271 pp.) Collin Brooks Arnold 1931 7/6  
 Restatement of the issues involved, against the experience of the major countries, particularly Britain.
- Tariffs : The Case Examined** Beveridge & Others Longmans 1932 7/6  
 (308 pp.)  
 Designed for the general reader; includes chapters on Imperial Preference and the Case of Agriculture.

(vii) **Employment Policy**

- Demobilisation and Employment** (32 pp.) P.E.P. Europa, Ltd. 1944 1/-
- Employment for All** (32 pp.) P.E.P. Europa, Ltd. 1944 1/-
- Employment Policy and Organization of Industry after the War** (70 pp.) Nuffield College O.U.P. 1943 2/-  
 Statement by a Conference representative of many interests—public, academic and industrial.
- Introduction to the Theory of Employment** (127 pp.) Joan Robinson Macmillan 1939 4/6  
 Simple account of the principles governing fluctuation in employment and the state of trade, following the ideas put forward by Lord Keynes.
- The Location of Industry and the Distressed Areas** (216 pp.) S. R. Dennison O.U.P. 1939 10/-

**7. SOCIAL SECURITY**

- The Quest for Security in New Zealand** (160 pp.) W. B. Sutch Penguin Special 1942 9d.
- British Social Services** (56 pp.; ill.) A. D. K. Owen Longmans 1942 1/-
- Social Security** (62 pp.) Sir Ronald Davison Harrap 1943 1/6  
 The story of British social progress and the Beveridge Plan; mostly told in diagrams.

- Democracy Marches** (126 pp.) Julian Huxley Chatto & Windus 1941 3/6  
Describes the social services against the background of the trends and transformation of democracy.
- The Development of Public Services in Western Europe, 1660-1930** (93 pp.) Ernest Barker O.U.P. 1944 5/-  
Survey of Administration, Conscription, Taxation, Social Services and Education in France, Britain and Prussia.
- The New Philanthropy** (313 pp.) E. Macadam A. & U. 1943 8/6  
Particularly useful for the voluntary social services and their relation to the State; with wartime supplement.
- The Price of Social Security** (199 pp.) G. Williams Kegan Paul 1944 12/6  
Considers the new social security policies, embodied in the Beveridge Report and other plans for the post-war industrial world, shows how some of the problems have been tackled in Russia, the U.S.A. and Germany and discusses what lessons can be learned.
- Social Security** (447 pp.) W. A. Robson (Ed.) A. & U. 1943 15/-  
Examines critically the existing arrangements and, in the light of the Beveridge Report, discusses the fundamentals of a social security scheme.
- The State and the Standard of Living** (354 pp.) G. Williams King 1936 16/-  
Traces the increase since the nineties in the part played by the State in provision against want through old age, low wages and loss of income; and traces the idea behind it.

## 8. HEALTH

### (i) General

- Health of the Future** (192 pp.) A. Bourne Penguin Special 1942 9d.  
Chapters on Varieties and Extent of Ill-Health and its Causes, Two Aspects of Medicine (particularly a survey of the preventive services), a New Health Policy (a discussion of the responsibilities of the individual and the State), and the Future.
- Britain's Health** (219 pp.) P.E.P. Pelican Special 1939 9d.  
Based on the P.E.P. Report on the British Health Services issued in 1937.
- The Nation's Health** (64 pp.) J. Mackintosh Pilot Press 1944 4/6  
Includes a historical survey of the health services, a comparison with other countries, a survey of current plans and opinions, among them the Government White Paper; illustrated.
- A Short History of Medicine** (386 pp.) C. Singer O.U.P. 1928 10/-  
An account of medicine as a science; begins with Greek times, but more than half the book is devoted to modern medicine; illustrated.
- Socialised Medicine in the Soviet Union** (397 pp.) H. E. Sigerist Gollancz 1937 10/6

### (ii) Special Topics

- Patent Medicines** (88 pp.) A. J. Clark Fact 1938 6d.  
Analyses the reasons for the immunity of patent medicines from attempts to curb their activity, estimates the results and suggests measures of reform.
- Health and Industrial Efficiency** (56 pp.) Department of Health for Scotland H.M.S.O. 1943 1/-  
Report on Scottish experiments in social medicine.

- Infant Mortality in Scotland** Department of Health H.M.S.O. 1943 1/3  
(84 pp.) for Scotland  
Considers the high infantile mortality in Scotland with a view to estimating its principal causes and suggesting lines of action.
- \*Food and the People** (56 pp.) Sir John Boyd Orr Pilot Press 1943 4/6  
Discusses the planning of a food policy for health, in its historical setting and its relation to agriculture, industry, trade and international co-operation; covers the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture; illustrated.
- The Peckham Experiment** Pearse & Crocker A. & U. 1943 12/6  
(333 pp.)  
Based on the experience of the Peckham Health Centre, a club for families; illustrated.

## 9. HOMES

### (i) Houses

- Design** (104 pp.) Anthony Bertram Pelican 1943 9d.  
Special  
Based on a series of B.B.C. talks on design in everyday things; includes chapter on Design in the Home; illustrated.
- Private Enterprise Housing** (56 pp.) Central Housing H.M.S.O. 1944 1/-  
Advisory Committee  
Report of sub-committee appointed "to consider the part that private enterprise can best play in post-war housing, the conditions in which it can most effectively operate and the methods of finance and organisation required."
- Design of Dwellings** (75 pp.) Central Housing H.M.S.O. 1944 1/-  
Advisory Committee  
Recommendations on the design, planning, layout, standards of construction and equipment of dwellings, with special reference to dwellings for the working classes; diagrams.
- \*Housing Manual** (104 pp.) Ministry of Health H.M.S.O. 1944 2/-  
Advice on the types of houses to plan, prepared for the guidance of Local Authorities and others concerned.
- Planning our New Homes** (96 pp.) Scottish Housing H.M.S.O. 1944 3/-  
Advisory Committee  
Discusses interior equipment and plans for cottages and flats in Scotland, including the problem of furniture; illustrated.
- Europe Rehoused** (284 pp.) Elizabeth Denby A. & U. 1938 14/-  
Well documented study of how the housing problem is being tackled in six representative European countries.
- Your House and Mine** (480 pp.) Geoffrey Bounphrey A. & U. 1939 15/-  
Description of the development of the English house; concludes with chapter on flats; illustrated.

### (ii) The Country

- Rural Housing** (67 pp.) Central Housing H.M.S.O. 1944 1/-  
Advisory Committee  
Review, especially of wartime changes, and recommendations for post-war policy.
- The Changing Village** (188 pp.) F. G. Thomas Nelson 1939 3/-  
Surveys present social conditions, makes proposals for the reorganisation of rural life on a sound economic basis, and discusses the relation of town and country; illustrated.
- Your Village and Mine** (198 pp.) C. H. Gardiner Faber 1944 7/6  
Sections on the Village of Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow; illustrated.

## (iii) Towns

- Changing Britain** (36 pp.) Brown & Redmayne U.L.P. 1943 1/-  
Shows by charts and pictures the story of the Industrial Revolution since 1750.
- Living in Cities** (51 pp.) Ralph Tubbs Penguin 1942 1/-  
Tells in illustrations the need for, development of, and future problems of town planning.
- The Size and Social Structure of a Town** (32 pp.) National Council of Social Service A & U. 1943 1/-  
Deals with the problems of the redevelopment of bombed and congested areas and the creation of new areas, either by the extension of existing towns or the building of new satellite towns.
- \*Our Towns : A Close-Up** (143 pp.) Women's Group on Public Welfare O.U.P. 1943 5/-  
A survey of the conditions of town life in England, in reference to the complaints levelled against evacuees.
- The Culture of Cities** (586 pp.) Lewis Mumford Secker & Warburg 1938 15/-  
Chapters on "The Mediæval City," "The Baroque City," "Transitions," "The Industrial Town," "Elements of Plan," "The Metropolis," "The Regional Complex," "Biotechnic Civilisation" and "City and Region"; illustrated.

## (iv) Town and Country Planning

- Town Planning** (120 pp.) Thomas Sharp Pelican 1942 9d.  
Chapters on the English Tradition (in town and countryside), Town and Country—or Neither?, the Town, the Countryside, and Plan We Must; illustrated.
- Houses, Towns and Countryside** (31 pp.) Elizabeth E. Halton Town & Country Planning Association 1943 1/-  
A bird's-eye view of past efforts, particularly since 1919, and of the future problems; illustrated.
- Towards a New Britain** (143 pp.) R.I.B.A. & Architectural Press 1942 1/6  
Simple outline of town and country planning from 3000 B.C. to A.D. 1942; illustrated.
- \*Britain's Town and Country Pattern** (111 pp.) Nuffield College Faber 1943 2/6  
A summary of the Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt Reports.
- \*A Plan for Town and Country** (57 pp.) Pool and Stephenson Pilot Press 1944 4/6  
Sets out the basic problems, the gist of the Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt reports, the views of various sections of opinion, of the Government and of the Labour Party, and finally the authors' own view; illustrated.

## 10. EDUCATION

## (i) The Purposes

- Young Citizen** (188 pp.) A. E. Morgan Penguin Special 1943 9d.  
A survey of the adolescent citizen of the British Isles.
- What Is Christian Education?** (102 pp.) Reeves & Drewett Sheldon Press 1942 1/6
- The Future in Education** (127 pp.) Sir R. Livingstone C.U.P. 1941 3/6  
Concerned mainly with education after school years; discusses the Danish People's High Schools.

- Education for a New Society** E. Green Routledge 1942 5/-  
(143 pp.)  
Chapters on the History of the Education System, Education Today, Health and Welfare in Schools, Educational Limitations, Democracy's Failures, Towards a New Society and Planning the New Society.
- Girls Growing Up** (172 pp.) A. P. Jephcott Faber 1942 6/-  
A study of the lives of young working girls, told in large part by the girls themselves.
- \*Groundwork of Educational Theory** (264 pp.) J. S. Ross Harrap 1942 6/-  
Consideration of the philosophy that must guide the practice of education.
- Education of Today** E. D. Laborde (Ed.) C.U.P. 1935 10/6  
(171 pp.)  
Addresses on a variety of topics, directed towards the common theme of "Education in an International World."

## (ii) Organisation

- An Outline of the Structure of the Educational System in England and Wales** Board of Education H.M.S.O. 1942 9d.  
(38 pp.)
- The Public Schools and the Future** (127 pp.) D. Hughes C.U.P. 1942 3/6
- The Silent Social Revolution** (248 pp.) G. A. N. Lowndes O.U.P. 1937 6/-  
Account of the expansion of public education in England and Wales, 1895-1935.
- \*To Whom Do Schools Belong ?** (190 pp.) W. O. Lester Smith Blackwell 1943 8/6  
An account of some of the ideas affecting the control of education and of how our own course came to be accepted.
- Redbrick University** (191 pp.) Bruce Truscott Faber 1943 10/6  
After a general introduction on the English university system, the book is primarily concerned with the seven modern, mainly non-residential universities.
- \*Education in Transition** H. C. Dent Kegan Paul 1944 12/6  
(238 pp.)  
A sociological study of the impact of war on English education, 1939-1943.

## (iii) Content

- \*Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers** (600 pp.) Board of Education H.M.S.O. 1937 2/-  
A statement of the principles underlying the work of the public elementary schools, and of some of the results of practical experience in the various subjects.
- The Education of the Countryman** (250 pp.) H. M. Burton Kegan Paul 1943 15/-  
History of rural education during the last 60 years and the argument that the education of country children should be given special and separate consideration.

## (iv) Teaching Methods

- \*The Nursery Years** (76 pp.) S. Isaacs Routledge 1929 6d.  
An introduction to recent scientific study of children's minds and ways of growth.
- Learning and Teaching** Hughes and Hughes Longmans 1937 8/6  
(444 pp.)  
An introduction to psychology and education—developed by considering children and the practical problems they present.



- \*The Principles of Teaching Method** (386 pp.) A. Pinsent Harrap 1941 9/-  
Presents a philosophy of education in outline and sets forth certain broad principles of most value to the teacher, with suggestions as to how they can be applied in practical work.
- \*Conduct and Ability** (399 pp.) F. Banks Methuen 1936 10/6  
Comprehensive outline of educational psychology, of value particularly to intending teachers; final section containing practical exercises.

(v) **Scottish Education**

- Administration of Public Education in Scotland** (20 pp.) Scottish Education Department H.M.S.O. 1938 4d.
- The Teaching Profession in Scotland** (20 pp.) Scottish Education Department H.M.S.O. 1939 4d.
- The Pupil's Progress** (26 pp.) Scottish Education Department H.M.S.O. 1939 6d.
- Rise and Progress of Scottish Education** (234 pp.) A. Morgan Oliver & Boyd 1927 10/6

**11. CHRISTIAN FAITH AND ACTION**(i) **The Churches**

- The Churches in Britain** (32 pp.) Bishop of Durham O.P.H.A. 1944 6d.  
Sketch of the history of the Churches in Britain, how they are organised, and how they are related to the State and society and to one another.
- A Christian Year Book** S.C.M. Yearly 2/6  
Articles on the beliefs, organisation and origins of each of the main Churches, on their joint activities, on their wartime work, on the various forms of Christian social service, on Christian educational bodies and on Christianity in all parts of the world; also a directory of Churches, religious societies and periodicals and church statistics.
- \*A Short History of Our Religion from Moses to the Present Day** (356 pp.) D. C. Somervell Bell 1943 6/-  
Part IV describes the development of the Anglican and Nonconformist Churches and of the Church of Scotland, with reference to their place in the general life of the nation.

(ii) **Christian Doctrine**

- The Jesus of History** (247 pp.) T. R. Glover S.C.M. 1939 2/6  
A popular but scholarly account of the personality, teaching and methods of Jesus.
- What the Church Teaches** (95 pp.) Bishop of Bradford Penguin Special 1942 9d.  
Designed as a simple guide to the Christian Faith and the Church's teaching.

(iii) **Christian Ethics**

- Christian Behaviour** (64 pp.) C. S. Lewis Bles 1943 2/6  
Based on broadcast talks.
- The Two Moralities** (112 pp.) A. D. Lindsay Eyre & Spottiswoode 1941 4/6  
On the individual's double loyalty to Church and State and on the relation of these to each other.

## (iv) Christianity and Social Problems

- |   |                          |                 |      |      |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------|------|------|
| National Socialism and Christianity (32 pp.)  | N. Micklem               | O.P.W.A.        | 1939 | 6d   |
| *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (294 pp.)  | R. H. Tawney             | Pelican         | 1940 | 9d.  |
| Shows how Protestantism built up a system of beliefs in which economic individualism could flourish; specially concerned with 16th and 17th centuries.                        |                          |                 |      |      |
| Christianity and World Order (156 pp.)  | Bishop of Chichester     | Penguin Special | 1940 | 9d.  |
| Christianity and Social Order (90 pp.)  | Archbishop of Canterbury | Penguin Special | 1942 | 9d.  |
| Affords useful comparison with "Motive and Method in a Christian Order."  |                          |                 |      |      |
| Motive and Method in a Christian Order (250 pp.)  | Sir Josiah Stamp         | Epworth Press   | 1936 | 6/-  |
| A distinguished economist and business-man considers the problems of "Christianising" our industrial system.  |                          |                 |      |      |
| Christian Counter-Attack (125 pp.)  | Hugh Martin & Others     | S.C.M.          | 1943 | 6/-  |
| Europe's Churches against Nazism.   |                          |                 |      |      |
| The Recovery of the West (315 pp.)  | Michael Roberts          | Faber           | 1941 | 12/6 |
| Examines the apparent symptoms of decay in Western civilisation, the extent to which they are inseparable from our industrial civilisation and how far they can be corrected. |                          |                 |      |      |

## (v) Other Religions

- |   |          |                       |      |     |
|---|----------|-----------------------|------|-----|
| Jesus Christ and the World's Religions (103 pp.)                          | W. Paton | Edinburgh House Press | 1938 | 1/- |
| A brief account of the principal features of the non-Christian religions. |          |                       |      |     |

## 12. COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE

## (i) General

- |   |                     |                 |      |     |
|---|---------------------|-----------------|------|-----|
| The Four Empires (32 pp.)   | Viscountess Rhondda | Time & Tide     | 1943 | 6d. |
| Comparison between the British, Chinese, Russian and American "Empires."  |                     |                 |      |     |
| *Argument of Empire (159 pp.)   | W. K. Hancock       | Penguin Special | 1943 | 9d. |
| Study of the main problems of the Empire, concluding with chapters on the three targets—welfare, freedom, and peace.  |                     |                 |      |     |
| The British Commonwealth of Nations (56 pp.)  | A. Berriedale Keith | Longmans        | 1940 | 1/- |
| Gives a short outline of the political structure of the Commonwealth and Empire, valuable for reference; a useful table of the component parts, their areas and populations.                              |                     |                 |      |     |
| An Atlas of Empire (160 pp.)  | J. F. Horrabin      | Gollancz        | 1937 | 3/6 |
| Covers other Colonial Powers as well as Britain.  |                     |                 |      |     |
| *The British Empire (368 pp.)   | D. C. Somervell     | Christopher     | 1942 | 6/- |
| History up to 1938 mainly by provinces and regions; illustrated.  |                     |                 |      |     |
| *The Empire in these Days (276 pp.)   | R. Coupland         | Macmillan       | 1935 | 7/6 |
| Deals with each of the three main sections—the Commonwealth, India and the Tropical Dependencies.   |                     |                 |      |     |
| The Expansion of Europe (326 pp.)   | Ramsay Muir         | Constable       | 1939 | 7/6 |
| Describes, from about 1500 to 1934, the extension of European civilisation over the globe, the imperialist policies which accompanied it and the relations of the non-European world to European peoples. |                     |                 |      |     |

- The British Empire** (342 pp.) R.I.I.A. O.U.P. 1938 15/-  
Describes first the various parts of the Empire and their peculiar problems; secondly, the institutions of the Empire and the body of law and convention behind them; and, thirdly, the main problems that will have to be met and some of the solutions suggested.
- A Political Geography of the British Empire** (409 pp.) C. B. Fawcett U.L.P. 1933 18/-  
Examines those geographical facts which are of direct importance in their influence on the development and organisation of the British Empire.
- A Short History of British Expansion** J. A. Williamson Macmillan 1943-44  
Vol. I. **The Old Colonial Empire** (470 pp.): 18/-.  
Vol. II. **The Modern Empire and Commonwealth** (367 pp.): 18/-

(ii) **The Dominions**

- Canada** (32 pp.) G. Spry O.P.W.A. 1941 6d.  
Description of Canada today.
- Canada** (120 pp.) B. Sandwell O.U.P. 1941 5/6  
Describes Canada's growth from Colonial to Dominion status, her special problems, such as the incorporation of the French-Canadian community, and her contribution to the war; illustrated.
- Cobbers** (272 pp.) T. Wood O.U.P. 1934 7/6  
Traveller's description of life in Australia.
- Australia** (326 pp.) W. K. Hancock Benn 1930 15/-  
In four parts:—Foundation, Political Economy, Politics and Civilisation.
- Britain and South Africa** (64 pp.) E. A. Walker Longmans 1941 6d.  
Traces Britain's relations with South Africa from the time of the old Cape Colony to the present; more than half the pamphlet deals with the period since Rhodes.
- South Africa** J. H. Hofmeyr Benn 1931 15/-  
From its discovery until present times; deals fully with native policy.
- New Zealand** (164 pp.) J. C. Beaglehole A. & U. 1936 3/6  
Short but comprehensive history of New Zealand.
- New Zealand: A Working Democracy** (290 pp.) Walter Nash Dent 1944 8/6  
Part I—a brief outline of the history, physical features, occupations and produce, government and social legislation of New Zealand; Part II—its war effort; Part III—reflections on world organisation and reconstruction.
- Britain and Ireland** (90 pp.) N. Mansergh Longmans 1942 6d.  
Surveys Britain's connection with Ireland since the earliest times; one-half of the booklet deals with the development since 1850.
- The Irish Free State** (344 pp.) N. Mansergh A. & U. 1934 12/6  
An examination of the virtues and vices of representative government.

(iii) **India**

- The Indian Peasant Up-rooted** (256 pp.) M. Read Longmans 1939 2/6  
Deals with some of the social problems arising out of the growth of modern industry in India.
- The Future of South-East Asia** (124 pp.) K. M. Pannikar A. & U. 1943 5/-  
Discussion of the strategic situation.

- \*India in Outline** (110 pp.) Lady Hartog C.U.P. 1944 6/-  
Comprehensive picture of present India and a brief history; illustrated.
- Report on the Constitutional Problem of India** R. Coupland O.U.P. 1942-43  
Part I: **The Indian Problem, 1833-1935** (160 pp.); 6/-.  
Part II: **Indian Politics, 1936-42** (344 pp.); 7/6.  
Part III: **The Future of India** (207 pp.); 6/6.
- Strangers in India** (212 pp.) P. Moon Faber 1944 7/6  
By a young retired official; connects discussion of Indian problems with typical Indian incidents.
- Short History of India** (496 pp.) Moreland & Chatterjee Longmans 1936 12/6  
Complete survey of Indian history.
- India and Democracy** (444 pp.) Schuster & Wint Macmillan 1941 12/6  
General discussion of the social, economic and political aspects of the Indian problem; a useful summary of 40 pages has been issued separately by the publishers, price 6d.

## (iv) The Colonies

- Britain and Her Depend- cles** (48 pp.) Lord Hailey Longmans 1943 6d.  
The character of our Colonial policy is illustrated by a description of present-day problems—the standard of living, development of social services, issue of "plural" communities, and political development.
- Report of the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies.** H.M.S.O. 1943 1/6  
Col. 184 (93 pp.)
- Africans and British Rule** (98 pp.) M. Perham O.U.P. 1941 1/6  
In very simple terms, describes Africa before European occupation, how British Africa was gained and is governed, the uses and abuses of Imperialism, indirect rule and self-government, the problems of white colonisation and education and the future.
- The Social and Economic Development of the British Colonial Empire** (40 pp.) Sir W. McLean Royal Society of Arts 1940 2/6  
Deals with the principles and planning of development and the provisions of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act.
- The Story of the British Colonial Empire** (151 pp.) D. Woodruff H.M.S.O. 1939 2/6  
Elementary survey, including the products of the Colonial Empire; illustrated.
- Colonies** (162 pp.) Eric A. Walker C.U.P. 1944 3/6  
Shows the Colonies in their world setting, gives some idea of the variety of Colonial societies and conditions of life, sets out the policies of the chief Colonising Powers—France, Belgium, Holland, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and Britain—and inquires into some of the problems that attend the "liberation" of Colonies.
- The Future of the Colonies** (64 pp.) Huxley & Deane Pilot Press 1944 4/6  
Includes a discussion of international responsibility for the Colonies, a review of different plans for the Colonies and sets out the authors' own proposals; illustrated.
- Welfare in the British Colonies** (115 pp.) L. P. Mair R.I.I.A. 1944 5/-  
Outline of the work of the various Colonial services concerned with social welfare.

- The British Colonial Empire** W. E. Simnett A. & U. 1942 8/6  
(249 pp.)  
Review of the British Colonial Empire, its structure and problems.
- Ten Africans** (356 pp.) M. Perham Faber 1936 15/-  
Collection of autobiographies of living Africans from East and West Africa ; conveys, from the personal point of view, what British rule has meant to the Africans themselves.
- An African Survey** (1,836 pp.) Lord Hailey O.U.P. 1938 21/-  
Result of a survey of the problems of all Africa south of the Sahara, including foreign Colonies and the Union of South Africa ; covers such subjects as health, government, law, agriculture, the land ; useful summaries and conclusions in the last 30 pages.

### 13. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

#### (i) General

- \*The Penguin Political Dictionary** (259 pp.) W. Theimer Penguin Special 1942 9d.
- \*A Time for Greatness** (160 pp.) H. Agar Eyre & Spottiswoode 1944 1/-  
Discusses the failure of the Western Democracies, in particular the U.S., to prevent war, and the moral and ethical issues involved in winning the war, and the peace.
- World Production of Raw Materials** (69 pp.) R.I.I.A. O.U.P. 1941 2/6  
Describes the war-use and industrial importance of the principal mineral and vegetable products ; also fifty pages of production statistics for the same commodities for the years 1937-40.
- \*Commercial Geography** (216 pp.) H. Alnwick Harrap 1939 5/-  
Background of many problems in maps and diagrams.
- \*Britain in Europe : 1789-1914** (716 pp.) R. W. Seton-Watson C.U.P. 1938 31/6  
Full and connected narrative of British foreign policy, as distinct from general European diplomacy.

#### (ii) Between the Wars

- The Last Peace and the Next** (88 pp.) Sir G. Knox Hutchinson 1943 1/-  
Study of mistakes and misfortunes which led to the breakdown of Peace and how they may be avoided in the future.
- Essential Facts about the League of Nations** (360 pp. ; ill.) League of Nations Union 1939 1/-
- The Treaty of Versailles : Was It Just ?** (167 pp.) T. E. Jessop Nelson 1942 5/-
- \*Peacemaking, 1919** (386 pp.) Harold Nicolson Constable 1944 10/-  
Deals with the transitional phase between pre-war and post-war diplomacy ; gives a picture of the Paris Peace Conference.
- \*A Short History of International Affairs, 1920-1939** (514 pp.) G. M. Gathorne-Hardy O.U.P. 1942 12/6
- The League of Nations and the Rule of Law : 1918-1935** (542 pp.) Sir Alfred Zimmern Macmillan 1939 12/6

## (iii) "The New Order"

- Occupied Europe** (75 pp.) J. M. D. Pringle R.I.I.A. 1944 1/6  
German exploitation and its post-war consequences.
- The Spoil of Europe** (344 pp.) Thomas Reveille A. & U. 1942 10/6  
The Nazi technique in political and economic conquest.

## (iv) China

- China Struggles for Unity** (182 pp.) J. M. D. Pringle Penguin Special 1939 9d.  
Chapters on the Land and the People, the Communists, the Nanking Government, Reform and Reconstruction, the Shadow of Japan, the Hand of the Invader, and the World and China.
- The Chinese** (128 pp.) W. Galbraith Penguin 1942 9d  
Chapters on the Relevance of China, the Beginnings of Chinese Civilisation, Some Philosophical Ideas, Two T'ang Poets, Sung Painting, Some Values in Everyday Life, Towards Democracy, New China, the Peace and Influence of the Chinese Christian Church, a Nation at School.
- \*China, But Not Cathay** (136 pp.) Hsiao Ch'ien Pilot Press 1942 7/6  
Account of contemporary life in China; illustrated.
- \*The Far East in World Politics** (284 pp.) G. F. Hudson O.U.P. 1937 7/6

## (v) U.S.A.

- Who Are the Americans?** (126 pp.) W. D. Whitney Eyre & Spottiswoode 1943 9d.  
Outlines the basic characteristics of the American people, the structure of their countryside, their government and the attitude towards Europe; written before entry into war.
- Lend—Lease** (288 pp.) E. R. Stettinius Penguin Special 1944 9d.
- \*The United States** (110 pp.) E. A. Benians C.U.P. 1943 3/6  
Outlines the establishment of independence, westward expansion, the struggle to preserve the union, economic expansion and finally the developments of the 20th century.
- America's Economic Strength** (114 pp.; ill.) C. J. Hitch O.U.P. 1941 3/6
- \*Politics and Law in the United States** (127 pp.) D. W. Brogan C.U.P. 1941 3/6  
Chapters on the Constitution, the Parties, President and Congress, and the Political Role of the Supreme Court.
- America in World Affairs** (144 pp.; ill.) A. Nevins O.U.P. 1941 3/6
- \*T.V.A.** (142 pp.) Julian Huxley Architectural Press 1943 8/6  
A detailed account of the achievement in democratic planning of the Tennessee Valley Authority; illustrated.

## (vi) U.S.S.R.

- Russia** (256 pp.) Sir B. Pares Penguin 1940 9d.  
A general survey.
- The Truth about Soviet Russia** (79 pp.) Sidney and Beatrice Webb Longmans 1944 2/6  
With a summary of the Constitution and working of Soviet communism.

- Soviet Planning and Labour** M. Dobb Routledge 1942 4/-  
(126 pp.)  
Chapters on Economic Planning in U.S.S.R., Soviet Financial System, Work and Wages and the Economic Effects of the War.
- \***U.S.S.R. : Her Life and Her People** (139 pp.) M. Dobb U.L.P. 1943 4/6  
Up-to-date, introductory survey ; illustrated.
- \***Russia and Her Western Neighbours** (155 pp.) Keeton & Schlesinger Cape 1942 8/6  
Interprets the policy of the Soviet Union in relation to her Western neighbours, from the Revolution in 1917 to the Nazi attack in June 1941.
- (vii) **Europe**
- France** (138 pp.) Pierre Maillaud O.U.P. 1942 3/6  
Paints the background of the collapse of 1940, covering both the transitory and the comparatively old causes of France's weakness.
- \***The Democratic Ideal in France and England** (136 pp.) D. Thomson C.U.P. 1940 3/6
- Germany Puts the Clock Back** (278 pp.) E. Mowrer Penguin Special 1937 9d.  
Account of Hitler's rise to power and of Nazi ideology.
- A Short History of the Germans** (159 pp.) E. Stern-Rubarth Duckworth 1941 3/6  
Attempts to show the ways of living, thinking and acting of the German people at every important epoch in their development, from their earliest history to the present.
- World in Trance** (286 pp.) L. Schwarzschild Hamilton 1943 12/6  
Detailed study of the years 1918-1940 and particularly of the growing German threat.
- The Remaking of Italy** " Pentad " Penguin Special 1941 9d.  
(287 pp.)  
A brief history of the Italian Nation since 476, the Italian State to 1920, the Germans and Italy, the English and Italy, the Black Death of Fascism, and Italy after Fascism.
- Problems of the Danube Basin** (160 pp.) C. A. Macartney C.U.P. 1942 3/6  
Outlines the history of the Danube lands from before Christ to the present day, and leads up to an examination of the position since the war of 1914 and a discussion of possible changes in the future.

(viii) **Japan**

- Fact and Fiction in Japanese Imperialism** (35 pp.) A. H. McDonald R.I.I.A. 1944 6d.  
After a historical introduction deals mainly with modern developments.
- Japan : The Problem of Asia** (48 pp.) D. Woodman Pilot Press 1944 1/-  
Chapters on Japan and Germany, What Japan Owes to China, Japan and the West, the Slow Progress of Democracy, Japan—the Constant Aggressor, Pledged to Defeat Japan, Japan and the Future of Asia ; illustrated.
- The Japanese New Order in Asia** (145 pp.) Paul Einzig Macmillan 1943 10/6  
Examines Japan's record and present behaviour towards the conquered peoples ; includes a chapter on the Living-Space Claim.

## (ix) Transition from War

- Helping the People to Help Themselves** (24 pp.) H.M.S.O. 1944 4d.  
The story of U.N.R.R.A.
- An Atlas of Post-War Problems** (44 pp.) J. F. Horrabin Penguin 1943 9d.
- Relief and Reconstruction in Europe : The First Steps** (40 pp.) R.I.I.A. 1942 1/6
- The Transition from War to Peace Economy** (118 pp.) League of Nations A. & U. 1943 4/-  
After an outline of the inter-war period, chapters on the Effects of War Economy, the Domestic Issues and the International Problems.

## (x) Post-War Reconstruction

- The Case for Federal Union** W. B. Curry Penguin 1939 9d.  
(213 pp.) Special
- The Problem of Germany** R.I.I.A. 1943 2/6  
(92 pp.)  
Discusses the treatment of Germany after the war.
- Peace by Power** (102 pp.) Lionel Gelber O.U.P. 1942 3/6  
Aims at providing a plain man's guide to the key issues of the war and of the post-war world.
- Food and Farming in Post-War Europe** (118 pp.) Yates & Warriner O.U.P. 1943 3/6  
Provides the facts and suggests a practical policy for the rehabilitation of Europe's peasantry ; illustrated.
- The Displacement of Populations in Europe** (171 pp.) E. Kulischer I.L.O.—King 1943 4/-  
& Staples  
Surveys the magnitude and nature of the problems involved by the movement of peoples in Europe during the war.
- \*Civil Aviation** (64 pp. ; ill.) M. Young Pilot Press 1944 4/6
- Charters of the Peace** W. Arnold-Forster Gollancz 1944 6/-  
(138 pp.)  
A commentary on the Atlantic Charter, and the Declarations of Moscow, Cairo and Teheran.
- The Economic Basis of a Durable Peace** (192 pp.) J. E. Meade A. & U. 1940 6/-
- The Bases of a World Commonwealth** (167 pp.) C. B. Fawcett Watts 1941 7/6  
Discusses both the material bases, i.e. the distribution of resources and of routes, and the moral bases.
- Conditions of Peace** (279 pp.) E. H. Carr Macmillan 1942 12/6  
Discusses some fundamental issues and proposes some outlines of policy for international settlement.



# INDEX

The full list of contents at the beginning of the volume provides the titles of booklets, chapters and sections. It will, therefore, give useful guidance as to where any information should be sought, and should be the first resort for self-help. The index is designed to supplement the aid available there.

Where whole booklets, chapters or sections are devoted to headings in the index, the references are given, not in pages, but in the appropriate numbers, which are printed in bold type, e.g. 7 IV 3, 4—B.W.P. 7, Chapter IV, Sections 3 and 4. Sub-headings listed under such entries are not exhaustive and consist mainly of the following:—

1. Specific items which instructors may find it useful to have exactly located.
  2. Topics on which useful information is available outside the booklets, chapters or sections referred to.
  3. Topics which may form suitable themes for study and discussion and for which the references are widely scattered.
- For sub-headings the references are given in pages and include all the relevant material, whether within or outside the booklets, chapters or sections cited.

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